ऋतम्

अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद् की शोध-पत्रिका

प्रो॰ को॰ अ॰ सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर अभिनन्दन विशेषाङ्क - १९७६



ṚTAM

JOURNAL OF THE AKHILA BHARATIYA SANSKRIT PARISHAD

PROF. K.A.S. IYER FELICITATION VOLUME - 1976.

ऋतम्

प्रो० को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर अभिनन्दन-विशेषाङ्कः

ṚTAM

Prof. K. A. S. Iyer Felicitation Volume

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ṚTAM

JOURNAL
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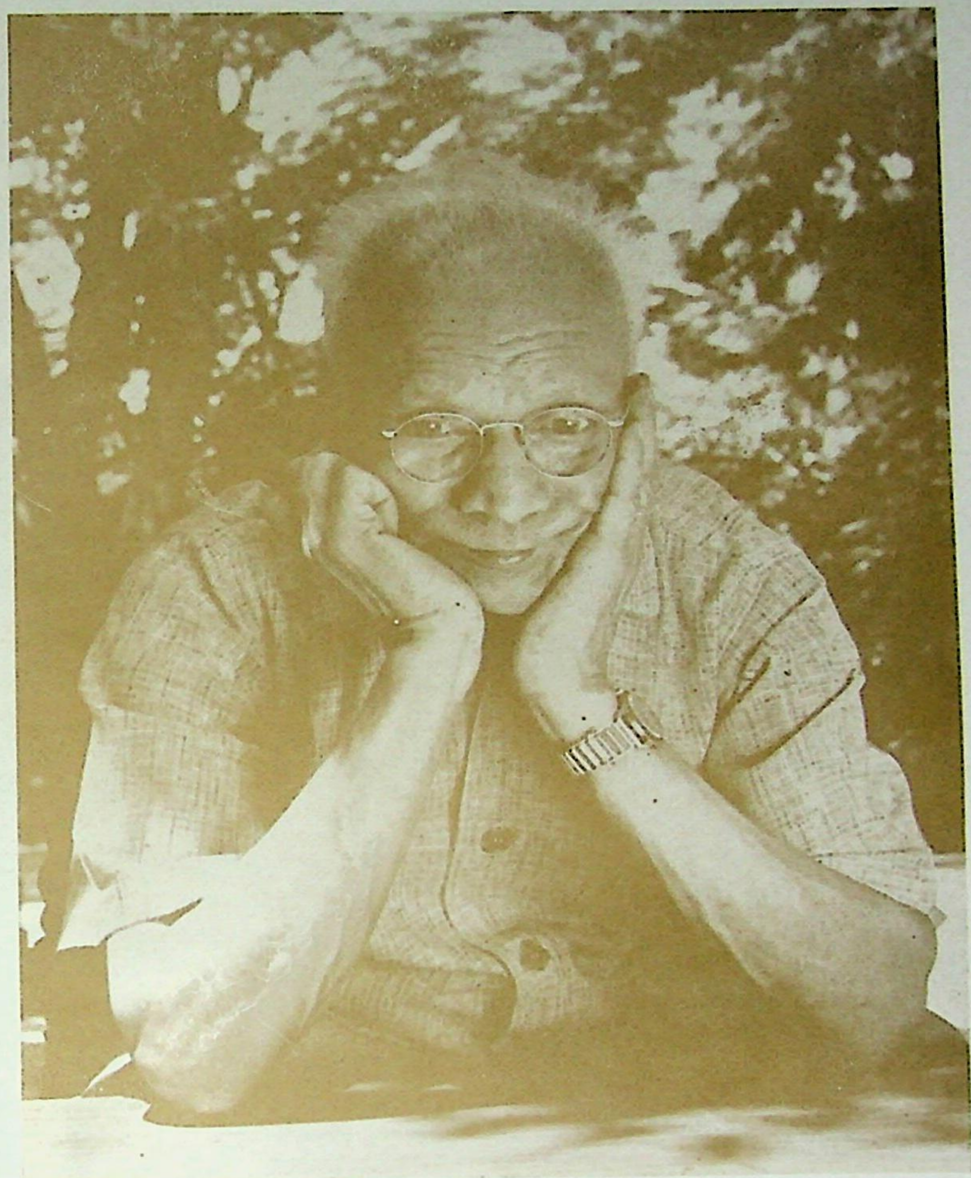
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प्रा० कां० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर [जन्म : ७ सितम्बर, १८९६]

PROF. K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER (BORN : SEP. 7, 1896)

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अनुक्रम

Part II

EDITORIAL PREFACE

Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, to whom this Volume of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad's Journal '*ṚTAM*' is dedicated, has done a great service to the cause of Sanskrit learning and scholarship not only by producing eminent scholars through his teaching and guidance of research but also by producing literature which will long remain evidence of his deep and profound learning and scholarship. But he is great not only as a scholar but also as a man, a combination very rare indeed ! Besides this, he has also been having a very close and long connection with the Parishad. It was at his residence in Lucknow that this Parishad took its birth in a meeting presided over by the late Dr. Sampurnanand. His name finds a place at the top of the signatories to the Memorandum of Association under which the Parishad was founded and registered with the Registrar of Societies. He was the very first to become a life-member of the Parishad and also the first to be elected its President. He has been a member of the Parishad's Executive Committee from its inception and the Director of Research ever since the Parishad took the form of a Centre of Research to be later on recognised as such by the University of Kanpur for its Ph.D. and D. Litt. degrees in Sanskrit. He has also been working as the Editor-in-chief of the Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts published by the Parishad and as an active member of this Journal's Editorial Board. In fact, Prof. Iyer's services to the world of Sanskrit scholarship, particularly to the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, of which *Ṛtam* is the mouth-piece, are unrecountable. It is, therefore, only in the fitness of things that the Parishad should honour and felicitate him by bringing out and presenting to him this particular issue of the said Journal. It has been long due and we are happy that we are able to do it now.

It was several years back that the Parishad planned to bring out a Felicitation Volume for Prof. Iyer and started carrying out the scheme. There was a good response from top-ranking scholars from all parts of the world; but, in spite of it, for reasons beyond our control we failed to bring out the said Volume within a reasonable time. For the same reasons the publication of *Ṛtam's* regular issues too fell into arrears. It was, therefore, decided to combine the two projects into one and bring out the Felicitation Volume only as a Special issue of the Ṛtam, combining in itself Volumes

II to VI of the same. This too has been considerably delayed, for which we are extremely sorry and beg to apologise to our learned contributors of articles, the regular subscribers of *Ṛtam* and Prof. Iyer's pupil-devotees and friends who have been very eagerly looking forward to the publication of the present Volume. I am personally very much obliged to my co-editors for the pains they have taken in editing the material contained herein. I am specially grateful to the Parishad's Secretary, Sri Gopal Chandra Sinha. who has helped me a great deal in editing the articles, in correcting the proofs and in a number of other ways. I would also like to earnestly beseech the readers to kindly excuse us for our failings and shortcomings. I am sure this Volume will help commemorating Prof. Iyer for all time to come.

J. P. Sinha,
Editor-in-charge.

PART I

सुब्रह्मण्यार्यवर्याय श्रीमते गुरवे नमः

डा० सत्यव्रतसिंहः
लक्ष्मणपुरम्

स्मरामि श्रीमद्गुरुतत्त्वमव्ययम्
नमामि श्रीमद्गुरुपादपङ्कजम् ।
करोमि श्रीमद्गुरुकीर्तनं बुधाः !
वदामि चाऽस्मद्गुरुमङ्गलं मुदा ॥

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यथा वेदे यथा काव्ये
यथा वा शास्त्रविस्तरे ॥

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सुब्रह्मण्यार्यवर्याय
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—इति प्रथमं कलापकम् ।

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भवभूतिर्विशिष्यते ।'
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—इति द्वितीयं कलापकम् ।

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—इति तृतीयं कलापकम् ।

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शिष्यलोकप्रियाय च ।
सुब्रह्मण्यार्यवर्याय
श्रीमते गुरवे नमः ॥

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कृतविद्याय धीमते ।
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अभिनन्दनम्

पं० शारदाचरणदीक्षितः

आगरा

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स्वच्छन्दस्फूर्तिधारास्रवदमलसुधास्पर्द्धिसारस्वतोद्य-
च्छब्दार्थाऽभिन्नदेहा मधुरमधुपदोल्लासिनी व्यक्तिगम्या ।
नानालङ्काररम्याऽनुपमरसचिता वर्जिताऽशेषदोषा
विद्वत्सम्मानघोषं धमति मतिमतां मे कवित्वप्रवृत्ति : ।।

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श्रीमत्केरलपालघाटवसतिव्युत्पन्नवंशोद्भवम्
कोड्डवायूरमनन्तरामसुतसुब्रह्मण्यनामाग्र्यरम् ।
सानुप्रासरसप्रसादसदनप्रान्तोच्छ्वलत्प्राञ्जलैः
सत्पद्यैरभिनन्दयत्यभिनवैरद्यानवद्य : कविः ।।

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स्वाशीराशिप्रकाशी दलितकलिमलालीकविद्याविलासी
विद्वत्सङ्घाधिशासी सुरगुरुसदृशः कर्मणः सत्फलाशी ।
भाषाविज्ञानभासी समितिमतिमतामग्र्यरो मञ्जुहासी
सुब्रह्मण्योऽवकाशी दिशि दिशि जयतात्केरलप्रान्तवासी ।।

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हृद्याविद्याविकाशी निखिलनिगमभूरागमज्ञानराशिर्
दासीभूतः सुनासीरसहजचरणाब्जस्य पुण्याभिलाषी ।
प्राचार्योऽयं पुरासीत्तदपि कुलपतित्वेन काशीविलासी
सुब्रह्मण्योऽवकाशी दिशि दिशि जयतात्केरलाप्रान्तवासी ।।

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धुर्यां सौमित्रिपुर्याममलसुरगिराचार्यचर्यां सपर्याम्
शिक्षादीक्षापरीक्षाकुलपतिपदवीं चादधानः समानः ।
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सुब्रह्मण्योऽग्रगण्यः दिशि दिशि जयतादग्र्यरोऽसौ वरेण्यः ।।

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तिग्मांशुस्तीव्रतेजस्तुहिनतनुरुचिश्चन्द्रमाभूमिपुत्रो
माङ्गल्ये विज्ञतायां बुध इति समितौ वाक्पतिर्वाक्प्रपञ्चे ।
भावोद्भावे भृगुस्त्वं वचसि मृदुगतिस्त्वं शनिस्त्वं हि राहुः
वादिग्रासेऽथ केतुर्यशसि बहुविदामग्यरोसीत्यनन्यः ॥

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वैयासे गौतमीये कपिलकणभुजोः शावरे सम्बरीये
शब्दान्तर्ध्वान्तभेदध्वनिभिरप्रहिते वाणिनीयेऽवनीये ।
ये सन्त्येवं वदन्ति प्रमुखमुखविनिर्मत्सराणां सराणां
प्राचामाचार्यवाचां पदमनुभवितुं कोऽस्ति धन्यस्त्वदन्यः ॥

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अस्ति स्वस्तिप्रशस्तिः सकलगुणगणग्रामगीर्णिग्रहाणाम्
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वाग्वैदग्ध्यगुणैर्विदग्धनिचयानुच्चैस्तरां मुग्धयन्
मूर्खान् पण्डितयन् चलानचलयन् गर्वोन्नतान् खर्वयन् ।
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ज्ञाने सिन्धुरनन्यबन्धुरखिलान्तेवासिविद्वन्नृणाम्
धुर्यस्त्वं सुधियां कृतौ कृतधियां ख्यातौ प्रसङ्ख्यावताम् ।
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जीवन् दीर्घमुदित्वरं प्रतिदिनं राजस्वभास्वानिव ॥

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शश्वन्मङ्गलकारिणी विजयतां वः श्रेयसां सारिणी ॥

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तन्वी तातनिभं भवन्तमभितः सम्मानयत्यन्तरात् ।।

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भावत्कं विततं समित्युपगतं सम्मानसारस्वतम्
नानादर्शनिदर्शनैकनिलयं स्वान्तप्रमोदप्रदम् ।
दाक्षिण्यद्रुमजन्यकौसुमसुरासौन्दर्यसारामृतम्
पायं पायमपि स्वभावसुलभं नो मे मनस्तृप्यति ।।

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एषां मध्ये कथमधिसभं ते गुणान्व्याहरामि ।।

पद्यप्रसूनाञ्जलिः

पं० रामनारायणत्रिपाठी

लक्ष्मणपरम्

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वन्द्यायां देववन्द्यैर्भरतभुवि भवे ज्ञानसन्तानसूत्या—
माचार्यैः पूज्यपादैर्निजतनुजनुषाऽलङ्कृते शङ्कराद्यैः ।
पूतेऽवाच्याः प्रदेशे जलनिधिपुलिने राजिते केरलाख्ये
विज्ञैर्वित्ते प्रकृत्या विभवविलसिते मण्डले पालघट्टे ॥

(२)

कोडूवायूरनाम्नि प्रवरमतिमतां भूसुराणां निवासे
सप्तम्यां पुण्यतिथ्यां रसनववसुभूखिृष्टवर्षेऽङ्कमासे ।
आरामः शारदाया द्विजमहितकुले जन्म लेभे वरेण्यः
सुब्रह्मण्योपनामा भुवि विततयशा अय्यरोऽनन्तरामः ॥

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बाल्ये शिक्षां स्वभूमौ श्रमरुचिविधिभिः साधु सम्पाद्य पूर्णाम्
इङ्लैण्डफ़ान्सदेशे विकसितविभवे पश्चिमाब्धेः सुतीरे ।
विद्या येनानवद्या नवनवकलया मण्डिता नैकभाषाः
प्रख्यातेभ्यः सुधीभ्योऽप्रतिहतमनसाऽधीत्य वैदुष्यमाप्तम् ॥

(४)

प्राच्यां प्राचीनरीत्याऽपरनवविधिनाऽभ्यस्य विद्यां विशेषं
नैपुण्यं भूरि नीत्वा निजजनिसदने भूय आगत्य देशे ।
भाषाविज्ञानवेत्ता निगमवरमुखे ख्यातकीर्तिः स विद्वान्
सम्मानं प्राप लोकादमलगुणगणैः शासकेभ्यो बुधेभ्यः ॥

(५)

भूनेत्राङ्केन्दुवर्षे महति जनपदे भारतस्योत्तरेऽस्मिन्
धन्यायां राजधान्यामनुपमकलया भ्राजि सौमित्रिपुर्याम् ।
विद्वद्भिर्विश्ववन्द्यैः श्रित इह परमे विश्वविद्यालये यः
स्थानं मानेन लेभे गगनचरगिरां माननीये विभागे ॥

(६)

वक्तु: प्राप्यास्पदं यो घनतिमिरहरं ज्ञानमाभाष्य तूर्णं
छात्रान् सम्पाद्यनैकान् सुविदितयशसः पूर्णपाण्डित्यदीप्त्या ।
शैवे साहित्यभूमौ गुरुतरमनिशं शोधकार्यं च कृत्वा
विन्दन् ख्यातिं प्रशस्तिं क्रमश इह पुरे शारदायाः समागात् ॥

(७)

आध्यक्ष्यं राजकीये पशुपतिनगरे मन्दिरे देववाण्या
मध्ये कृत्वा द्विवर्षं पुनरपि भजिता येन पूर्वात्मवृत्तिः ।
पश्चात् प्राप्ता गुणौघैरुपकुलपतिधूः शासनेन प्रदत्ता
सौमित्रेः पत्तनेऽस्मिन् त्रिनयननिलये वाहिता चोच्चभावैः ॥

(८)

निष्पक्षं कार्यजात निजकुशलधिया तत्र सम्पाद्य सम्यग्
विष्वक् कीर्तिं वितन्वञ् जगति जनहितां लब्धवान् यः प्रतिष्ठाम् ।
आयातं कालयोगाद् बहुविधकलुषं किन्तु दृष्ट्वा विचित्रं
निर्वोढुं शान्तवृत्तिं तृणमिव सहसा सोऽत्यजत् स्वेच्छया तत् ॥

(९)

शिक्षादानेऽग्रगण्यः सततमभिरतः शोधकार्येऽतिगाढे
गोष्ठीनामुत्तमानां श्रितविविधबुधां मान्यसभ्यः कतीनाम् ।
संस्थास्वाजीवनं यः कतिषु निवहते पारिषद्यं गरिष्ठं
सम्मानं राष्ट्रदत्तं भजति सुखमये जीवने साधुवृत्त्या ॥

(१०)

मूर्तिः सौम्याऽस्य वाणी प्रकृतिसुमधुरा सर्वदा संहृतार्था
चित्तं स्वच्छं हिमाभं मतिरतिविमला भ्राजते सत्त्वदीप्त्या ।
हर्तुं दीनार्तजालं हृदयमवहितं वृत्तिरौदार्यरम्या
सोऽयं विद्यानुरागी भवतु भुवि महान् मोददोऽमन्दवृत्त्या ॥

(११)

हेलाराजीयवाचं वृषभसमुदितं भावमालम्ब्य सम्यक्
स्वोपज्ञार्थं च चित्वा हरिजटिलवचोग्रन्थिविस्फोरदक्षाम् ।
अंग्रेज़ीभाषयाऽसौ बुधहृदयहरां वाक्यपूर्वे पदीये
कृत्वा टीकां मनोज्ञां जगति घटयते दर्शनं शाब्दिकं तत् ॥

(१२)

शंसन्त्यस्याः प्रशंसामविकलवचसा भारतीयाश्च बाह्या
आशंसन्ते सदाऽऽप्ताः परपरमकृतिं शब्दशास्त्रे त्वदीयाम् ।
भूयाच्छोभा यतो वै सततमभिनवा प्राक्कृतीनां वरेण्या
भूयासुश्चापि विज्ञा इह पथि सततं तत्परा बद्धकक्षाः ॥

(१३)

मान्यानां श्रीमतां मे पदकुसुमचयैरञ्जलिः पूर्ण एषः
सेवायामग्र्यराणां विनयसुरभितो याहि याहीति यातु ।
मन्येऽवश्यं प्रसन्नाः प्रथितबुधवरास्ते भविष्यन्ति नित्यं
माता सा शारदाऽस्मान्निजजनभजनाद् धास्यते पूर्णतुष्टिम् ॥

(१४)

जीयाञ्जीव्यान्महीयान् भुवि लसितयशा अग्यरोऽनन्तरामः
कुर्यादित्थं प्रसन्नः सततमभिरतः श्लाघ्यकार्यं महोच्चम् ।
भूयाद् वन्द्योऽनवद्यो निजकृतिकलया दिक्षु सर्वासु भूमा
नीयाद् वाणीं सुराणां पथि महति नवे देशकालानुरूपम् ॥

भावप्रसूनाञ्जलिः

पं० बटुकनाथ शास्त्री खिस्ते

वाराणसी

(१)

ध्वनि-वर्ण-पद-पदौघद्योतितसर्वार्थसन्दोहा ।
मन्दोहानधिगम्या शिवादिनम्या सरस्वती जयति ।।

(२)

प्रज्ञाविशिखविभिन्नप्रमेयशैलः सदाशिवप्रभवः ।
नेता विबुधचमूनां सुब्रह्मण्यः समुल्लसतु ।।

(३)

येनाऽधीतिपरायणेन गमिता बाल्येऽपि लाल्ये गुरु-
प्रज्ञालोकविनिर्मलेन मनसा नित्योद्यमा वासराः ।
यस्मिन्नागमिताः कलाश्च सकलाः शुभ्रांशुशोभाधरे
विद्वन्नेत्रचकोरचर्वणचमत्कारोत्सवं कुर्वते ।।

(४)

ज्ञानाम्भोनिधिमन्दरः सुजनतावल्लीमतल्लीतरुः
शीलोद्यानविकासवासरमणिः सौहार्दसन्ध्याशशी ।
विद्यार्थिव्रजचित्तभित्तिरुचिरालेख्यैकशिल्पी जनैः
सुब्रह्मण्यबुधाग्रणीः कथमसौ न स्यान्नमस्याऽञ्चितः ।।

(५)

अन्योऽन्याक्रमणोत्थितोऽमितरजःपङ्कीकृते मानसे
विद्याकाननमध्यवर्तिनि मिलन्मण्डूककोलाहले ।
नीरक्षीरविवेकतोषितजगज्जालं कृपालङ्कृतं
सुब्रह्मण्यमरालमेव कलये सम्मानभाजं विदाम् ।।

(६)

श्रीमद्वाक्यपदीयकारवचनोपन्यासपाथोनिधे-
रतर्न्यः प्रतिवासरं वितनुते दीर्घावगाहोद्यमम् ।
चेतुं चिन्तनमौक्तिकानि रुचिरच्छायानि विद्वद्वरः
कर्णाभ्यर्णविभूषणानि सुधियां तत्त्वार्थबद्धात्मनाम् ।।

(७)

नित्योन्मीलितलोचनः प्रतिभया पान्थो ध्वनेरध्वनि
प्राप्तोदारविचारपारदरसोत्कर्षः क्रियाकौशलात् ।
अन्तेवासिमनांसि तत्क्षणगलच्छङ्काकलङ्कान्यसौ
सौवर्णानि विनिर्ममे कविगिरां गूढार्थपारङ्गमः ॥

(८)

आसक्तिर्निगमागमार्थचयने भक्तिर्बुधानां गणे
संसक्तिर्नवलेखने सुरगिरां व्यक्तिर्मनोहारिणी ।
विद्यादानपरानुरक्तिरपि सा सौजन्यवारांनिधेः
सुब्रह्मण्यबुधात्परत्र न दृशोः पन्थानमालम्बते ॥

(९)

येनाऽभूपि पदद्वयं कुलपतेस्तद् विश्वविद्यालय-
द्वन्द्वे द्वन्द्वपराङ्मुखेन कृतिना शान्तिं शुभामञ्चता ।
कीर्ति कार्तिकशीतरश्मिसहजां श्रीकार्तिकेयाऽभिधः
सञ्चिन्वन् शरदां शतं वसुमतीपुत्रोऽयमुद्योतताम् ॥

(१०)

श्रद्धाधौतमनोनिकेतनलसत्सद्भावनावल्लरी-
सम्भूतानि विकस्वराणि कुसुमान्यादाय कृत्वाऽञ्जलिम् ।
प्रज्ञाकाशशशाङ्क ! तावकगुणज्योत्स्नाभिषिक्ता वयं
सामोदं तनुमो नमोऽन्वितशुभाभ्यर्चाविधानोत्सवम् ॥

तं वन्दे तपसां निधिम्

डॉ० अशोककुमार कालिया

लक्ष्मणपुरम्

(१)

असद्गुणानां भुवि तत्तदीप्सया
प्रशंसनापङ्कविदूपितामिमाम् ।
सतां गुणस्पर्शनवर्णनादिभिः
स्वकीयजिह्वां परिशोधयाम्यहम् ॥

(२)

स्मारं स्मारमनारतं क्वचिदिदं व्याख्यानमुद्रान्वितं
यच्चित्तं गतकल्मषोऽस्मि नियतं गङ्गावगाहादिव ।
तं वन्दे तपसां निधिं गुणनिधिं विद्यानिधिं सन्निधिं
सुब्रह्मण्यगुरूत्तमं हृदयतो विज्ञानवारांनिधिम् ।

(३)

सद्विद्या तनुतां गता विरलतां वार्ता तदीया मिता
शक्तः कः प्रतिकूलयेद्धि पयसो निम्नां गतिं पार्थिवः ।
इत्थम्भूतनिराशयाप्यचलितां सङ्कल्पशक्तिं परां
विद्यामूर्तिमिमां नमामि शिरसा हृद्यानवद्यां मुहुः ॥

(४)

साहित्यागमधर्मदर्शनपरा तत्त्वानुशोधव्रता
ग्रस्ता जातिरिहाद्य यद्यपि सतां लौल्याच्छलाद् दुर्नयात् ।
स्मृत्या यस्य तथापि नश्यति दृढं ध्वान्तं यदज्ञानजं
सुब्रह्मण्यगुरुं प्रणौम्यखिलया तं श्रद्धया सन्नतः ।

(५)

आरामेऽस्मिन् जिते हन्त काकरासभगायनैः ।
परपुष्टेऽनुरूपस्ते योऽसौ नेपथ्यसंश्रयः ॥



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लखनऊ

रॉयल होटल और सचिवालय के मध्य दरबारी लाल शर्मा मार्ग (मेजर बैंक्स रोड) पर राजभवन की ओर बढ़ने पर दाहिनी ओर बिजली के खम्भे पर लगे नामपट्ट पर दृष्टिपात कीजिये तो लिखा मिलेगा 'के०ए०एस० अय्यर' और 'टी०एस० अय्यर'। इसी खम्भे से दाहिनी ओर अन्दर जाने वाले मार्ग पर आगे बढ़ कर जहाँ मार्ग समाप्त होता है वहाँ एक विशाल लौहद्वार है। इस लौहद्वार में प्रवेश करते ही एक भव्य, सुदृढ़ किन्तु सादा सा भवन दिखाई पड़ेगा, जिसकी गरिमा तथा सादगी में गृहस्वामिदम्पती की गरिमा तथा सादगी स्पष्टतः प्रतिबिम्बित होती प्रतीत होती है। बरामदे में जाते ही मोज़ेक के फर्श पर मोज़ेक की ही एक बहुरंगी अल्पना दिखाई पड़ेगी जो भवन के मुख्यद्वार पर तब से बनी हुई है जब से यह भवन बना है। बर्मा टीक का बना हुआ विशाल द्वार और उसमें लगे हुये दो विस्तीर्ण कपाट गृहस्वामिदम्पती के हृदयों की विशालता का परिचय देते हुये से प्रतीत होते हैं। दोनों कपाटों में पीतल के दो मकराकार गोल कड़े लटक रहे है। उनमें से एक कड़े की श्यामलता समाप्त हो चुकी है, क्योंकि कोई भी आगन्तुक गृहस्वामी को अपने आगमन की सूचना इसी के ताडन द्वारा देता है। विद्युत्-घण्टिका का कार्य यही कड़ा करता है। दो बार कड़े की खट-खट हुई कि कुछ ही क्षणों में एक पट खुल गया। अन्दर से छोटे से कद के एक सज्जन निकलेंगे। गेहुंआ रंग, शिर पर थोड़े से श्वेत केश, नेत्रों पर सुनहले फ़्रेम का चश्मा, मुख पर मन्द मुस्कान, गति में फुर्ती और सादी किन्तु विशेष रूप से सिली हुइ पैण्ट और बुसशर्ट से आपको पहचानने में विलम्ब न होगा कि यही हैं प्रो० अय्यर, जिनके दर्शनों के लिये आप आये है। 'हेल्लो' के साथ आप का अभिवादन स्वीकार करके आप को अन्तःप्रवेश का सङ्केत, किन्तु यह सौभाग्य सब को प्राप्त नहीं है। प्रायः आगन्तुकों से मिलने के लिये या तो बाहर बरामदे में ही पड़ी हुई मलाका बेत की चार कुर्सियाँ हैं अथवा बाहर की ओर एक छोटा सा कमरा जिसमें भी वैसी ही दो-तीन कुर्सियाँ पड़ी रहती है। जिन आगन्तुकों को अन्तःप्रवेश का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है, वे कमरे की सादी सजावट और स्वच्छता से बिना प्रभावित हुये नहीं रह सकते हैं। कमरे तथा प्रवेश-मार्ग में सुव्यवस्थित ढङ्ग से रखे हुये ताम्र तथा पीतल के छोटे-बड़े पात्रों में जल में तैरते हुये पुष्पों की पंखुड़ियाँ भी गृहस्वामी की ही भाँति मुस्कराती हुई आगन्तुकों का स्वागत करती हैं। बैठक के कमरे में रखे हुये यज्ञ में प्रयुक्त होने वाले विभिन्न पात्रों को देखकर प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रति गृहस्वामिदम्पती की आस्था का अनुमान सहज ही हो जाता है। वार्तालाप में शास्त्रचर्चा से लेकर देश की वर्तमान ज्वलन्त समस्याओं पर चर्चा करके आप ज्ञानसञ्चय अवश्य कर



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गुरुवर प्रो० अय्यर—जीवन झांकी

डा० जगदम्बा प्रसाद सिनहा

लखनऊ

रॉयल होटल और सचिवालय के मध्य दरबारी लाल शर्मा मार्ग (मेजर बैंक्स रोड) पर राजभवन की ओर बढ़ने पर दाहिनी ओर बिजली के खम्भे पर लगे नामपट्ट पर दृष्टिपात कीजिये तो लिखा मिलेगा 'के०ए०एस० अय्यर' और 'टी०एस० अय्यर'। इसी खम्भे से दाहिनी ओर अन्दर जाने वाले मार्ग पर आगे बढ़ कर जहाँ मार्ग समाप्त होता है वहाँ एक विशाल लौहद्वार है। इस लौहद्वार में प्रवेश करते ही एक भव्य, सुदृढ़ किन्तु सादा सा भवन दिखाई पड़ेगा, जिसकी गरिमा तथा सादगी में गृहस्वामिदम्पती की गरिमा तथा सादगी स्पष्टतः प्रतिबिम्बित होती प्रतीत होती है। बरामदे में जाते ही मोज़ेक के फर्श पर मोज़ेक की ही एक बहुरंगी अल्पना दिखाई पड़ेगी जो भवन के मुख्यद्वार पर तब से बनी हुई है जब से यह भवन बना है। वर्मा टीक का बना हुआ विशाल द्वार और उसमें लगे हुये दो विस्तीर्ण कपाट गृहस्वामिदम्पती के हृदयों की विशालता का परिचय देते हुये से प्रतीत होते हैं। दोनों कपाटों में पीतल के दो मकराकार गोल कड़े लटक रहे है। उनमें से एक कड़े की श्यामलता समाप्त हो चुकी है, क्योंकि कोई भी आगन्तुक गृहस्वामी को अपने आगमन की सूचना इसी के ताडन द्वारा देता है। विद्युत्-घण्टिका का कार्य यही कड़ा करता है। दो बार कड़े की खट-खट हुई कि कुछ ही क्षणों में एक पट खुल गया। अन्दर से छोटे से कद के एक सज्जन निकलेंगे। गेहुंआ रंग, शिर पर थोड़े से श्वेत केश, नेत्रों पर सुनहले फ़्रेम का चश्मा, मुख पर मन्द मुस्कान, गति में फुर्ती और सादी किन्तु विशेष रूप से सिली हुइ पैण्ट और बुसशर्ट से आपको पहचानने में विलम्ब न होगा कि यही हैं प्रो० अय्यर, जिनके दर्शनों के लिये आप आये है। 'हेल्लो' के साथ आप का अभिवादन स्वीकार करके आप को अन्तःप्रवेश का सङ्केत, किन्तु यह सौभाग्य सब को प्राप्त नहीं है। प्रायः आगन्तुकों से मिलने के लिये या तो बाहर बरामदे में ही पड़ी हुई मलाका बेत की चार कुर्सियाँ हैं अथवा बाहर की ओर एक छोटा सा कमरा जिसमें भी वैसी ही दो-तीन कुर्सियाँ पड़ी रहती है। जिन आगन्तुकों को अन्तःप्रवेश का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है, वे कमरे की सादी सजावट और स्वच्छता से बिना प्रभावित हुये नहीं रह सकते हैं। कमरे तथा प्रवेश-मार्ग में सुव्यवस्थित ढङ्ग से रखे हुये ताम्र तथा पीतल के छोटे-बड़े पात्रों में जल में तैरते हुये पुष्पों की पंखुड़ियाँ भी गृह-स्वामी की ही भाँति मुस्कराती हुई आगन्तुकों का स्वागत करती हैं। बैठक के कमरे में रखे हुये यज्ञ में प्रयुक्त होने वाले विभिन्न पात्रों को देखकर प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रति गृहस्वामिदम्पती की आस्था का अनुमान सहज ही हो जाता है। वार्तालाप में शास्त्रचर्चा से लेकर देश की वर्तमान ज्वलन्त समस्याओं पर चर्चा करके आप ज्ञानसञ्चय अवश्य कर

लेंगे। बीच-बीच में शिष्ट और संयत हास्य के पुट से समय का पता ही नहीं लग पाता है। शास्त्रचर्चा प्रारम्भ होने पर प्रो० अय्यर में जो अद्भुत स्फूर्ति आ जाती है उससे उनकी मानसिक सजगता का ही बोध होता है। धर्म हो या दर्शन, वेद हो या साहित्य और व्याकरण हो या भाषा-विज्ञान—किसी भी विषय पर चर्चा चलाने से आप ऐसा अनुभव करेंगे कि आप किसी मनुष्य के साथ वार्तालाप नहीं कर रहे हैं, अपितु किसी विश्वकोश के पृष्ठों को पलटते जा रहे हैं। वार्तालाप की समाप्ति पर मुखमण्डल पर पुनः मुस्कान छिटक जायेगी और द्वार खोलकर आप को विदा करने के लिये प्रो० अय्यर स्वयं बरामदे तक आ जायेंगे। यदि आप कार अथवा स्कूटर पर आये हैं तो लौहद्वार को खोलने और बन्द करने का भार साग्रह अपने ऊपर लेकर वह आप को अपना एक हाथ उठाकर और 'राइटो' कहते हुये ऐसी भावभीनी विदाई देंगे जो आप के ऊपर एक अमिट छाप छोड़ जायेगी। ऐसे हैं हमारे ऋषिकल्प गुरुदेव प्रो० अय्यर।

प्रो० कोडुवायूर अनन्तराम सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर का जन्म ७ सितम्बर १८९६ ई० को केरल प्रदेशान्तर्गत पालघाट नामक स्थान में हुआ था। इनके पिता श्री कोडुवायूर वी० अनन्तराम अय्यर और माता श्रीमती रङ्गनायकी अम्मल थीं। इनके नाना ब्रह्मर्षि रघुनाथ भट्टार प्राचीन शास्त्रों के मूर्द्धन्य पण्डित थे। प्रो० अय्यर के नाम का आदि कोडुवायूर इनके मूल स्थान का नाम है, अनन्तराम इनके पिताश्री का नाम था और अय्यर इनका जातिनाम है। पुराणों के प्रसिद्ध देवता स्कन्द अथवा कार्तिकेय का तामिल नाम तो 'मुरुगन' है, किन्तु ब्राह्मणों में वह सुब्रह्मण्य नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। दक्षिण भारत में स्कन्द सर्वप्रसिद्ध देवता हैं। प्रो० अय्यर के पिताश्री भी स्कन्द अथवा सुब्रह्मण्य के अनन्य आराधक थे। अतएव उन्होंने अपने ज्येष्ठ पुत्र का नाम भी सुब्रह्मण्य रख दिया। प्रो० अय्यर के पाँच भाई और तीन बहनें थीं। ये सभी इनसे छोटे थे। श्रीमती अय्यर, जिन्हें प्रो० अय्यर के सभी शिष्य माता जी कहकर सम्बोधित करते हैं, मूलरूप से पोलैण्ड-निवासिनी हैं। उनका पूरा नाम है टेरेसा जद्विग लेस्सर-बैरोनेस लेस्सर (Teresa Jadwiga Lesser-Baroness Lesser)। प्रो० अय्यर के तीन सन्तानें हैं—दो पुत्रियाँ और एक पुत्र। सबसे बड़ी पुत्री रङ्गनायकी है, बीच में हैं पुत्र अनन्तराम और सबसे छोटी पुत्री हैं लक्ष्मी। तीनों सन्तानें विवाहित हैं।

प्रो० अय्यर की प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा-दीक्षा गनपत हाई स्कूल, कालीकट; नूरानी हाई स्कूल, पालघाट और ज़मोरिन्स कॉलेज कालीकट में हुई थी। कालीकट में ही प्रो० अय्यर ने नारायण शास्त्री नामक एक संस्कृत पण्डित से अमरकोश का अध्ययन किया था। तदनन्तर उच्च शिक्षा के लिए वह विदेश चले गये। उन्होने सन् १९१४ से १९१७ तक पेरिस विश्वविद्यालय (L'E'cole Pratique des Hauter E'tudes de Collége de France) में और तत्पश्चात् लन्दन विश्वविद्यालय में विद्याध्ययन किया। वहाँ इन्होंने सन् १९१६ में Diplöme d'e'tudes Universitaires; सन् १९१८ में Diploma of the School

of Oriental Studies और सन् १९१९ में लन्दन विश्वविद्यालय से एम० ए० की उपाधि प्राप्त की। पेरिस में प्रो० अय्यर ने जिन जिन विषयों का अध्ययन किया, वे थे—

१. प्रो० सिलवाँ लेवी (Prof. Sylvain Lévi) } —भारतीय विद्या
२. प्रो० अल्फ़्रेड फाउचर (Prof. Alfred Foucher) }
३. प्रो० एण्टोनी मिले (Prof. Antoine Meille)—भाषा विज्ञान
४. प्रो० लललाण्डे (Prof. Lalalande) } —दर्शन
५. प्रो० डुबॉय (Prof. Dubois) }

लन्दन में प्रो० अय्यर को जिन विद्वानों के सान्निध्य में रह कर विविध विषयों के ज्ञानार्जन का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ, उनमें प्रमुख थे—

१. डा० बॉर्नेट (Dr. Barnett.)
२. श्रीमती रिस डेविड्स (Mrs. Rhys Davids)
३. प्रो० लुई डे.ला वैली पुसी (Prof. Louis de la vallie Poussie)

उच्च शिक्षा के लिये प्रो० अय्यर को विदेश ले जाने का श्रेय था डा० रेमण्ड फ़ॉन मॉर्ले (Dr. Raimond van Marle) को। डा० मॉर्ले प्रो० अय्यर के पिताश्री के मित्र थे और राष्ट्रीयता से डच। डा० मॉर्ले के साथ प्रो० अय्यर सन् १९१४ ई० में फ़्रांस गये। पेरिस में प्रो० अय्यर तीन वर्षों तक डा० मॉर्ले के अतिथि के रूप में रहे। इसी बीच इन्होंने यूरोप के अनेक देशों—बेल्जियम, हॉलैण्ड, जर्मनी, स्विट्ज़रलैण्ड, आस्ट्रिया और इटली की भी यात्रा कीं। जैसा कि पहले ही उल्लेख किया जा चुका है प्रो० अय्यर ने सन् १९१४ में पेरिस विश्वविद्यालय और L'E'cole Pratique des Hauter E'tudes de collége de France में प्रो० सिलवाँ लेवी (Prof Sylvain Lévi) के व्याख्यानों से भी ज्ञानार्जन किया था। इस औपचारिक शिक्षा के साथ ही प्रो० अय्यर ने डा० मॉर्ले के सान्निध्य में रह कर भी प्रभूत ज्ञान का सञ्चय किया था। डॉ० मार्ले पश्चिमी चित्रकला के इतिहास के विशेषज्ञ थे। इतालवी चित्रकारी के इतिहास के सम्बन्ध में १७ खण्डों में लिखा गया इनका ग्रन्थ उच्च कोटि की रचना है। डा० मॉर्ले बहुमुखी प्रतिभा के धनी थे जैसा कि उनके *'The History of Doom Middle Ages'* और *'The Philosophy of Master Eckhardt'* नामक ग्रन्थों से ज्ञात होता है। डा० मॉर्ले का निवासस्थान यूरोपीय शिल्प और चित्रकारी की उत्कृष्ट कृतियों से सुसज्जित रहता था, जिनके दर्शनार्थ यूरोप के विभिन्न देशों से विद्वान् वहाँ जाया करते थे।

लन्दन विश्वविद्यालय में एम० ए० परीक्षा हेतु प्रो० अय्यर ने साहित्य तथा भाषा विज्ञान विषयों का विशेष रूप से अध्ययन किया था। इसके लिये इन्होंने संस्कृत के जिन ग्रन्थों का अध्ययन किया था, वे हैं—

१. मनुस्मृति
२. काव्यप्रकाश

३. नैषधीयचरित

४. कुमारसम्भव

५. अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल

६. काशिकावृत्ति

७. वेदान्तसार

८. दिव्यावदान

प्रो० अय्यर ने पालि के जिन ग्रन्थों का अध्ययन किया था, वे हैं—

१. दीघनिकाय (सुमङ्गलविलासिनी टीका सहित)

२. नेत्तिपकरण

३. परमथदीपनी

४. मिलिन्दपञ्हो

इनके अतिरिक्त सहायक ग्रन्थों के रूप में इन्होंने ह्विटनीकृत '*Sanskrit Grammar*', पिटर्सनकृत '*Selected Hymns from the Ṛgveda*' और गाइगर कृत '*Pāli-Language and Literature*' नामक ग्रन्थों का भी अनुशीलन किया था।

सन् १९२१ में प्रो० अय्यर स्वदेश वापस आ गये। उसी वर्ष इन्हें लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत तथा प्राकृत-भाषा विभाग में रीडर तथा अध्यक्ष के पद पर नियुक्त कर लिया गया। सन् १९४८ में इन्हें इसी विभाग में प्रोफ़ेसर बना दिया गया। सन् १९५०-५१ में तत्कालीन शिक्षा मन्त्री डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी के आग्रह पर इन्होंने एक वर्ष लखनऊ शिवविद्यालय से अवकाश लेकर राजकीय संस्कृत महाविद्यासय, वाराणसी (सम्प्रति सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय) में प्रधानाचार्य के रूप में कार्य किया। वहाँ के पाठ्यक्रम को परिवर्तित-परिवर्द्धित करके उसे जीविकोपार्जन के लिये उपयोगी बनाते हुये इन्होंने उसकी प्राचीन परम्परा को भी यथावत् सुरक्षित रखगे का प्रयत्न किया। तदनन्तर वह पुनः लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत तथा प्राकृत-भाषा विभाग में प्राचार्य तथा अध्यक्ष के अपने पूर्व पद पर कार्य करने लगे। सन् १९५७ के अप्रैल मास में प्रो० अय्यर ने इस पद से अवकाश प्राप्त कर लिया। तत्पश्चात् इन्होंने कुलपति के रूप में लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय तथा वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय को गौरवान्वित किया। वाराणसेय विश्वविद्यालय में व्याप्त गुटबन्दी और राजनीतिक दाँव पेंच ने प्रो० अय्यर के तन और मन दोनों को ही झकझोर कर रख दिया। इनका कोमल हृदय सरस्वती-भवन में राजनीतिक मल्लों की अखाड़ेबाजी को सहन न कर सका और यह हृदयरोग से पीड़ित हो गये। परिणामस्वरूप प्रो० अय्यर वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति पद से त्याग पत्र देकर लखनऊ में रहने लगे।

उत्तर प्रदेश और उसकी राजधानी के लिये यह गौरव की बात है कि सुदूर दक्षिण में जन्म लेने वाले संस्कृत और भारतीय भाषा के इस मूर्द्धन्य विद्वान् ने लखनऊ में रहकर ही गीर्वाणवाणी की सतत सेवा करने का व्रत ले रखा है।

विदेशीय शिक्षा-प्रणाली से संस्कृत का अध्ययन करने के कारण एक ओर प्रो० अय्यर में अनुसन्धित्सु की सूक्ष्मदृष्टि और विवेचनाशक्ति है तो दूसरी ओर स्वाध्याय के रूप में इन्होंने प्राचीन परम्परा से संस्कृत का जो अध्ययन किया है उसके कारण इनमें धारणाशक्ति भी अद्भुत है। इनकी विद्या 'रसनाग्रनर्तकी' है। एक अध्यापक के रूप में प्रो० अय्यर पूर्ण सफल रहे हैं। जिन्हें इनके सान्निध्य में रहकर अध्ययन करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है वे इस तथ्य से भली भाँति परिचित हैं कि प्रो० अय्यर के अध्यापन का ढङ्ग कितना सरल और सुबोध है। स्नातक कक्षाओं के अपरिपक्वबुद्धि छात्र हों, स्नातकोत्तर कक्षाओं के सुबुद्ध विद्यार्थी हों अथवा प्रौढबुद्धि अनुसन्धित्सु हों—सभी के लिये प्रो० अय्यर की अध्यापनशैली सुगम और सुबोध बन जाती है। वह विद्यावारिधि हैं। कोई भी व्यक्ति अपनी रुचि और सामर्थ्य के अनुसार इनसे रत्न, मुक्ता अथवा सीप प्राप्त कर सकता है। प्रो० अय्यर में एक विशेषता है जो शायद ही किसी अध्यापक में उपलब्ध हो सके। प्रो० अय्यर जब जिस विषय का अध्यापन करने लगते हैं तब ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि वही उनका प्रिय विषय है, वह उसी के विशेषज्ञ हैं। अध्यापन काल में इनकी भृकुटि में कभी वक्रता नहीं आने पायी, किन्तु कक्षा में कोई भी विद्यार्थी अनुशासन भङ्ग करने का साहस भी न कर सका। लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के कलासङ्काय की स्नातक कक्षाओं में जब सामान्य संस्कृत विषय का अध्यापन प्रारम्भ हुआ तब प्रो० अय्यर ने इस विषय का भी अध्यापन इतने सरल और रोचक ढङ्ग से किया कि इनकी कक्षा में कभी किसी प्रकार की समस्या उत्पन्न नहीं हुई। प्रोफ़ेसर और कलासङ्काय के अधिष्ठाता के पद पर रहते हुये भी सामान्य संस्कृत जैसे साधारण विषय का अध्यापन करने वाले एक मात्र व्यक्ति प्रो० अय्यर ही थे। इन उच्च पदों पर आसीन और विश्वविश्रुत विद्वत्ता के किसी भी अध्यापक से सामन्य संस्कृत जैसे साधारण विषय के अध्यापन की आशा करना उसके प्रति अन्याय ही समझा जायेगा।

यहाँ मुझे अपने छात्र जीवन की एक छोटी सी घटना का स्मरण हो रहा है। एम०ए० प्रथम वर्ष में ऐच्छिक विषय के रूप में मैंने वेद का चयन किया था। उस समय इस कक्षा में केवल सात छात्र थे। संयोग से उस समय हम लोगों को जो अध्यापक वेद का अध्यापन करते थे उन्होंने शायद गुरुमुख से वैदिक वाङ्मय का अध्ययन नहीं किया था। यही कारण था कि वेद विषय में उनकी गहरी पैठ नही थी। वैदिकी स्वरप्रक्रिया से तो उनका परिचय ही न था। हम लोगों ने उनसे जब वैदिकी स्वरप्रक्रिया के सम्बन्ध में अपनी जिज्ञासा व्यक्त की तब उन्होंने स्पष्ट शब्दों में अपनी असमर्थता तो नही व्यक्त की किन्तु आज कल करते करते जिस ढङ्ग से वह हम लोगों की जिज्ञासा शान्त करने से भाग रहे थे उससे हम लोगों को वस्तुस्थिति समझने में विलम्ब न हुआ। उस समय प्रो० अय्यर संस्कृत विभाग के अध्यक्ष थे

और हम लोगों को भाषाविज्ञान का अध्यापन करते थे। प्रो० अय्यर की उदारता और बहुमुखी प्रतिभा से हम लोग अब तक भली भाँति परिचित हो चुके थे। एक दिन उनकी कक्षा समाप्त होते ही हम लोगों ने साहस बटोरकर अपनी कठिनाई और इस विषय में अपने वेद विषय के अध्यापक महोदय के सम्बन्ध में अपनी आशङ्का को उनके समक्ष प्रस्तुत कर दिया। पहले तो उन्होंने अपनी स्वाभाविक मुस्कान से उस विषय को टाल जाने का प्रयास किया, किन्तु हम लोगों के पुनः पुनः आग्रह करने पर उन्होंने तत्काल हम लोगों को यह आश्वासन दे डाला कि वह कभी उस विषय पर स्वयं दो-चार व्याख्यान हम लोगों के हित में दे देंगे। उसके पश्चात् हम लोगों को फिर कभी प्रो० अय्यर को इस विषय में स्मरण दिलाने की आवश्यकता न पड़ी। उन्होंने स्वयं समय निकाल कर दो-चार व्याखानों में ही वैदिकी स्वरप्रक्रिया जैसे जटिल विषय की गुत्थिओं को खोल कर हम लोगों के सामने रख दिया। उनके वे व्याख्यान आज भी मेरी अमूल्य निधि हैं। प्रो० अय्यर के स्थान पर कोई भी दूसरा विभागाध्यक्ष अपने अधीनस्थ अध्यापक से कुछ न कहकर उसके अध्यापन का उत्तरदायित्व अपने ऊपर ले लेने के लिये सहसा उद्यत हो जाता, इसमें सन्देह ही है।

प्रो० अय्यर ने सन् १९५४ में भारत शासन द्वारा गठित विश्वविद्यालयीय अध्यापकों और छात्रों के एक प्रतिनिधिमण्डल में सम्मिलित होकर सोवियत रूस की भी यात्रा की थी। वहाँ इन्होंने अनेक विश्वविद्यालयों तथा शिक्षासंस्थानों का निरीक्षण किया था। सन् १९५८ में ब्रिटिश काउंसिल के निमन्त्रण पर 'यूनाइटेट किंगडम' जाकर प्रो० अय्यर ने वहाँ के विश्वविद्यालयों का भी निरीक्षण किया था। अपने सेवाकाल में प्रो० अय्यर ने विभिन्न उच्च और उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण पदों पर रहकर बड़ी कुशलता से तत्तत् पदों का कार्य सम्पादन किया है। ऊपर जिन विभिन्न पदों का उल्लेख किया जा चुका है उनके अतिरिक्त प्रो० अय्यर जिन अन्य संस्थाओं तथा उनके कार्यकलाप से सम्बद्ध रहे हैं, उनमें कुछ मुख्य ये हैं—

१. लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के प्राच्य संस्कृत विभाग के संयोजक। इस रूप में प्रो० अय्यर ने प्राचीन परम्परा से संस्कृत के पठन-पाठन को प्रोन्नत किया।
२. लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय की कार्यकारिणी परिषद्, शिक्षा परिषद् आदि अनेक परिषदों और समितियों के सदस्य।
३. प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय की कलासङ्काय परिषद् के सदस्य।
४. काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय की शिक्षापरिषद् के सदस्य।
५. रुड़की विश्वविद्यालय के सिण्डीकेट के सदस्य।
६. वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय की कार्यकारिणी के सदस्य।
७. विभिन्न विश्वविद्यालयों और लोकसेवा आयोगों के परीक्षक

८. लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय में फ्रेञ्च भाषा के अंशकालिक अध्यापक

९. संस्कृत के पाण्डित्य और शास्त्र-निष्ठा के लिये सन् १९७४ में भारत के राष्ट्रपति द्वारा सम्मानपत्र से अलङ्कृत।

१०. संस्कृत के विशिष्ट विद्वान् के रूप में उत्तर प्रदेश शासन द्वारा सन् १९७६ में १५,०००.०० रु० के पुरस्कार से पुरस्कृत।

लखनऊ तथा वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालयों से अवकाश प्राप्त करके प्रो० अय्यर वाग्देवता की अखण्ड आराधना में लगे हुये हैं। इनके इस सारस्वत यज्ञ में इनकी सहधर्मिणी ममतामयी माताजी (श्रीमती अय्यर) का योगदान स्तुत्य है। भारत की धरती से दूर देश में जन्मी, विदेशीय वातावरण में लालित-पालित तथा वहीं के संस्कारों से सुसंस्कृत होती हुई भी श्रीमती अय्यर ने अपने आपको भारतीय संस्कृति और संस्कारों के अनुरूप ढाल लिया है। दक्षिण भारतीय परिधान में लिपटी हुई सुगठित तथा कञ्चन सी काया, वार्द्धक्य की मुद्रा से मुद्रित किन्तु तेजोमय तथा मन्दस्मित से युक्त मुखमण्डल पर आदर्श भारतीय गृहिणी के समान गोल और बड़ी सी सिन्दूर बिन्दी से जगमगाते हुये ललाट पर सिन्दूर से भरे हुये सीमन्त से सुशोभित केश, सुनहले फ्रेम के चश्मे के भीतर से झांकते हुये प्रकाशमान नेत्र और कोई मीठी चुटकी लेने के लिये स्फुरित अधरोष्ठ—बस यही हैं हम सबकी माता जी। आगन्तुकों से अभिवादन स्वीकार करके स्नेह उंडेलती हुयी उनके कुशल-क्षेम के विषय में प्रश्नों से प्रारम्भ होकर बात बढ़ते-बढ़ते प्रो० अय्यर के स्वास्थ्य पर पहुंच जाती है। उस समय तो माता जी की भावुकता देखते ही बनती है। अपने स्वास्थ्य और सुख की लेशमात्र चिन्ता न करके प्रो० अय्यर को सब प्रकार से सुखी और स्वस्थ रखना ही इनके जीवन का चरम लक्ष्य बन गया है। प्रो० अय्यर के सुख-सौविध्य में किसी प्रकार का व्यवधान इनके लिये असह्य हो जाता है, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप यदा कदा माता जी की भावनाओं को न समझने वाले किसी भी नवागन्तुक को इनका व्यवहार शायद अखर भी जाता है। गुरुवर के लिये तो माताजी 'गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः' हैं, किन्तु गुरुवर के शिष्यों के लिये वह हैं माताजी—ममतामयी, वात्सल्यमयी।

प्रो० अय्यर ने अपने गहन स्वाध्याय, अथक अध्यवसाय और अपनी सूक्ष्म विवेचना शक्ति के समन्वय से जो कुछ भी लिखा है वह संस्कृत तथा भारतीय विद्या की अमूल्य निधि है। सर्वशक्तिमान् 'मुरुगन' से प्रार्थना है कि वह गुरुवर तथा माताजी को शतायु करें जिससे वह सुरभारती की सेवा करते हुये उसके अनुरागियों का मार्गदर्शन करते रहें और यावच्चन्द्रार्क उनकी कीर्तिपताका देश-विदेश में फहराती रहे।

आभारप्रदर्शनम्

पं० राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविड

वाराणसी

अनसूयव एव गुणवतो गुणान् चिन्वन्ति प्रकाशयन्ति च सहर्षमिति यद्गुणवतां महत्त्वं तत्र तत्रोपवर्ण्यते, तस्य पालकास्तु लोके प्रायः कतिपये एव भवन्ति तथाविधेषु इमे को० अ० गु० अय्यरमहोदयाः पण्डितमण्डलीषु मण्डिता वर्तन्ते इत्येतस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे निवेदयन्नामोदमनुभवामि। वाराणस्यां संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्थापनोत्सवात्पूर्वं स्थानीयराजकीयविद्याकेन्द्रे संस्कृतप्रचाराय बद्धपरिकरे इमे महाभागाः प्रधानपदमलङ्कुर्वन्तो यदाऽऽसन् तदा एतैरेका सभा आहूताऽऽसीत् तदा दर्शनस्य निर्माणं नवीनं भवितुमर्हतीति विषयः पण्डितैस्तत्सभायां सम्मिलितैश्चर्चितो बभूव। तत्रापच्छेदन्यायेन पूर्वं बाधित्वाऽनन्तरवर्तिना निर्मितं चेद्दर्शनं, तदपि साधु भवतीति पूर्वपक्षः कैश्चन साधितः। तत्समाधानावसरे सैद्धान्तिकं पक्षमुपस्थापयता मया एवमुक्तमासीत् यत् अपूर्वप्रतिभोपलब्धिमन्तरा न येन केनापि दर्शनं निर्मातुं सुशकं भवति। प्रतिभा च मतिभावान्नातिरिच्यते। स च वीराद्भुतबीभत्सरसप्रकृतिषु समुदेति। तथापि वास्तविकतर्कप्रबोधाभ्यां सह सञ्चरणशीलो मतिभावो वीराद्भुतयोरेव भवति। तत्परीक्षणाय हेतुरूपेण षड्जस्वरविकोणदृष्टी उपयुक्ते भवतः। अत्रोदाहरणम्—

'नमोऽस्तु ते व्यास! विशालबुद्धे! फुल्लारविन्दायतपत्रनेत्र!
येन त्वया भारततैलपूर्णः प्रज्वालितो ज्ञानमयः प्रदीपः॥'

इति पद्यं भवितुमर्हति। अतो व्यवहारदशायां वीराद्भुतातिरिक्तरसवता पुरुषेण यथार्थदर्शनं नूतनं निर्मातुं न शक्यते। तयोर्मध्ये गुरुस्थानापन्नाः, वीरश्च गुरुभक्तः एकाग्रस्तपस्वी ईश्वरशरणश्चेद्यथार्थद्रष्टा भवति। तथाविधो यदा कदा यत्र कुत्र वा वसुन्धरां भूषयति, तदा स दर्शननिर्माता भवति नान्यः। अद्यत्वे तु एवंविधोऽलीकतां भजते इत्यन्यदेतत्। अथापच्छेदन्यायोऽपि समालोच्यते। पूर्वकाले निर्णीतोऽर्थः उत्तरकालनिर्णीतेनार्थेन बाध्यते इत्येवं रूपो विषयो नापच्छेदन्यायस्य, किन्तु पूर्वमुपस्थितं निमित्तमनुसृत्य तदनुबन्धी योऽर्थो निर्णीतो भवति, स तदा बाधितो भवतीति, यथा—पूर्वकाले सम्भूतं निमित्तं केनापि कारणेन बाधितं, अन्यच्च निमित्तं उत्तरकाले प्रादुर्भूतं यदि स्यात्तद्दशायां पूर्वकालिकनिमित्तानुबन्धिनोऽर्थस्य बोधो न्यायसङ्गतः धर्म्यः उचितश्चेत्येवं ज्ञापयितुं अपच्छेदन्यायः प्रवर्तते। अस्मत्पूर्वजैस्तपस्विभिः प्रमाणपरतन्त्रतया स्थितैर्यानि निमित्तान्युपलक्षितानि वर्तन्ते, तेषां बाधकत्वप्रसक्त्यभावात्तदनुबन्ध्यर्थस्य बाधितत्वे कारणं नावलोक्यते। अतो मनीषिभिर्निर्णीतोऽर्थो दर्शनेषु समादृतो निर्दुष्टत्वान्नापसारयितुमर्हः। यत्र तु वस्तुगत्या निमित्तलोपः स्यात् तत्र बुद्धेः

फलमनाग्रहः इति न्यायेन पूर्वमनीषिभिर्निर्णीतोऽर्थोऽपि अस्माकमनुपादेयः स्यादेव । न च तथा दृश्यते इति । तदानीं प्रदर्शितस्यास्य तर्कस्यौचित्यमनुभूय महाभागैः श्रीअय्यरमहोदयैरत्यन्तं मैत्रीपूर्विका प्रसन्नता प्रदर्शिता इत्येवं तेषां गुणा ये तत्र चान्यत्र च सभायां मया दृष्टास्ते तेषां गुर्वी शास्त्रप्रीतिं गुणैकपक्षपातितां चानुमापयन्तोऽद्यापि तेषां स्मृतिमुल्लासयति ।

प्रायशो न्यायशास्त्रे परिगृहीतानां प्रतियोगित्वावच्छेदकत्वादिपदार्थानां श्रवणे कर्णकटुत्वमनुभूय साधारणैर्न्यायशास्त्रस्याग्राह्यत्वमनुभूयते । किन्तु लोके न्यायस्य प्रचाराय चित्रतुरगन्यायेन तदीयपदार्थानां परिचयः कारयितव्य इति मनीषया पौनःपुन्येनेयं चर्चा कै० हरिरामशास्त्रिशुक्लमहोदयैः सह कृता, तत्प्रेरणयैव मया चित्रतुरगन्यायेन प्रतियोगित्वादीन् बोधयितुं प्रयतमानेन काशीराजपुत्रादिच्छात्राः पाठ्यन्ते । एभिरेव अय्यरमहोदयैर्दत्तं प्रत्यभिज्ञादर्शनपुस्तकं दृष्ट्वा अहं तद्विषयकशङ्कारहितोऽभवमिति तेषामात्मनोऽधमर्णतां प्रकाशयामि ।

तथाविधानामेतेषां यशः सर्वत्र प्रसरत्समेषामानन्दकरमस्तीति निवेदयामीति ।

अजर्यं सङ्गतम्

पं० रघुनाथशर्मा

बलिया

आर्येणार्यस्य सङ्गतमजर्यं भवति तदुक्तं भट्टिकाव्ये—तेन सङ्गतमार्येण रामाजर्यं कुरु द्रुतमिति ।

श्री को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्यमहाभागस्य सङ्गतमपि अजर्यम् । एते महाभागा यदा काशिकराजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयस्य प्रधानाचार्या आसन् तत आरभ्य इदानीं यावत् मया सह सख्यमेतैर्निर्व्यूढमिति । सा च मैत्री प्रतिपलं वर्धत एव न ह्रसति इति न चित्रम् । यतः—

'आरम्भगुर्वी क्षयिणी क्रमेण लघ्वी पुरा वृद्धिमती च पश्चात् ।
दिनस्य पूर्वार्धपरार्धभिन्ना छायेव मैत्री खलसज्जनानाम् ॥' इति ।

साप्तपदीनं सख्यमिति पाणिनीयस्य सूत्रस्य व्यवहारानुगस्योदाहरणभूतमेतेषां सख्यम् । यद्येते महाभागा मां वाक्यपदीयस्य व्याख्यानेन प्रोत्साहयिष्यन् तदा वाक्यपदीयव्याख्यानं पूर्तिं नागमिष्यत् । एतेषां प्रोत्साहनकर्मणैव मया—गौडपादीयं दर्शनम्, गर्भे गुणदोषसङ्क्रमविमर्शः वादत्रयविमर्शः इत्यादिका बहवो निबन्धा लिखिताः ये चित्रनिबन्धावलिनाम्नि ग्रन्थे सङ्गृहीताः सन्ति, एतैश्च प्रत्युपक्रियानिरपेक्षमानसैरविकत्थनस्वभावैर्ममोपकृतिशतं कृतं यस्याहमधमर्ण एव स्यामिति भगवन्तं विश्वेश्वरमर्थये तदुक्तं भगवता श्रीरामेण—

'मय्येव जीर्णतां यातु यत्त्वयोपकृतं हरे ।
नरः प्रत्युपकारार्थी विपत्तिमभिकाङ्क्षति ॥' इति ।
'ज्ञाने मौनं क्षमा शक्तौ त्यागे श्लाघाविपर्ययः ।
गुणा गुणानुबन्धित्वात्तस्य सप्रसवा इव ।'

इति कालिदासपद्यस्य वाक्यार्थः परोक्षमनुभूत एतेषु प्रत्यक्षीकृतः । ममोपकृतिशतं कृत्वाऽपि एतैस्तन्मदग्रेऽन्यजनसमक्षं वा कदाऽपि न प्रकाशितमिति एतेषां धैर्यगाम्भीर्ये परां काष्ठामालम्बेते । मदीयवाक्यपदीयव्याख्यानस्य भूमिका एतैर्महता श्रमेण महता वैदुष्येण च लिखितेत्यनेनैवैतेषां परमं गुणग्राहित्वं गृह्यते । नमन्ति सन्तस्त्रैलोक्यादपि लब्धुं समुन्नतिम् इत्यस्योदाहरणमेतेषां विनयः । यद्यपि आवयोः सामाजिके व्यवहारे महद् वैषम्यं वैचित्र्यञ्च दृश्यते तथापि नैतत् लोकोत्तरस्य अव्याजस्य परस्पराश्रयस्य स्नेहस्य बन्धनं मनागपि अवसादयितुमीष्टे । एते चाधुनाऽपि पत्रद्वारा मम प्रार्थनास्वीकारेण मामनुगृह्णन्ति इति मे मनसो महान् सन्तोषः इत्यर्थवद्भूतार्थवादं निगद्य विरमामीति ।

श्रद्धेय प्राध्यापक—आदर्श मानव

पं० व्रजवल्लभ द्विवेदी

वाराणसी

सन् १६५० में नवरात्र का अवकाश मेरा लखनऊ में बीता था। स्वर्गीय आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव जी के अभिधर्मकोशभाष्य के हिन्दी अनुवाद को प्रेस में देने का कार्य काफी आगे बढ़ चुका था। आचार्य जी तब लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के उपकुलपति पद को सुशोभित कर रहे थे। उन्हीं के निवास स्थान पर ज्ञात हुआ कि उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार के शिक्षा विभाग के आग्रह पर लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग के अध्यक्ष प्राचार्य श्री को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर महोदय को वाराणसी के संस्कृत महाविद्यालय को सुव्यवस्थित करने के लिये प्रिंसिपल के पद पर कुछ समय के लिये भेजना आचार्य जी ने स्वीकार कर लिया है। वाराणसी प्रस्थान करने के पूर्व वे आचार्य जी से मिलने आये थे और सुहृद्वर पण्डित श्री जगन्नाथ उपाध्यायजी (अब सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालव के पालि विभाग के अध्यक्ष तथा आचार्य) के साथ दूर से ही उनका दर्शन कर हम लोगों ने अपने को धन्य माना था। आचार्य जी जैसे मनीषी और महामानव ने अय्यर महोदय की विद्वत्ता और सदाशयता के प्रति हम लोगों के मन में श्रद्धा का बीज पनपा दिया था।

प्रोफ़ेसर अय्यर महोदय लखनऊ से जब वाराणसी जाने लगे तो हम लोग स्टेशन पर उपस्थित थे। एक आधुनिक विश्वविद्यालय के वातावरण के लिये यह अनोखी बात थी कि संस्कृत विभाग के छात्र ही नहीं, डा० कान्ति चन्द्र पाण्डेय सरीखे अपने विषय के लब्धप्रतिष्ठ विद्वान् भी विदाई के समय चरण छूकर उनका अभिवादन कर रहे थे।

प्राचार्य अय्यर महोदय की दृष्टि प्राचीन और आधुनिक ज्ञान में समन्वय स्थापित कर प्राचीन ज्ञान को आगे बढ़ाने की रही है। वे काशी के राजकीय संस्कृत महाविद्यालय के प्रधानाचार्य (प्रिंसिपल) के पद पर ६ मास तक रहे। इस अवधि में वे विभिन्न गोष्ठियों, चलचित्रों, प्रवचनों और व्यक्तिगत वार्तालाप के द्वारा इस संस्था के अध्यापन विभाग और सरस्वती भवन पुस्तकालय के सभी विद्वानों को इस पवित्र कार्य में लगाने का पूरा प्रयत्न करते रहे। एक विचार गोष्ठी का विषय इन्होंने रक्खा था—"नवीन दर्शन की उत्पत्ति कैसे हो ?" काशी के एक प्रसद्धि विद्वान् ने नवीन दर्शन की उत्पत्ति का ही विरोध कर दिया था और आज भी काशी का पूरा संस्कृत समाज इस मोहतन्द्रा में पड़ा हुआ है कि प्राचीन ऋषि-मुनियों ने जिन सिद्धान्तों की स्थापना कर दी है, उस विषय में कुछ नई उद्भावना करने की सामर्थ्य हम में आ हीं कहां से सकती है। चलचित्रों के माध्यम से इन्होंने शब्द, रूप, परमाणु, शक्ति आदि के सम्बन्ध में आधुनिक वैज्ञानिक प्रयोग पद्धति से

इन विद्वानों को परिचित कराने के लिये भरपूर प्रयत्न किया और इन विषयों को आधुनिक तथा प्राचीन दृष्टिकोणों से समझने वाले विशेषज्ञ विद्वानों के परस्पर विचारों के आदान-प्रदान में सहायता पहुंचाने का भी अथक परिश्रम किया, किन्तु इनके चले जाने के बाद यह सब कुछ व्यक्तियों की स्मृति का विषय मात्र रह गया।

राजकीय संस्कृत महाविद्यालय से त्रैमासिक पत्रिका 'सारस्वतीसुषमा' का प्रकाशन होता रहा है। इस पत्रिका को अपने उक्त आदर्शों के अनुरूप ढालने के लिये इन्होंने उसको एक अनुसन्धानप्रधान पत्रिका का स्वरूप प्रदान किया। अपने सम्पादकीय में इन्होंने लिखा था कि अनुसन्धानप्रधान निबन्धों के अतिरिक्त इसमें गम्भीर शास्त्रीय निबन्धों को और आधुनिक भाषाओं में प्रकाशित भारतीय विद्या सम्बन्धी उत्कृष्ट निबन्धों के संस्कृत अनुवाद को भी यथोचित स्थान मिलेगा। यह कहा जा सकता है कि संस्कृत भाषा की यह अनुसन्धान-प्रधान प्रथम पत्रिका रही है और इसी के पथ-प्रदर्शन पर अब देश के विभिन्न भागों से लगभग आधा दर्जन इस तरह की पत्रिकाएं संस्कृत भाषा में भी प्रकाशित होने लगी हैं।

सन् १९५८ में काशी के राजकीय संस्कृत महाविद्यालय को वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय नाम दे दिया गया। सन् १९६०-६१ में प्राचार्य अय्यर महोदय कुछ समय के लिये उपकुलपति बन कर पुनः यहाँ आये। इस संस्था का यह नया रूप इनको कभी पसन्द नहीं आया। वे इसको राजकीय संस्कृत महाविद्यालय के रूप में ही फलता-फूलता देखना चाहते थे, जिससे कि आधुनिक विश्वविद्यालयों के दोष इस संस्था में प्रवेश न कर सकें। मनुष्य का सोचा सब कुछ होता नहीं है। संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय के दीक्षान्त समारोह के अवसर पर इन्होंने प्राचीन और नवीन ज्ञान-विज्ञान में समन्वय स्थापित करने के अपने दृष्टिकोण को पुनः विस्तार से स्पष्ट किया, किन्तु यह संस्था उनके इस दृष्टिकोण को विभिन्न कारणों से हृदयङ्गम न कर सकी। फलतः यह संस्था अपने मूल उद्देश्य से ही, जो कि इसके संस्थापक स्वर्गीय सम्पूर्णानन्द जी का प्रिय मनोरथ रहा है, एक प्रकार से दूर होती चली जा रही है। हाँ, इसके साथ उनका नाम अवश्य जोड़ दिया गया है।

प्राचीन और नवीन ज्ञान-विज्ञान के प्रति इस समन्वित दृष्टिकोण के अतिरिक्त प्राचार्य अय्यर महोदय की सामान्य मानवीय मूल्यों के प्रति भी एक सहज, स्वाभाविक दृष्टि है। उसी से प्रभावित होकर इन पङ्क्तियों के लेखक ने इस लेख के शीर्षक में 'आदर्श मानव' शब्द जोड़े हैं। इनका निरभिमान, सरल, किन्तु अपने लक्ष्य के प्रति दृढ़ दृष्टिकोण इनके सम्पर्क में आने वालों को सहज रूप से प्रभावित करता रहा है। मानव देवता बन जाता है या कभी-कभी पशुओं की सी चेष्टा करने लगता है। मानव के रूप में एक मनुष्य कहां तक उठ सकता है, इसके उदाहरण के रूप में यह लेखक स्वर्गीय आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव और प्राचार्य को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर का नाम ही ले सकता है। पातञ्जल योगसूत्र में चित्त के परिष्कार के लिये मैत्री, करुणा, मुदिता और उपेक्षा का उपदेश दिया गया है। बौद्ध तान्त्रिक

ग्रन्थों में इनको चार ब्रह्मविहार बताया गया है। उक्त दोनों महानुभावों का चित्त इन भावनाओं से सहज, स्वाभाविक गति से निरन्तर ओत-प्रोत था और है। उत्पीडक का अनिष्ट न कर उत्पीडित की सहायता करना इनका मूलमन्त्र रहा है। उत्पीडक की चित्त-वृत्तियों के परिष्कार की सहज चिन्ता इनमें निरन्तर प्रबल रही है। दानवता से उठकर मनुष्य सीधे देवता बन जाना चाहता है। फलतः आज मानवता के दर्शन दुर्लभ हैं। मनुष्य देवता बन जाने से पहले उक्त दोनों महानुभावों के उदाहरण पर यदि मानव बनने का प्रयत्न करे, तो विद्रूप मानसिक तनावों से घिरे इस जगत् का वर्तमान रूप में ही परिष्कार हो सकता है।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ हम आदर्श मानव को पूरी श्रद्धा के साथ आदरपूर्वक अपना अभिवादन अर्पित करते हैं और उनकी दीर्घायु की भगवान् विश्वनाथ से प्रार्थना करते हुए चाहते हैं कि काश, इस भावना का विकास हम में भी हो सके।

एक मनीषी के सान्निध्य में

डा० मातृदत्त त्रिवेदी

लखनऊ

लोकैषणा से सर्वथा पराङमुख रहकर नित्य स्वाध्यायरूप ब्रह्मयज्ञ का अनुष्ठान करने वाले तथा 'य आतृणत्यवितथेन कर्णावदुःखं कुर्वन्नमृतं सम्प्रयच्छन्' इस श्रुतिवचन को सार्थक करते हुए सन्निधि में आये शिष्यजनों के कर्ण-कुहरों को अपने अमृतोपम उपदेश से आपूरित करने वाले परमश्रद्धाभाजन गुरुवर अय्यर जी का जीवन-चरित तीर्थ के समान महार्घ प्रभाव वाला है। भवभूति ने ठीक ही कहा है—

महार्घस्तीर्थानामिव हि महतां कोऽप्यतिशयः।[१]

आचार्य शब्द की यास्कीय निरुक्ति 'आचारं ग्राहयत्याचिनोत्यर्थाना चिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा' आप में पूर्णरूप से अन्वितार्थ प्रतीत होती है। ऐसे सर्वशास्त्रनिष्णात, विद्याविनयसम्पन्न आचार्य के सान्निध्य को लगभग तीस वर्षों तक पाकर मैं अपने आप को गौरवान्वित समझता हूँ। उनका जीवन अनुकरणीय है, स्पृहणीय है, प्रेरणाप्रद है और अज्ञानान्धकार में निमग्न लोगों के लिए जगमगाता प्रकाश-स्तम्भ है। ऐसे गुरु के निकट रहकर यदा कदा जो जीवन-झलकें प्राप्त हो सकीं, उनको यहाँ प्रस्तुत कर अपने को कृतार्थ पा रहा हूँ।

दक्षिण में मलाबार जनपद के पालघाट नामक नगर में एक अग्रहार ब्राह्मण कुल में सन् १८९६ ई० में आपका जन्म हुआ था। वैसे आपके पूर्वज तामिलनाडु के तञ्जौर जनपद के रहने वाले थे; लेकिन केरल के राजाओं के आमन्त्रण पर वे पालघाट में आकर बस गये थे। आप के मातामह रघुनाथभट्टर् संस्कृत के लब्धप्रतिष्ठ विद्वान् थे। वह सांसारिक विषयों से विरक्त होकर नित्य ब्रह्मकर्म में लीन रहते थे। प्रतिदिन घर में रामायण, महाभारत तथा श्रीमद्भागवत आदि ग्रन्थों का पाठ होता रहता था। ऐसे पवित्र वातावरण में आपका शैशवकाल व्यतीत हुआ और उस अवस्था में जो भी संस्कार पड़े वह जीवन पर्यन्त अमिट रहे। पालघाट में ही प्राथमिक शिक्षा समाप्त कर आप कोलिकोड चले गये और वहाँ गनपत हाईस्कूल तथा केरल विद्याशाला, जिसे ज़ॅमोरिन्स कालेज (Zamorins College) भी कहा जाता था, से माध्यमिक शिक्षा प्राप्त की। सन् १९१४ में आपने इण्टर परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण की। तदनन्तर उच्च शिक्षा-प्राप्ति के लिए विदेश जाने का आपको सुअवसर प्राप्त हुआ।

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१. उत्तररामचरितम्—६.११

मद्रास में आड्यार नामक स्थान किसी समय थियोसोफिकल सोसायटी का केन्द्र था। श्रीमती एनीविसेण्ट इसकी अध्यक्षा थीं। जब तक वह इस पद पर रहीं, इस विचारधारा के मानने वाले देश-विदेश के विद्वान् प्रायः यहाँ आते रहते थे। गुरुवर अय्यर जी के पिता भी थियोसोफिकल सोसाइटी के एक सदस्य थे। उनका सभी विद्वानों से परिचय होता रहता था। यहीं रायमण्ड वन मॉरले नामक एक डच सज्जन से आपके पिता की भेंट हुई, जिनके अत्यधिक आग्रह पर पिता ने आपको विद्याध्ययन के लिए विदेश जाने की अनुमति दे दी। पिता से आज्ञा लेकर आप फ्रान्स जाने को तैयार हुए; क्योंकि पेरिस उस समय प्राच्यविद्या-विशारदों का केन्द्रस्थल था।

पेरिस विश्वविद्यालय संसार का सबसे प्राचीन विश्वविद्यालय है, जिसकी स्थापना १२ वीं शताब्दी में हुई थी। इस समय वहाँ एक से एक बढ़कर विद्वान् थे। इसका सत्रारम्भ नवम्बर से होता था। आप पेरिस सम्भवत: मार्च में पहुँचे थे। अतः बिश्वविद्यालय खुलने में अभी बहुत समय था। श्री मॉरले ने आपसे कहा कि यहाँ आकर सर्वप्रथम दो कार्य करने हैं—एक तो फ्रेन्च भाषा सीखनी है, दूसरे यूरोप भ्रमण भी करना है, ताकि यूरोपीय देशों की सभ्यता और संस्कृति की भी जानकारी की जा सके। श्री मॉरले, यद्यपि हालैण्ड-निवासी थे, तथापि उनका निवास-स्थान प्रायः पेरिस ही था। उस समय उनके पिता का देहान्त हो चुका था और माता जी हालैण्ड में ही रहती थीं। माता के दर्शनार्थ उनके अन्दर प्रबल उत्कण्ठा जागृत हुई। फलतः आपको भी साथ लेकर वह हालैण्ड की ओर चल पड़े।

यह अप्रैल का महीना था। हालैण्ड जाते हुए बीच में बेल्जियम पड़ता था, जिसकी राजधानी ब्रुसेल्स (Brussels) थी। यहाँ दो दिन ठहरना पड़ा; क्योंकि श्री मॉरले की बहन यहीं पर रहती थीं। उनका आतिथ्य स्वीकार कर पुनः आप दोनों लोग हालैण्ड पहुँचे, जिसकी राजधानी हेग (Hague) थी, यद्यपि हालैण्ड का सबसे सुन्दर नगर एम्सटर्डम था। हेग उस समय यूरोप के सर्वाधिक स्वच्छ नगरों में से था। उसमें बड़े बड़े विश्रामालय और जलपानगृह थे। उन दिनों हालैण्ड की सरकार ने यहाँ एक शान्तिभवन बनवाया था, जिसका उद्देश्य था विभिन्न देशों के लोगों को समाहूत कर शान्ति-वार्त्ता करना, जिससे संसार विश्व युद्ध की ज्वाला से झुलस न सके। उस समय हालैण्ड एक समृद्ध देश था क्योंकि इण्डोनेशिया के लगभग तीन हजार टापुओं पर इसी का आधिपत्य था। यहाँ के लोगों का जीवन-स्तर बहुत ऊँचा था। सभी लोग परिश्रमी और विद्यानुरागी थे। सम्भवतः कोई ऐसा व्यक्ति नहीं था जो चार-पांच भाषायें न जानता हो। डच तो उनकी मातृभाषा थी ही, इसके अतिरिक्त वे अँग्रेजी, फ्रेन्च, जर्मन तथा इटैलियन आदि भाषायें भी जानते थे। ऐसे समृद्धिशाली देश की राजधानी हेग में श्री मॉरले की माँ रहती थीं। उनके पास आप दोनों लोग १५ दिन रहे और पुनः पेरिस लौट आये।

पेरिस लौटने के बाद आप मॉरले के साथ जर्मनी घूमने के लिए चल पड़े। मार्ग में बीसबडेन (Wiesbaden), सल्जबर्ग (Salzburg), लीपज़िग (Leipzig), म्यूनिख (Munich) आदि नगरों को देखते हुए ड्रेस्डेन (Dresden) पहुँचे। लीपजिग में उस समय एक विशाल प्रदर्शनी लगी हुई थी, जिसमें लाखों-करोड़ों पुस्तकें संसार के विभिन्न देशों से आई थीं। ऐसी विशाल प्रदर्शनी सचमुच अभूतपूर्व थी। ड्रेस्डेन में कुछ दिन रुक कर आप आस्ट्रिया पहुँचे। आस्ट्रिया का एक भाग था टिरॉल (Tyrol), जिसकी राजधानी थी इन्सब्रुक (Innsbruck)। इन्सब्रुक के पास ही एक नगर था मेरान (Meran), जहाँ से एक मील की दूरी पर एक गाँव था, जिसमें एक किसान रहता था। उसने पर्यटकों के रहने के लिए अपने खेतों के बीच एक विश्राम गृह बनवाया था। उसी में ये लोग ठहरे। यह सम्भवत: जूलाई का तृतीय सप्ताह था। यहाँ लगभग एक मास निवास करने का आपका विचार था, लेकिन दैवयोग से इसी बीच विश्व-युद्ध छिड़ गया, जिसमें फ्राँस एक ओर था और जर्मनी दूसरी ओर। कालान्तर में इंग्लैण्ड भी फ्राँस से जा मिला और उधर जर्मनी से आस्ट्रिया। ऐसे समय में आस्ट्रिया छोड़ कर फ्राँस जाना एक समस्या हो गई; क्योंकि उनके पास कोई पासपोर्ट नहीं था। यद्यपि उन दिनों भारत से बाहर जाने में पासपोर्ट की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ती थी; तथापि युद्ध काल में इसका होना आवश्यक था। आस्ट्रिया की राजधानी थी वियना। यहाँ एक ब्रिटिश राजदूत रहता था, जिसके प्रयत्न से इन्हें एक पासपोर्ट मिल गया। आस्ट्रिया के फ्राँस और इंग्लैण्ड दोनों शत्रु थे; अत: जो भी विदेशी यहाँ थे, उनकी खोज होने लगी। एक दिन वहाँ एक शासनाधिकारी आया और बोला कि आप लोग इस गाँव को छोड़कर अब कहीं नहीं जा सकते हैं। श्री मॉरले ने कहा कि यह तो अँग्रेज नहीं हैं, अपितु भारतीय प्रजा है तथा अध्ययन हेतु भारत से फ्राँस आये हैं; लेकिन उसने एक न सुनी और गाँव न छोड़ने का आदेश देकर चला गया।

एक दिन श्री मॉरले घूमने के हेतु बाहर गये और जब रात्रि में लौटे तो कहा कि जैसे भी हो, कल हमें यह गाँव छोड़ देना है। दूसरे दिन प्रात: दोनों लोग घोड़ागाड़ी से एक स्टेशन पर आये। यहाँ आकर श्री मारले ने एक व्यक्ति से कुछ बातचीत की और तत्पश्चात् दोनों लोग एक मालगाड़ी के डिब्बे में बैठ गये। गाड़ी रात्रि भर चलती रही और प्रात:काल जब रुकी, तो पता चला कि वे अब स्विट्ज़रलैण्ड में हैं। स्विट्ज़रलैण्ड उस समय एक तटस्थ देश था। अत: यहाँ रहना निरापद था। यह सम्भवत: अगस्त का महीना था। यहाँ आप लोग एक सप्ताह ही रुके थे कि पता चला कि जर्मन सेनायें बड़ी तेज़ी से बढ़ती हुई पेरिस की ओर जा रही हैं। युद्ध के ऐसे भीषण समय में पेरिस जाना उचित नहीं था। अत: कुछ दिन और यहां बिताकर दोनों लोग इटली चले गये, जो उस समय एक तटस्थ देश था। यहाँ जिनोंवा (Genoa) नगर के पास नोली (Noli) नामक गाँव में आप लगभग एक महीना रहे। सितम्बर का महीना आ गया था। लेकिन फिर भी पेरिस विश्व-विद्यालय खुलने में अभी काफ़ी समय था। अत: वहाँ से दोनों लोग फ्लारेन्स गये और

वहाँ से कई नगर घूमते घूमते अन्ततोगत्वा पेरिस पहुंचे। तब तक मार्न के युद्ध (Battle of the Marne) में फ़्राँसीसियों ने जर्मन सेनाओं का बढ़ना रोक दिया। मार्न एक नदी है, जिसके एक ओर जर्मन सेनायें थीं और दूसरी ओर फ़्राँसीसी। चार वर्ष तक इसी नदी पर युद्ध चलता रहा; लेकिन जर्मन सेनायें एक इंच भी आगे नहीं बढ़ सकीं। पेरिस से यह स्थान लगभग ५० मील की दूरी पर था। इधर आपकी सारी शिक्षा-दीक्षा पेरिस में होती रहीं और उधर मार्न नदी के तट पर भीषण युद्ध भी होता रहा। बाद में अमेरिका भी फ़्राँस से जा मिला और १६१८ ई० में जर्मन सेना ने हार मान ली।

पेरिस विश्वविद्यालय दुनिया का सबसे प्राचीन विश्वविद्यालय है, जिसकी स्थापना १२ वीं शताब्दी में हुई थी। उस समय इसमें सिल्वाँ लेवी, ज्यूल ब्लाक (Jules Bloch) तथा ए० फ़ुशे (A. Fouche) आदि ख्यातिप्राप्त विद्वान् अध्यापन करते थे। इस विश्वविद्यालय की दो सहयोगी संस्थायें थीं—College de France और E'cole Pratique des Hautes E'tude, जिसे अंग्रेजी में Praticalc School for Advanced Studies कहेंगे। College de France में उस समय सभी प्रतिष्ठित विद्वान् विद्यमान थे। यहीं श्री सिल्वाँ लेवी से नवम्बर १६१४ में आपकी भेंट हुई, जो पेरिस विश्वविद्यालय के साथ ही College de France में भी अध्यापन करते थे। वह संस्कृत, पालि, प्राकृत तथा अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं के अधिकारी विद्वान् थे। फ़्रेञ्च तो उनकी मातृभाषा थी ही। इसके अतिरिक्त जर्मन और लैटिन आदि भाषाओं की भी उन्हें अच्छी जानकारी थी। उनकी धारणा थी कि यदि भारत की सभ्यता और संस्कृति का अच्छा ज्ञान प्राप्त करना है तो भारत के पड़ोसी देशों की भी भाषायें जानना आवश्यक है। इस दृष्टि से वह तिब्बती और चीनी भाषाओं का भी अध्ययन करना आवश्यक मानते थे। वह अपने छात्रों के प्रति वड़े उदार थे और भारतीय छात्रों के प्रति तो उनकी अत्यधिक सद्भावना थी। पेरिस विश्वविद्यालय में उस समय शिक्षा-शुल्क इतना कम पड़ता था कि प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी उसे आसानी से दे सकता था। केवल ३५ फ़्राँक प्रतिवर्ष एक विद्यार्थी को देना पड़ता था। और इतना देकर वह विश्वविद्यालय के किसी भी विभाग का व्याख्यान सुन सकता था। प्रो० सिल्वां लेवी के पास एक विशाल पुस्तकालय था। प्रति सप्ताह मङ्गलवार को वह अपने छात्रों को घर पर बुलाते थे और पुस्तकें दिखाते थे। साथ ही वह अपने नौकर से परिचय करा कर यह निर्देश दे देते थे कि जब भी कभी किसी को पुस्तक की आवश्यकता हो रजिस्टर पर हस्ताक्षर करा कर उसे वह दे दी जाय।

उस समय फ़्राँस में संस्कृत पढ़ने की रीति भारत से भिन्न थी। यहाँ विश्वविद्यालय की उच्चतम उपाधि 'लिशान्स' (एम० ए० के समकक्ष) ग्रहण करने के पश्चात् विद्यार्थी संस्कृताध्यन की ओर प्रवृत्त होते थे और बड़े मनोयोग से पढ़ते थे। बीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ में फ्रांस में एक संस्कृतज्ञ थे, जिनका नाम था—विक्टर ऑरी। इन्होंने संस्कृत की

प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा के लिए अनेक छात्रोपयोगी पुस्तकें लिखी थीं। ये सब फ्रेञ्च में थीं और इन्हीं के द्वारा लोगों को संस्कृत का बोध कराया जाता था।

सिल्वाँ लेवी के अतिरिक्त जिन दो अन्य विद्वानों के नाम ऊपर लिए गये हैं, उनमें ए० फ़ुशे (A. Foucher) तो भारतीय पुरातत्त्वविद् थे और ज्यूल् ब्लाक भाषावैज्ञानिक थे। 'ल, इण्डो आर्यन्' (L 'Indo Aryan) और 'ला फोर्‌मास्योंड ला लाँग मराठ् (La Formation de La Langue Marathe) अर्थात् मराठी भाषा का स्वरूप—ये इनके प्रमुख ग्रन्थ थे। इन्होंने अपने प्रथम ग्रन्थ में प्रत्येक भारतीय भाषा का परिचय और स्वरूप-विवेचन किया है। दूसरे ग्रन्थ के आधार पर डॉ० सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी ने Origin and Development of Bengali Language और डॉ० बाबूराम सक्सेना ने Evolution of Avadhī तथा डॉ० धीरेन्द्रवर्मा ने ब्रजभाषा पर काम किया। डॉ० चटर्जी तो उन्हें अपना गुरु मानते थे।

उस समय फ़्राँस में उच्च शिक्षा स्त्री-समाज में भी प्रचलित थी। पेरिस में एक महिला थी— श्रीमती विलमैन ग्राबोव्स्का (Madame Willman Grabowska)। वे अत्यन्त विदुषी थी और वेदों के अध्ययन के प्रति इनकी गहरी रुचि थी। 'शतपथब्राह्मण में लिट्' विषय पर इन्होंने अपना शोध प्रबन्ध लिखा था। इनके साथ गुरुवर अय्यर जी ने भाषावैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण से शतपथब्राह्मण का अध्ययन किया था। यह पोलैण्ड की रहने वाली थी। अतः प्रथम महायुद्ध में जब पोलैण्ड स्वतन्त्र हो गया तो वह अपने देश को चली गईं और वहाँ क्राको विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत तथा भाषाविज्ञान की प्रोफ़ेसर नियुक्त हुईं।

सन् १९१७ में पेरिस विश्वविद्यालय से 'डिप्लोमा आव् यूनीवर्सिटी स्टडीज' उपाधि प्राप्तकर आप इंग्लैण्ड चले गये। उस समय एडिनबरा विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत के प्राध्यापक डॉ० ए० बी० कीथ थे। जब उनके निकट जाकर आपने संस्कृत पढ़ने की इच्छा व्यक्त की, तो वह यह जानकर बड़े प्रसन्न हुए कि एक भारतीय छात्र उनसे संस्कृत पढ़ने आया है। उन्होंने एक दिन शाम को अपने घर पर भी बुलाया और बड़ा आतिथ्य किया। आपने उनसे एम० ए० (आनर्स) घर पर करने की इच्छा प्रकट की तो वह कुछ सोच में पड़ गये; क्योंकि उस समय एडिनबरा विश्वविद्यालय में एम० ए० (आनर्स) कराने की व्यवस्था नही थी। वह बोले, "मैं तीस वर्षों से यहाँ अध्यापन कर रहा हूँ, लेकिन आजतक कोई भी विद्यार्थी आनर्स करने नहीं आया।" वह क्या करते? विवश थे और आप को भी बड़ा दुःख हुआ क्योंकि ऐसे अलौकिक प्रतिभासम्पन्न विद्वान् से ज्ञानार्जन न कर सके।

एडिनबरा से निराश होकर आप लन्दन लौट आये। उस समय लन्दन विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत विभागाध्यक्ष थे—प्रो० एल० डी० बार्नेट, जिनका 'इण्डियन ऐण्टिक्विटीज़' विषयक कार्य चिरस्मरणीय है। प्रो० बार्नेट कभी भारत नही आये थे, लेकिन भारत की

कोई ऐसी भाषा नहीं थी, जिसे वह न जानते हों। इसका कारण यह था कि वे लन्दन सङ्ग्रहालय के प्राच्यविभाग के प्रधान थे। वहाँ भारतीय भाषाओं के प्रचुर ग्रन्थसङ्ग्रहालय थे। उनके समुचित वर्गीकरण आदि के लिए उन्होंने भारतीय भाषायें सीख ली थीं।

तामिल, मलयालम आदि भाषाओं के वह प्रायः परीक्षक रहते थे। मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय ने एक बार इन्हें मलयालय का प्राश्निक बनाया। प्रश्नपत्र बनाकर भेजने के पूर्व उन्होंने उसे आप (श्री अय्यर जी) को दिखाया, क्योंकि मलयालम आपकी मातृभाषा थी। प्रश्नपत्र उत्तमोत्तम था। एक सप्ताह पश्चात् उन्होंने आपके पास एक लिफ़ाफ़ा भेजा, जिसमें एक पौण्ड की धनराशि थी। यह पारिश्रमिक उस प्रश्नपत्र के देखने और राय देने का था।

अभी विश्व युद्ध चल रहा था। जर्मनी ने जब बेल्जियम जीता तो कुछ लोगों ने वहाँ से भाग कर इंगलैण्ड में शरण ली। उन लोगों में विख्यात प्राच्यविद्याविद् 'लुई ड ला वाले पुस्से' भी थे। यह बौद्ध धर्म-दर्शन और भारतीय इतिहास के विशिष्ट विद्वान् थे। महायुद्ध में इंग्लैण्ड और बेल्जियम मित्र राष्ट्र थे। अतः इंगलैण्ड ने इन्हें लन्दन विश्वविद्यालय में प्रोफ़ेसर पद पर नियुक्त कर सम्मानित किया। वसुबन्धु के 'अभिधम्मकोश' का सर्वप्रथम फ्रेञ्च रूपान्तर इन्होंने ही किया था। आप को प्रो० पुस्से से 'दिव्यावदान' पढ़ने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ था।

सन् १९१९ में आपने लन्दन विश्वविद्यालय मे एम० ए० की उपाधि ग्रहण की। विश्वविद्यालय के ही एक संस्थान 'स्कूल आव ओरियण्टल स्टडीज़' ने आपको मलयालम का शिक्षक नियुक्त किया। इधर आपके पिता जी भारत लौटने के लिए कह रहे थे। अतः एक वर्ष मलयालय के शिक्षक के रूप में कार्य करने के पश्चात् आप स्वदेश लौट आये।

भारत आकर लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत विभाग में १८ जुलाई सन् १९२१ को आपकी नियुक्ति रीडर और अध्यक्ष के रूप में हुई। विभाग में आपके दूसरे सहाध्यापक देवेन्द्र भट्टाचार्य थे, जिन्होंने दूसरे वर्ष अवकाश प्राप्त कर लिया। तत्पश्चात् आपके द्वारा विशेष प्रयत्न करने पर दो प्राध्यापकों की नियुक्ति हुई—पं० आद्यदत्त ठाकुर और पं० बदरी नाथ शास्त्री। उस समय संस्कृत विभाग में विद्यार्थियों की सङ्ख्या केवल बारह थी। विश्वविद्यालय में हिन्दी और उर्दू का अस्तित्व नहीं था। बाद में आपके ही प्रस्ताव रखने पर हिन्दी और उर्दू का पठन-पाठन वर्नाक्यूलर के रूप में होने लगा। कुछ समय पश्चात् हिन्दी और उर्दू स्वतन्त्र विषय के रूप में स्वीकृत हुये। हिन्दी संस्कृत विभाग के साथ रही और आप ही दोनों के अध्यक्ष थे। अभी तक हिन्दी बी० ए० कक्षा तक ही पढ़ाई जाती थी। बाद में एम० ए० में भी उसे स्थान मिला और कालान्तर में आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव के उपकुलपति काल में हिन्दी विभाग एक स्वतन्त्र विभाग के रूप प्रतिष्ठित हुआ।

छात्रों की सङ्ख्या कम होने पर समय समय पर अनेक बाधायें उपस्थित होती थीं। एक बार शासन ने एक रिट्रेञ्चमेण्ट कमेटी स्थापित की, जिसका उद्देश्य था विश्वविद्यालय के अर्थव्यय को कम करना। इस कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह कहा कि लखनऊ तो सदा से उर्दू और फारसी का क्षेत्र रहा है। अतः यहाँ इन्हीं की पढ़ाई होनी चाहिए और संस्कृत को यहाँ से हटाकर इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय में कर देना चाहिए। इस समय ऐसा लगा कि संस्कृत लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय से सदा के लिए चली जायगी। कमेटी की रिपोर्ट कार्यकारिणी के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत की गई। चारों ओर संस्कृत के प्रति घोर विरोध था।

अतः संस्कृत की रक्षा के लिए बहुत सङ्घर्ष करना पड़ा। सौभाग्यवश उस समय कार्यकारिणी में कुछ राजे—महाराजे संस्कृत के अनन्य भक्त थे। इनमें दो नाम विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं—राजा रामपाल सिंह, कुर्री सिधौली और राजा सूरजबख्श सिंह, कसमण्डा राज्य। आपने उनके समक्ष यह तर्क उपस्थित किया कि जिस प्रकार इलाहाबाद उर्दू और फारसी का क्षेत्र नहीं है तो भी वहाँ के विश्वविद्यालय में दोनों भाषायें पढ़ाई जाती हैं उसी प्रकार यहाँ भी संस्कृत पढ़ाई जानी चाहिए। इस सम्बन्ध में एक बात और उल्लेखनीय है कि लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना होने पर राजा साहेब सिसेण्डी ने संस्कृत के निमित्त ही एक लाख रुपया दान के रूप में दिया था, जिससे संस्कृत विभाग में सिसेण्डी राज्य रीडर पद स्थापित हुआ था। इसी पद पर आप की नियुक्ति हुई थी। सम्पूर्ण विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत के लिए ही इस प्रकार का दान मिला था। अतः यदि संस्कृत यहाँ से हटाई जाती, तो विश्वविद्यालय को एक लाख रुपया सिसेण्डीराज्य को लौटाना पड़ता। जब यह तर्क कार्यकारिणी के संस्कृत भक्त महानुभावों ने प्रस्तुत किया तो संस्कृत बच गई और वह सदा के लिए विश्वविद्यालय में प्रतिष्ठित हो गई। इस प्रकार संस्कृत विभाग के निर्माता और संरक्षक के रूप में आपका नाम लिया जाता है।

संस्कृत विभाग के साथ ही साथ प्राच्य विभाग की समृद्धि और समुन्नति में भी आपका विशेष योगदान रहा है। प्राच्य विभाग तो विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना के पूर्व से कैनिङ्ग कालेज में स्थापित था। आप इस बोर्ड के सदैव संयोजक रहे। प्राचीन ढङ्ग से संस्कृत की पढ़ाई होती रहे, इसके लिए आपने विशिष्ट विद्वानों की नियुक्ति करवाई। ऐसे विद्वानों में पं० गिरीशचन्द्र अवस्थी, पं० घूटर झा, पं० रमाशंकर द्विवेदी, पं० रुद्रप्रसाद अवस्थी और पं० आनन्द झा के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं।

इस प्रकार जीवन पर्यन्त आप संस्कृत की सेवा करते रहे और अवकाश प्राप्त करने पर पूर्णमनोयोग से अपने प्रिय विषय महावैयाकाण भर्तृहरि के 'वाक्यपदीयम्' पर कार्य करने लगे और अद्यावधि उस पर आठ ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित कर चुके हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त मण्डन मिश्र की 'स्फोटसिद्धि' पर आपका कार्य अप्रतिम है। कुछ स्फुट ग्रन्थों की भी रचना आपने की है। सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह—प्रथम भाग 'साहित्य अकादमी' से प्रकाशित हुआ है। अभी हाल में

आपने मलयालम में जो महाभारत है, उसका हिन्दी अनुवाद किया है। वह भी प्रकाशित हो गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त विभिन्न पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में आपके अनेक लेख प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। इस प्रकार स्वाध्याय-प्रवचनरूप परम तप में लीन रहकर आप सन्निधि में आये जिज्ञासु जनों का सदैव इष्ट-सम्पादन और मङ्गल-विधान करते रहते हैं। आपका चरित्र अलौकिक है। उसका सम्यक् वर्णन और आकलन कौन कर सकता है—

'लोकोत्तराणां चेतांसि को हि विज्ञातुमर्हति'।

ऋषिकल्प गुरुदेव प्रो० अय्यर

डा० मोती लाल रस्तोगी

लखनऊ

आदर्श आचार्य सर्वगुणोपेत प्रातःस्मरणीय गुरुदेव प्रो० को० अ० सु० अय्यर ने मेरे जीवन को जितना प्रभावित किया है, उतना सम्भवतः अन्य किसी ने भी नहीं। उनका सा उदार मन, सरल चित्त, शुद्ध हृदय, आचरणविशुद्ध, बहुश्रुत, शिष्यहितैषी, ऋषिकल्प गुरु मिलना अब स्वप्न हो गया है। फ्रांस और इंग्लैण्ड देशों में उच्च शिक्षा ग्रहण करने के बाद भी भारतीय संस्कृति की साकार जीती-जागती प्रतिमूर्ति आपमें देखी जा सकती है। लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत-विभाग की बी० ए० प्रथम वर्ष की कक्षा में २६ वर्ष पूर्व हमें आपका प्रथम दर्शन-लाभ करने का सौभाग्य मिला था, जब आप 'संस्कृत-कल्चर' अध्यापन करने आये थे। हमारा मन, मस्तिष्क और आँखें तभी से आर्य-संस्कृति के उच्च आदर्शों को निरन्तर आपमें चरितार्थ होती देखती रही हैं—आप उसमें सदैव खरे उतरे हैं।

उस समय बी० ए० (संस्कृत) की कक्षा में १३-१४ विद्यार्थी होते थे। विश्वविद्यालय में आज के अशान्त और दूषित वातावरण के विपरीत बड़ा ही शान्त और पवित्र वातावरण था। बी० ए० द्वितीय वर्ष में प्राकृत भाषाओं का सामान्य ज्ञान भी आपने ही कराया था। १९४९-५० में मुझे प्रो० अय्यर के चरणों में एकाकी छात्र के रूप में अध्ययन करने का भी सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ था, जो आज के युग में दुर्लभ है। फलतः मैंने उन्हें और भी निकट से देखा है। उनके अदम्य उत्साह, स्फूर्ति, और कर्त्तव्य-निष्ठा में किञ्चित् भी मैंने कभी कमी नहीं पाई। मुझ एकाकी छात्र को भी ऋषि तुल्य दत्तचित्त होकर अध्यापन करते थे। लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग के इतिहास में वेद-वर्ग लेने वाला मैं दूसरा ही विद्यार्थी था (मुझसे पूर्व केवल एक सत्यवती भार्गव नाम की छात्रा ने वेद-विषय लिया था), किन्तु प्रो० अय्यर के विषय-प्रवेश और अध्यापन प्रणाली से मैं चकित रह जाता था। आज भी उनके अध्यापन-कौशल और विषय-सुस्पष्टता की अमिट छाप मेरे हृदय पर अङ्कित है।

प्रो० अय्यर के अध्यापन की कुछ प्रमुख विशेषतायें ये थीं —

(क) विषय चाहे जितना भी मंजा हो, किन्तु अध्यापन के पूर्व उसे पुनः अध्ययन करना वे अनिवार्य समझते थे।

(ख) विषय से कभी दूर नहीं जाते थे, जबकि लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के अन्य विषयों के लब्ध-प्रतिष्ठ अनेक विद्वान् इस दोष से युक्त थे।

(ग) विषय से सम्बद्ध और उपयुक्त सामग्री इतनी प्रचुर मात्रा में और ऐसे वैज्ञानिक और व्यवस्थित ढङ्ग से देते थे कि पुस्तकें पढ़ने और उनसे नोट्स बनाने की अधिक आवश्यकता प्रतीत नहीं होती थी ।

(घ) विषय जितना ही क्लिष्ट और गूढ होता था, उसका प्रतिपादन उतनी ही सरल और रोचक विधि से किया करते थे ।

(ङ) गम्भीर विषयों और ग्रन्थस्थलों पर प्रश्न करने पर, स्वयं उसका अध्ययन करने के अनन्तर ही उत्तर देते थे ।

(च) साहित्य, दर्शन, वेद, पालि, प्राकृत और धर्मशास्त्रादि में से जिस किसी विषय का भी अध्यापन करते थे, लगता था उसमें पूर्ण रूपेण पारङ्गत हैं और उस विषय में उनके गम्भीर ज्ञान की थाह पाना दुष्कर था ।

अपने छात्रों के उज्ज्वल भविष्य का प्रो० अय्यर को सदैव ध्यान रहता था । उनकी दूर-दर्शिता और सम्मति का ही परिणाम था कि एम० ए० में उत्तीर्ण होने के बाद से ही शोध-कार्य करने और तदर्थ अपना पुस्तकालय बनाने का मैंने दृढ़ सङ्कल्प कर लिया था। उनकी कृपा से ६० रु० प्रतिमास (छात्रवृत्ति के रूप में) प्राप्त धन राशि से सन् ५२ तक लगभग १५०० रु० की पुस्तकें क्रय कर ली थीं, और प्रतिवर्ष आज भी अनेक पुस्तकें उसमें बढ़ती रहती हैं । फलतः अपने अध्ययन के लिए मुझे लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के टैगोर पुस्तकालय पर कभी भी अधिक अवलम्बित नहीं रहना पड़ा ।

प्रो० अय्यर के ही सत्परामर्श ने मुझे १६५२ में 'तुलनात्मक भाषा विज्ञान' का सम्यक् ज्ञान प्राप्त्यर्थ कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय के डा० सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी और डा० सुकुमार सेन प्रभृति गुरुजनों के चरणों में स्थान दिलाया । १६५५ में उन्होंने ही हमें Summer School of Linguistics में प्रवेश हेतु लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय से Decean College, Poona भेजा। साथ ही देवीस्वरूपा माता जी के साथ, अपने शोध-कार्य के सम्बन्ध में, स्वयं भी पूना पहुंच गए और हमारे कालेज के ही एक भवन में निवास किया । कालेज में प्रति शुक्रवार के दिन सायंकाल एक विशेष साहित्यिक, सांस्कृतिक कार्य-क्रम होता था और तत्पश्चात् सह-भोज । माता जी और प्रो० अय्यर मेरे आग्रह पर उसमें अनेक बार सम्मिलित हुए थे। प्रो० अय्यर के साथ पूना में हुई परिचर्चा और उनके सौजन्य से प्राप्त विद्वज्जनों का आशीर्वाद मैं जीवन में कभी भुला नहीं सकता ।

प्रो० अय्यर के से वीतराग आचार्य दुर्लभ ही होते हैं । इस सम्बन्ध में दो-तीन घटनायें उल्लेखनीय हैं—

(i) लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय में १६४८ तक संस्कृत और हिन्दी विभाग एक था । प्रो० अय्यर ही उसके अध्यक्ष थे । १६४८ के बाद ही हिन्दी विभाग एक स्वतन्त्र विभाग

हो गया, किन्तु प्रो० अय्यर का वरद हस्त उसे पूर्ववत् ही प्राप्त होता रहा। उनके मनमें हिन्दी और हिन्दीजनों के प्रति कभी कोई विकार उत्पन्न नहीं हुआ।

(ii) सन् १६५१ में लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय में १६वाँ अखिल भारतीय प्राच्य सम्मेलन हुआ था। उसके प्रवन्ध के समय प्रो० अय्यर वाराणसी में थे और उसकी व्यवस्थासम्वन्धी उनके उत्तरदायित्व का निर्वहण श्रद्धेय स्व०डा० कान्ति चन्द्र पाण्डेय ने किया था। प्रो० अय्यर कान्फ्रेंस के कुछ दिन पूर्व ही लखनऊ वापिस आये थे। सम्मेलन के कुछ वरिष्ठ प्रतिनिधियों से डा० पाण्डेय की कुछ झड़प हो गई और बात बहुत बढ़ गई। प्रो० अय्यर के ही प्रयास से सब शान्त हुआ, किन्तु प्रो० अय्यर ने सम्मेलन के बाद ही सब भुला दिया। डा० पाण्डे के प्रति उनके व्यवहार में कोई अन्तर नहीं आने पाया।

(iii) लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग की लगभग ३६ वर्ष सेवा करने के पश्चात् वह सेवाविमुक्त होने वाले थे, और केवल ४-५ दिन ही अवशिष्ट थे। प्रो० अय्यर के कमरे में उनके साथ मैं और (स्व०) पं० गया प्रसाद जी ही थे। पं० जी अय्यर साहव के प्रमुख शिष्यों में से थे और प्रारम्भ से ही उनके निकट थे। पं० जी को फलित ज्योतिष् का भी वड़ा अच्छा ज्ञान था। अय्यर साहव की ओर देखते हुए मैंने पं० जी से प्रश्न किया—'पं० जी! यह वताइये कि साहव लखनऊ में ही रहेंगे या वाहर जा रहे हैं?' अय्यर साहव के मुख पर कोई चिन्ता, व्यग्रता या उदासी न थी। पं० जी ने एक-दो मिनट के लिए आँख बन्द कर (यह उनका स्वभाव था) गणना कर के तुरन्त उत्तर दिया—'वावू जी लखनऊ के बाहर नहीं जा रहे हैं'। पं० जी के उत्तर से भी उनके मुख पर कोई विकार नहीं आया। अगले सप्ताह प्रो० अय्यर लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के उप-कुलपति के रूप में सर्वसम्मति से निर्वाचित कर लिये गए।

प्रो० अय्यर का हृदय जैसा शान्त और स्वच्छ है, वैसा ही शान्त और स्वच्छ उनका बंगला (भवन) भी मैंने पाया है। सन् ४६ से अब तक मैं बराबर देखता आ रहा हूँ, उसे तद्रूप ही पाया है। बंगले के आस-पास आमूल परिवर्त्तन हो चुके हैं, किन्तु प्रो० अय्यर के बँगले के भीतर अभी भी वही शान्ति, स्वच्छता और पवित्रता विद्यमान है।

संस्कृत विभाग को छोड़े प्रो० अय्यर को १८ वर्ष हो रहे हैं। उनके स्वास्थ्य में पर्याप्त गिरावट आ चुकी है, किन्तु उनके उत्साह और उनकी निष्ठा में कोई कमी नहीं आई है।

अपने स्वाध्याय और शोध-कार्य में वह पूर्ववत् ही लगे हुए हैं। भर्तृहरि के 'वाक्यपदीयम्' पर वह ७ भाग प्रकाशित भी कर चुके हैं, ८ वां प्रकाशित हो रहा है और ९ वाँ भाग भी लगभग तैय्यार है।

ऋषितुल्य पूज्यपाद गुरुदेव अय्यर साहब को परम पिता परमेश्वर शतायु प्रदान करे—यही मेरी कामना है

MY REMINISCENCES ABOUT PROF. K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER

Prof. G. Marulsiddaiah

MYSORE

Generally, we assess others from their service in a field and their behaviour in Society. Exact antecedents of this Professor are unfortunately not in my possession and hence my recollection is purely on my associations on a few occasions and his valuable research in the field of Grammar in general and *Vākyapadīya* in particular.

I have no idea of his administrative skill and my information about his balance even in that direction is just a report. As a junior associate in many All India Oriental Conferences, I could see him at a distance and hear him speak or read his research articles. Those were days when we enjoyed sight-seeings more than the academic value of the Conference. I confess this frankly as I took much time to come into contact with Prof. Iyer, as well as many more scholars like Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Prof. S.K. Chatterjee, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. R. N. Dandekar and a host of others. It is just a decade since I took interest in Professor Iyer's works.

My two contacts with him were closer only in Ujjain when we met there for "Kālidāsa Samaroh" four years ago, and also for the All India Oriental Conference in 1972. It so happened that I and Mrs. and Prof. Iyer were put in the same block for lodging. Then I could see the man and the scholar in him with all humility of a saint never giving any sign of his once being a Vice-Chancellor. This forbearance from the usual cloak of false pretension to dignity is the proof for classifying him in the top and to know that Sanskrit culture has influenced his heart also. This is a rare phenomenon that hardly awaits almost all modern great scholars. The baseless mantle of meaningless dignity of vain white collars is not in our professor. Equally reverbatory is his wife who has wonderfully attuned herself to the fine fruits of Indian culture and society. Here, the wife is wilfully a silent spectator during discussions by her husband without creating an opportunity for making her presence felt.

It is rather very exemplary that Vice-Chancellors of today (Retired) would go after retirement to Libraries to add to their experience in research works instead of waiting at the doors of Ministers and politicians for

gubernatorial or other kinds of lucrative employments. I do not know what chances or prospects Prof. Iyer had in this respect.

As a scholar my contact with him is scanty. Except his books and articles, I had very little opportunity to evaluate the Professor. His works, especially on "*Vākyapadīya*" are his masterpieces. All the three volumes, I got to our Oriental Research Institution. Even a cursory glance of these precious volumes would reveal how great are his pains to acquire such a deep scholarship especially in "*Bhartṛhari*", a ground work in grammar consolidating exhaustively the principles and philosophy of grammar, one of the most difficult and important branches of Indian *Śāstra's* or Sciences. A compendium on grammar is "*Bhartṛhari*" and the two special volumes on "*Vākyapadīya*" are works standing to his credit permanently.

Thus, my reminiscences on Prof. K.A. Subramania Iyer, however scanty, are evergreen in my memory. I only pray for his sustaining health and happiness.

MY REMINISCENCES OF PROFESSOR IYER

Dr. P. L. Bhargava

JAIPUR

Professor K.A. Subramania Iyer is one of those few men whom to know is to like. He combines in himself many great and uncommon qualities of head and heart. He is a profound scholar of Sanskrit and has mastery over a number of other languages also, such as English, French, German and Hindi, besides his own mother-tongue Malayalam. He is a thorough gentleman with charming manners and disarming humility. He is a very good conversationalist with a very subtle sense of humour. Above all, he is one of those very few teachers whose lectures provided such a happy blending of pleasure and profit that no student could ever think of missing them. Like many others, I had the good fortune of learning at his feet for four years from 1927 to 1931 while I was studying for my B.A. and M.A. degrees at the Lucknow University. The number of students who offered Sanskrit in those days was very small. We were a batch of eight students when we were preparing for our M.A. examination. The staff of the Sanskrit Department consisted of three teachers headed by Professor Iyer. I still remember the absorbing interest which we felt in his exposition of the *Kāvya-Prakāśa* and the Ṛgvedic hymns which aroused interest in me to study Vedic history and culture in greater detail at a later period. Notwithstanding the thoroughness of his exposition, he gave full opportunity to his students for discussion and removal of difficulties. There were of course lighter moments also when some students indulged in innocent mischief. On such occasions Professor Iyer's sense of humour always succeeded in putting the mischief-maker in the wrong. I still vividly remember one such occasion. One day when Professor Iyer had just started his lesson in *Kāvya-Prakāśa*, one of my class-fellows who for some reason was not in a studious mood that day pricked his pencil in the back of another student who felt so tickled that he could not resist an outburst of laughter. Professor Iyer naturally enquired what made him laugh and the student told him the truth. At this Professor Iyer laughingly remarked. "I see, when his wit fails he uses his pencil", and the whole class laughed at the expense of the student who had used his pencil in that peculiar way.

Professor Iyer fully realised the importance of extra-curricular activities in the making of a student and with this object in view he established the Jñānavardhinī Sabhā which conducted such activities as debates and dramas. I still remember how the enactment of the law court scene from the *Mṛcchakaṭika* by the students and the staff of the Sanskrit Department, including Professor Iyer in 1930 was hailed by the audience.

Professor Iyer impressed his students not only by his learning, culture and refinement but also by his progressive views in social matters. A class-fellow of mine who happened to be very orthodox and conservative in his outlook once asked Professor Iyer as to when, according to him, a girl should be married. "Not a day before eighteen", was Professor Iyer's firm reply.

Professor Iyer has always been the friend, philosopher and guide of his students and has never grudged them any help which they deserved. His love of learning is so great that even after his retirement he has been busy enriching Sanskrit literature by his monumental work on Bhartṛhari and his contribution to Sanskrit grammar. Fortunately, he has got a very worthy life-partner and that is one of the secrets of his active life at this age. We all pray to God to spare him for many more years for serving the most precious heritage of our country.

PROF. K. A. S. IYER—AS I KNOW HIM

Shri Radha Krishna

HARDOI

Prof. K. A. S. Iyer has shed lusture and dignity on the cultural and academic life of Lucknow for about half a century now by his erudition, devotion, wide range of study and simplicity of character. He came to Lucknow in about 1921 and the impact of his noble bearing and scholarship was immediately felt by everyone who happened to come in his contact. And they were not few. Students from all over the country flocked to study and to research at his feet and under his guidance. The department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Launguages in the University of Lucknow is his creation, which he headed from the start and which attained all-India reputation under his stewardship. When the old Govt. Sanskrit College, Varanasi was raised to the status of the University, it was Prof. Iyer who was mainly responsible for effecting the smooth change over and for selecting the Faculty with his wide contacts and with the influence and respect that he commanded among the scholars all over the country.

It was natural that a person of such stature and eminence should have been unanimously requested by the Executive Council on the initiative of Shri Chandra Bhanu Gupta to head the University of Lucknow. Prof. Iyer discharged the duties of the Vice-Chancellor with equal ease and grace and impartiality, but resigned before his term was over. He was, however, persuaded by Shri Sampurnanand to take charge of Varanasi Sanskrit Vishva-Vidyalaya which badly needed the guidance of a savant. Prof. Iyer, as Vice-Chancellor of that old seat of learning, soon after assumption of office, gave it a new orientation and instilled sense of purpose and mission in the Faculty and amongst the students.

While talking of Prof. Iyer one cannot miss Dr. (Mrs.) T. S. Iyer, his life partner, the noble *Ardhāṅginī* (अर्धाङ्गिनी). A more devoted couple can hardly be imagined. She is a lady of great attainments and equally great charm. Coming from distant Poland, she made India her home by choice and imbibed its culture and traditions with such ease that it is hard to believe that she was born and bred under an altogether different

environment. She is a medical practitioner by profession but she has never shirked the house-hold chores, infact, she takes pleasure in doing her duties as a house wife. It is always a pleasure and privilege to meet this old couple, enjoy the hospitality of Mrs. Iyer and hear interesting anecdotes from Prof. Iyer.

May Prof. and Mrs. Iyer remain healthy and happy throughout their life and continue to enrich the cultural, social and academic life of the country and inspire the younger generation by their noble example.

MY TEACHER

Dr. Navjivan Rastogi

LUCKNOW

Roaming in past is always fascinating particularly when one gets an opportunity to recount his experiences and association with a person who has filled in one's ideal of a true teacher. To be a true teacher is to be a great teacher—but this greatness grows from within, it is a spontaneous reflection of self-culture one has subjected oneself to. My association with Prof. Iyer, who always figured in my consciousness as गुरूणां गुरुः, constitutes a very important chapter in my personal socio-academic life. It was a rare privilege to know Prof. Iyer in entirely different perspective and in a very strange set of circumstances.

It sounds very strange when I say that I did not have an occasion to be taught by him and yet I consider myself to be his student. I was never his classroom student. While I joined B.A during 1955 he was teaching post-graduate classes. When I came to post-graduate classes he had retired as Prof. of Sanskrit and became the Vice-Chancellor of the University. It was until very late that I had an opportunity to discuss Bhartṛhari with him when my doctoral thesis on the Krama System of Kashmir was in advance stage. I shall ever remain indebted to him for unfolding to me twin ideas of शब्दपूर्वयोग and शब्दसंस्कार which have gone a long way in shaping the doctorine of विकल्पसंस्कार posited as a fundamental tenet of the Krama branch of Kashmir Śaivism. It was an experience and an opportunity to have a glimpse of his intensive knowledge and vast command over the subject. It was again a rare privilege when he passed his several research papers on to me for my use.

But my real story begins with not knowing him as a teacher, but as a teacher in the midst of tumultuous and chaotic administrative-cum-academic situations. It was here that I saw his perfect calm, poise of mind, serenity of purpose and regard for human values.

Here comes my first anecdote. I was in B. A. I and was persuaded to contest for the Secretaryship of the Sanskrit Jñānavardhinī Sabhā, the reputed association of the Sanskrit Department of the Lucknow University. When election fever ran high and the canvassing was in full swing I had a

bolt from the blue as I was told that my nomination paper was likely to be rejected as only B A. II students could stand for the Secretary's office. The then Returning Officer, Dr. S.V. Singh (later Prof. & Head of the Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University), pleaded his helplessness in the matter in view of the prevalent practice. My prestige was at stake and the very thought of sarcastic smiles on the faces of my opponents at the unceremonious withdrawal filled me with a feeling of dread unknown earlier. I was in a fix and the votes were going to be cast the next day. The departmental peon, Pt. Becha Lal, counselled me to contact Prof. Iyer who was the Head of the Department. I requested the latter to see if there was any thing in the constitution of the Jñānavardhinī that barred a B.A.I student from seeking election to Secretaryship. Prof. Iyer could see through the fallacy and allowed me to contest.

Second anecdote is more important. I do not remember the exact time but it was long after the student movement, that I led as President of the Lucknow University Students' Union, had subsided and I was released from jail when I called on him. Though temperamently cool and physically active, I found him less exuberant and tired. My drawing his attention to it brought back the remark, 'Navjivan, you have finished me.' This sentence revealed in a flash of moment the amount of severe strain he had undergone due to the student movement. I could not speak a word and personally I shall never be able to forgive myself. It is altogether a different matter that the student movement, for the first time, addressed itself to the real problems and academic ills that confronted the Lucknow University. What is more important is to note how in the midst of tumultuous, fast and impersonal series of events the course of which was determined and dictated by historical dynamics of the forces that mattered a very personal feeling, a very personal attachment, howsoever feeble, could survive and underrun the whole gamut of events. It is this personal element that makes me feel guilty even today so far as Prof. Iyer is concerned.

This personal touch was manifest more than once. I vividly remember of my calling on Prof. Iyer just after I was released from jail. He was not at home. Mrs. Iyer, whom we call Mata Ji out of respect, greeted me and offered me Sharbat. I was overwhelmed by this token of her affection. She made all the enquiries about my well-being and conveyed to me the anxious moments Prof. Iyer had during my imprisonment. I could gather from the spirit of her talk that Prof. Iyer deeply

regretted his inability in not being able to prevent my arrest. I know he was not at all at fault because I am quite sure when the historical forces are released in full velocity and events adopt their natural course, one has to remain a mute spectator.

As was natural, he grew so much averse to political wranglings and administrative tensions that he was no longer inclined to be associated with any academic Institution in administrative position and wanted to carry through his academic plans peacefully. It was after a great deal of personal pursuation by the then Chancellor Sri V. V. Giri and the then Education Minister of U. P. Pt. Kamlapati Tripathi that he could, with great reluctance, reconcile to accepting the office of the Vice-Chancellor of Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyālaya. This he disclosed to me later on.

There are many other incidents that I have treasured in my memory. Lack of space does not permit me to come out with all of them. Not that Prof. Iyer does not have week aspect of his personality; like all other human beings he has them and has them in abundance. He suffers from one great weakness—he is too good. His extreme simplicity and catholicity completely reverse the Aristotelian doctrine of Mean. Too much of gentleness and kindness in this wicked and wretched world only go for the encouragement and perpetuation of the mean and the scrupulous and the latter thrive at the cost of the former. But optimist as I am, I consider this weakness as a source of intrinsic strength, because so long as there remains even one such person who leads the life of a true human against the dehumanizing odds of the present world, the future of humanity will reman safe and bright.

I bow in respect. He is my teacher.

गुरदेव, मैं और अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्

गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह

लखनऊ

मुझे गुरुदेव, प्रो० को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर, के सर्वप्रथम शिष्यों में होने का गौरव और सौभाग्य प्राप्त है। लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना १६२० के उत्तरार्द्ध में हुई और उसके द्वारा आयोजित परीक्षाएं सर्वप्रथम १६२२ में हुई। १६२२ में ही मैंने उक्त विश्वविद्यालय से बी० ए० किया और १६२४ में एम० ए० तथा एल-एल० बी०। लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना के साथ ही गुरुदेव भी उसके संस्कृत विभाग के अध्यक्ष नियुक्त होकर आये। उसी वर्ष में बी० ए० के प्रथम वर्ष से द्वितीय वर्ष में आया था। बी० ए० में मैंने संस्कृत ली थी और एम० ए० भी मैंने संस्कृत में ही किया। इस प्रकार मुझे गुरुदेव के श्रीचरणों में बैठकर संस्कृत पढ़ने का सौभाग्य तीन वर्ष मिल सका, जिसे मैं अपने जीवन का स्वर्ण युग समझता हूं।

लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना के समय उसका एक मात्र कालेज कैनिंग कालेज था। उक्त कालेज उसके पूर्व इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय से सम्बद्ध था और उसके संस्कृत विभाग में उस समय दो ही अध्यापक थे—मुख्य ओर पं० देवेन्द्र नाथ चक्रवर्ती और प्राच्य खण्ड में पं० रामकृष्ण शास्त्री थट्टे। प० देवेन्द्र नाथ चक्रवर्ती कैनिंग कालेज में बहुत दिनों से पढ़ा रहे थे और शायद एक वर्ष बाद ही सेवानिवृत्त होने वाले थे। वे पहले से यह आसरा लगाये बैठे थे कि विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना होने पर उसके संस्कृत विभाग के अध्यक्ष वे ही होंगे। इसलिए जब ऐसा नहीं हुआ और विभागाध्यक्ष हो गये हमारे गुरुदेव तो उन्हें बड़ा क्षोभ हुआ, जिसे वे मुझ जैसे पुराने छात्रों के सामने समय समय पर किंचित आक्रोश के साथ व्यक्त कर दिया करते थे। गुरुदेव के सामने इसकी चर्चा मैंने स्वयं तो कभी नहीं की, पर यह बात इतनी फैल चुकी थी कि, मैं समझता हूं, गुरुदेव उससे अनभिज्ञ न रहे होंगे। किन्तु वे तो बिलकुल योगी हैं और इतना विशाल हृदय पाया है कि चक्रवर्ती जी के प्रति उनके सौजन्यपूर्ण व्यवहार में कभी कोई अन्तर नहीं आने पाया।

प्राच्य संस्कृत अनुभाग के प्राध्यापक, पं० रामकृष्ण शास्त्री थट्टे, पुराने विचारों के कट्टरपंथी ब्राह्मण थे और क्रोध भी उन्हें कुछ जल्दी आ जाया करता था। गुरुदेव संस्कृत की शिक्षा विदेश में प्राप्त करके आये थे और उनकी सहधर्मिणी (हम लोगों की पूज्य माता जी) भी विदेशी महिला थीं। अतः शास्त्री जी उन्हें सदा हेय दृष्टि से देखा करते थे। किन्तु गुरुदेव पर इसका भी कभी कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा। शास्त्री जी जिस कमरे में

बैठकर अपने छात्रों को पढ़ाया करते थे वह दोपहर में लगभग १२ बजे तक ख़ाली रहता था; शास्त्री जी की कक्षाएं देर से आरम्भ होती थीं और वे भी देर से ही कालेज आया करते थे। एम० ए० में हम चार छात्र थे और चारों ने विशेष विषय के रूप में वेद ले रखा था। वेद (Hymns from the Ṛgveda by Peter Peterson) हमें गुरुदेव ही पढ़ाया करते थे। हमारी वेद की कक्षा का समय शास्त्री जी के आने से पहले का था। इसलिए वेद हम उन्हीं के कमरे में बैठकर पढ़ लिया करते थे और उन्हें इसका पता भी नहीं चल पाता था। एक दिन शास्त्री जी कुछ जल्दी आ गये। उस समय हमारी वेद की कक्षा समाप्त ही हो रही थी। उन्होंने देख लिया कि हम उनके कमरे में बैठकर गुरुदेव से वेद पढ़ रहे हैं। गुरुदेव के सामने तो उन्होंने कुछ नहीं कहा किन्तु बाद में हम लोगों पर बहुत रुष्ट हुए और कहा कि मेरे कमरे में बैठकर उस व्रात्य से वेद न पढ़ा करो, मुझे यह नहीं पसन्द है। हमने यह बात जब गुरुदेव से कही तो वे मुस्करा कर रह गये और कहा कि दूसरे दिन से वेद की कक्षा किसी और ही कमरे में चलायी जायेगी। उन्होंने न तो शास्त्री जी से कुछ कहा और न उनके कमरे में पढ़ाना जारी ही रखा, यद्यपि विभागाध्यक्ष होने के नाते वे दोनों ही कार्य कर सकते थे, विशेषकर जब कि शिक्षण-कक्षों की उन दिनों बड़ी कमीं थी।

गुरुदेव का व्यवहार अपने अधीनस्थ अन्य सहयोगियों (पं० आद्यादत्त ठक्कुर और पं० बदरी नाथ शास्त्री) के प्रति भी बड़ा ही सौम्य और सम्मानपूर्ण था, जिसका प्रभाव उन पर भी पड़े बिना नहीं रहा। यही कारण था कि उन दिनों विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग का वातावरण इतना शुद्ध और सौहार्दपूर्ण था कि देखते ही बनता था।

गुरुदेव अपने छात्रों से स्नेह भी करते थे और उनका समुचित आदर भी, जो बिरले ही अध्यापक करते होंगे। इसलिए ऐसा कोई भी छात्र नहीं था जो उन्हें पितृतुल्य न मानता रहा हो।

गुरुदेव के पढ़ाने का ढंग भी बहुत ही रोचक और वैदुष्य-प्रदर्शन से बहुत दूर रहता था। मुझे उन्होंने काव्य, वेद, व्याकरण, प्रातिशाख्य, गृह्य-सूत्र, दर्शन सभी विषयों को पढ़ायाँ; किन्तु इनमें से जो भी विषय वे पढ़ाते थे उसके पढ़ाते समय जान पड़ता था कि वे उसी के विशेषज्ञ हैं। कोई भी विषय हो, उसे पढ़ाते समय वे ऐसी ऐसी नयी बातें निकाला करते थे और ऐसे ऐसे नये दृष्टिकोण प्रस्तुत किया करते थे कि उनकी अलौकिक प्रतिभा पर आश्चर्य हुए बिना नहीं रहता था।

गुरुदेव का सद्व्यवहार, अथाह विद्वत्ता, विद्याप्रदत्त विनय और अलौकिक शिक्षण-पद्धति से सभी छात्रों में उनके प्रति प्रगाढ़ श्रद्धा और स्नेह उत्पन्न करने के लिए पर्याप्त थे।

दो शब्दों में माता जी (श्रीमती अय्यर) के विषय में भी कह देना आवश्यक समझता हूं। विद्या के क्षेत्र में गुरुदेव ने जो यश अर्जित किया है उसका श्रेय

बहुत कुछ माता जी की भी है। गुरुदेव की सभी आवश्यकताओं को पूरी करती रहना, उनके चित को सदा प्रसन्न रखना और सभी चिन्ताओं को अपने में ही समेटकर उन्हें चिन्तामुक्त बनाये रखना ही माता जी के जीवन का ध्येय रहा है। इधर कुछ दिनों से गुरुदेव का स्वास्थ्य कुछ गिर गया है। तब से, स्वयं अस्वस्थ होते हुए भी, वे उनका और भी ध्यान रखने लगी हैं। उनके भोजन, शयन, अध्ययन, भ्रमण, यहां तक कि उनकी पूरी दिनचर्या, पर ही माता जी का शासन रहता है। वे जहां समझेंगी कि गुरुदेव का जाना अनावश्यक या अवांछित है वहां वे उन्हें कदापि न जाने देंगी और जहां उनका जाना ठीक समझेंगी वहां उन्हें अकेले न जाने देकर स्वयं भी साथ जायेंगी। ऐसे में अनेक स्थानों पर जाकर उन्हें अन्दर अन्दर ऊबना ही पड़ता होगा; किन्तु ऊबने का भाव उनके चेहरे पर आज तक कोई पढ़ नहीं पाया। माता जी जन्म से अभारतीय होते भी वेष-भूषा और रहन-सहन में पूरी भारतीय हैं। साथ ही, यूरोपीय महिलाओं के जितने अच्छे गुण हैं वे भी उनमें पूरी मात्रा में विद्यमान हैं। उनके घर में मेरा प्रवेश केवल बैठके या गोल कमरे तक ही हुआ है; किन्तु वहां जाते आते मैंने अगल बगल के अन्य कक्षों का भी, दूर से ही क्यों न हो, बहुत कुछ सर्वेक्षण कर लिया है। बैठके और इन कक्षों की सफाई पर पाश्चात्य रहन-सहन की और सज्जा पर प्राच्य सुरुचि और कलाप्रियता की छाप स्पष्ट है। गोल कमरे में जलभरे ताम्रपात्रों में गुलाब की पंखुड़ियां और उपयुक्त स्थान पर रखे धातु-निर्मित दीपस्तम्भ माता जी की भारतीयता के परिचायक हैं। मैं गुरुदेव के अन्य छात्रों के विषय में कुछ नहीं कह सकता; किन्तु मेरे लिए तो माता जी बिल्कुल मेरी माता के ही समान हैं। मेरे ऊपर उनका स्नेह अथाह है। माता जी हँसमुख और विनोदी भी बहुत हैं। अभी थोड़े ही दिन हुए मुझे टोपी पहने देखकर कहने लगीं कि आप टोपी न पहना करें, टोपी पहनकर आप बुड्ढे लगने लगते हैं।

गुरुदेव के विषय में कोई भी संस्मरण या वक्तव्य हो अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद् के साथ उनका जो सम्बन्ध रहा है उसकी चर्चा बिना वह अधूरा ही रहेगा। इस प्रकार की एक संस्था की स्थापना की प्रेरणा सर्वप्रथम उन्होंने ही दी। उसके बाद १९५१ की वह सभा जिसमें इस परिषद् की स्थापना का सन्निश्चय हुआ था उन्हीं के निवासस्थान पर हुई थी। 'सोसाइटीज रजिस्ट्रेशन ऐक्ट' के अधीन उसके निबन्धन के लिए जो समवायपत्र (मेमोरैण्डम आफ़ ऐसोसियेशन) निष्पादित हुआ उसपर सबसे ऊपर उन्हीं के हस्ताक्षर हुए। वे परिषद् के स्थायी पारिषद् बनने वालों में भी अग्रणी रहे हैं। परिषद् की कार्यकारिणी समिति के सदस्य तो वे आरम्भ से लेकर अब तक चले आ रहे हैं। इस समय वे परिषद् द्वारा संचालित शोध-संस्थान के निदेशक, 'ऋतम्' के सम्पादक-मण्डल के वरिष्ठ सदस्य तथा परिषद् के हस्तलिखित-ग्रन्थ-संग्रह-गत हस्तलेखों की विवरणात्मक सूचियों (डिस्क्रिप्टिव कैटलाग्स) के प्रधान सम्पादक हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त, इसी वर्ष वे परिषद् के अध्यक्ष भी पुन: निर्वाचित हो गये हैं। इस सबके लिए परिषद् उनकी सदा ऋणी रहेगी।

PROF. IYER—A LIVING LEGEND[1]

Dr. S. N. Pandeya

FAIZABAD

If you are to know a man, goes the saying, know him by his dog or by his neighbours. I have known Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, not by himself nor by his dog (I don't know whether he has any or not), but by his neighbours. And the neighbours of a man who has been, throughout his life, in the teaching profession, are his colleagues and students, and (as he has been holding a high chair), his assistants and associates. My media, and the best of them, I think, have been his students and disciples, all of whom, without a single exception, regard him as a divine being, a comminglement of the best of manhood and godhood.

One may be a great scholar, but he may not be a man; one may be a 'man', but he may not be a great scholar; but a combination of both is very rare—something which is as easy to talk of as it is difficult to be practised. The incredulous 'we' of this generation, who are the 'grandsons' (to quote the epithet fondly used by my Gurudeva, the Late Dr. P. C. Lahiri of Calcutta) of Prof. Iyer and his compeers cannot believe that a man may simultaneously be so good and so great as Prof. Iyer is. To us whose notion is (not without any foundation) that today a man cannot be 'great' without being 'mean'. Prof. Iyer, a holy confluence of super-scholarship and super-humanity, is a living legend, or practically, a disbelief. One of the most eminent sanskrit scholars of the present century India, and so sweet, so humble, so innocent!

Prof. Iyer was born on 7th September 1896 at Palghat in Kerala, the eldest child of Sri K. V. A. Iyer and Smt. Ranganayaki Ammal. He received his early education at Kalighat, Palghat and Kalikat in Kerala. At Kalikat, besides his College education, he studied Sanskrit Lexicons under a traditional Sanskrit Pandit—Sri Narayana Sastri. Then, for higher education he went abroad.

In 1914 he took admission in the University of Paris and there Prof. Sylvain Lévi had been one of his teachers. After three years' stay at Paris,

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1. Most of the data regarding Prof Iyer, I owe to Dr. J. P. Sinha of the Department of Sanskrit, Lucknow University, who is never tired of talking incessantly of his 'peerless teacher'.

he went to the London University wherefrom he took his Master's Degree in 1918. At London the subjects of his special study were Literature and Linguistics. There Dr. Barnett and Mrs. Rhys Davids were his Professors, besides many other distinguished names.

It would be sheer ingratitude not to allude to one name in this connection, viz., that of Dr. Raimond Von Marle, whose part in the making of what Prof. Iyer is—has been no less significant than any other factor. An intimate friend of Prof. Iyer's father, a Dutch gentleman and a great authority on European Art and Painting whose voluminous history on the subject has won universal admiration, took Prof. Iyer with him to France, and kept him as his guest for three years at Paris. During his stay at Paris, Prof. Iyer had the opportunity to travel several European Countries, viz., Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Italy etc.

In 1921 Prof. Iyer came back to India and was appointed Reader and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages in the University of Lucknow. In 1948 he was made Professor and Head of the same department. As a Head, he has never been a headache to any one of those around and under him, but always a soothing balm to each and every one.

In 1950-51, at the insistence of Dr. Sampurnanand, he went to Varanasi as Principal of the Govt. Sanskrit College (the present Sampurnanand Sanskrit University) and there he remodelled the entire syllabus and made it capable of keeping pace with the modern times, without least disturbing the ancient traditions of Sanskrit learning. Then again he came back to Lucknow and rejoined as Prof. and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages.

In 1954 Prof. Iyer led a delegation of University teachers and students to the Soviet Union where he visited numerous Universities and other academic institutions.

In 1957 he retired from the Professorship of the Sanskrit Department of the Lucknow University, whereafter he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the same University, and then, of Sanskrit University, Varanasi. Disgusted with the 'politics' at Varanasi that heavily told upon his mind and body, he resigned the Vice-Chancellorship of the Sanskrit University and returned to Lucknow. In 1958 he went to U. K. at the invitation of the British Council and delivered lectures at numerous educational centres.

Being trained on both lines—the Oriental and the Occidental Prof. Iyer combines in himself a first-rate critical acumen as well as a wonderful penetration into the knots of original texts. One may still hear from his students fascinating stories about Prof. Iyer, the teacher, who had been so loving, so loved, always crystal clear to whether it be an immature undergraduate or a postgraduate or a research scholar of maturer mind. Ever smiling, ever soft, ever affectionate! And I have been told that never did even a fly buzz in his class. Such was his magic as a teacher. Philosophy or Religion, Veda or Literature, Grammar or Linguistics, whatever he taught, he seemed to be the best master of. He may be called 'a moving encyclopaedia'.

Apart from the above-mentioned jobs held by him, Prof. Iyer has been associated with a number of universities and institutions in various capacities, a brief of which is given below :

1. Convenor of the Oriental Sanskrit Department of the Lucknow University ;
2. Member of the Lucknow University Executive Council and other bodies ;
3. Member of the Academic Council of Benares Hindu University ;
4. Member of the Syndicate of the Roorkee University ;
5. Member of the Arts Faculty and Academic Council of the Allahabad University ;
6. Member of the Executive Council of the Benares Sanskrit University ;
7. Part-time Lecturer in French in Lucknow University ;
8. Founder-Life-Member, Member of the Executive Committee, Chief Editor of the Catalogues of Manuscripts published by the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow and Director of the Research Institute run by the said Parishad, besides having been twice elected its President.

Prof. Iyer's wife, Smt. Teresa Jadwiga Lesser, the revered Mātājī of her great husband's disciples, though born in Poland, is an ideal Indian woman with a radiant vermilion-decked forehead, who has dedicated her absolute existence to the look-after and well-being of this blessed son of Goddess Sarasvatī. And it is mostly to her credit that even at this extreme old age of eighty, he is vigorously, like a young man, busy with his studies,

especially with his illustrious work on the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari that shall ever remain an academic monument.

I bow to this couple of Siva and Pārvatī of the present age—Prof. Iyer and Smt. Iyer, in the words of the great poet, Kālidāsa,—

वागार्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

PROF. IYER—GRANDEUR IN SIMPLICITY

Dr. D. N. Shastri

MEERUT

I came in contact with Prof. Iyar when he was Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages and Dean, Faculty of Arts at Lucknow University, and later on when he became the Vice-Chancellor of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi, He got these high posts, not through approaches, the usual way these days, but simply on account of learning and high personality. Nobody, not even those who might have had some grouse agaist him because, as administrator he could not have fulfilled all their desires, would say that he made any approaches, even efforts, to get high positions. This aspect of his character has been most impressive. When I tried to understand his personality, I came to the conclusion that here in him we have :—

GRANDEUR IN SIMPLICITY

WORKS OF PROF. K. A. S. IYER.

Dr. J. P. Sinha

LUCKNOW

Works of Prof. K. A. S. Iyer relate to three areas within Sanskrit :

(a) Sāhitya,

(b) Philosophy and Linguistics of Sanskrit Grammar.

(c) Kashmir Śaivism.

A detailed account of these works is as under :

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18. A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow (Second Series), Vol. III—1972.

19. A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow (Second Series), Vol. IV—(In the Press).

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2. On the fourteen *Māheśvara Sūtras* (Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, Vol. II. pp 133-143)

3. On the use of the prohibitive particle *MĀ* in the Trivandrum plays (Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference, Vol. I, pp. 616-629)

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७. सोवियतसङ्घे उच्चशिक्षा (संविद्)

८. काशिकराजकीयमहाविद्यालये दीक्षान्तभाषणम् (सारस्वतीसुषमा, द्वादशवर्षे ३-४ अङ्कौ, पृ० १०५-१११)

९. महाकविकालिदासविषयकं किञ्चित् (सारस्वतीसुषमा, षोडशवर्षे, ३-४ अङ्कौ, संवत् २०१८, पृ० १-१२)

१०. वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालये दीक्षान्तभाषणम् (सारस्वतीसुषमा)

११. वाक्यपदीयप्रथमकाण्डगताम्बाकर्त्र्युपोद्घातः (सरस्वतीभवनग्रन्थमाला, ९१, प्रथमः भागः, पृ० अ-र)

१२. वाक्यपदीयद्वितीयकाण्डगताम्बाकर्त्री प्रस्तावना (सरस्वतीभवनग्रन्थमाला, ९१, द्वितीयः भागः, प्रस्तावना, पृ० १-८)

१३. वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालये दर्शनपरिषदि आध्यक्ष्यभाषणम् (सारस्वतीसुषमा, सप्तदशवर्षे, १-२, ३-४ अङ्क, संवत् २०१९: पृ० ४३-५४)

१४. तत्रभवद्भतृहर्यभिप्रेतं साधनरूपम् (ऋतम् १-२, पृ० १-७, अखिलभारतीय-संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ, जनवरी, १९७०)

E. SUBJECTS OF SOME OF THE BROADCASTS

१. वेद।
२. तत्त्वमसि।
३. नासदीयसूक्त।
४. तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय।
५. कालिदासकवितायां राष्ट्रीयता।
६. "They wrote for humanity"—Vallathol
७. कालिदास की सूक्तियां।
८. मलयालम साहित्य में सामाजिक सङ्घर्ष।
९. महाकवि वल्लत्तोल नारायण मेनोन।
१०. वर्तमान युग में संस्कृत की उपयोगिता।
११. श्रीमद्भागवत का भक्तिदर्शन।
१२. ऐतिहासिक कृतियां—पद्मगुप्तकृत नवसाहसाङ्कचरित।
१३. संस्कृत गद्य काव्य की उत्पत्ति और विकास।
१४. संस्कृत गद्य के प्रधान शैलीकार—सुबन्धु।
१५. संस्कृत कथासाहित्य का शिल्प। (सिंहासनद्वात्रिंशिका)।
१६. भारतीयवाङ्मय में शौर्यप्रसङ्ग—वाल्मीकि रामायण से।
१७. कुमारपालचरित।
१८. वेद के सहायक शास्त्र—शिक्षा।
१९. संस्कृत का अध्ययन क्यों आवश्यक है?
२०. न्याय दर्शन।
२१. आस्तिक दर्शन (वैशेषिक)।
२२. Kalhaṇas *Rājataraṅagiṇī*।
२३. भगवद्गीता के प्राचीन और अर्वाचीन टीकाकार—शङ्कर।
२४. Foreign Scholars—Max Müller and Sir Edwin Arnold
२५. Talk on (1) Shaw—Sixteen Self-sketches (2) Rolland—Journey Within, (3) Leslie Paul—The Meaning of Human Existence.

२६. संस्कृत के सुभाषित—शरदृतुविषयक ।

२७. महावैयाकरण भर्तृहरि—१

२८. महावैयाकरण भर्तृहरि—२

२९. पाश्चात्याः संस्कृतव्याकरणकृतः ।

३०. काव्य और नाट्यशास्त्र के सिद्धान्त (रसवाद) ।

३१. महाभारतस्य समयः ।

३२. प्राध्यापक आल्फ़्रेड फुपे—संस्कृते भारतीयपुरातत्त्वे च महाविद्वान् ।

३३. प्राध्यापक सिल्वैं लेवि—संस्कृते भारतविज्ञाने च महाविद्वान् ।

PART II

ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOME VERSES OF THE *NARĀBHARAṆA*

Dr. Ludwik Sternbach

PARIS

1. Thanks to Dr. V. Raghavan, an anonymous anthology of *subhāṣita*-s, the *Narābharaṇa,* was published in Volume I of his very useful *Malayamārutaḥ*[1]. This anthology was critically edited by Dr. V. Raghavan on the basis of a defective manuscript from the Madras Government Manuscript Library. This anthology of some three hundred *subhāṣita*-s contains many well known and very often cited verses; they were often quoted in secondary sources but also their origin could have been traced in primary sources.

2. Some of the verses were incomplete in the defective manuscript ; others were found in the manuscript in corrupt form. Dr. V. Raghavan, with his well known erudition, filled up the lacunae and/or corrected the corrupt text. He marked his emendations in brackets.

3. Being for a long time interested in Sanskrit *subhāṣita*-s, I have at my disposal over one hundred *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s and was able, in some cases, to find the incomplete and/or corrupt *subhāṣita*-s of the *Narābharaṇa* in these secondary sources. On that basis it was possible to fill in the lacunae in an authoritative manner and correct some corrupt readings.

4. In the present study, owing to the limited space available, I wish to concentrate only on the *subhāṣita*-s beginning with the letters अ and आ. I intend to continue this study and shall deal in the following studies with the remaining *subhāṣita*-s which will perhaps better show the way in which the lacunae can be filled in.

5. For the purpose of the present study I have not taken into consideration all the *subhāṣita*-s of the *Narābharaṇa* beginning with the letters अ and आ, but only those which were amended by Dr. V. Raghavan (i.e. those which contain some texts in brackets) and were also found in other

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मलयमारुतः प्रथमः स्पन्दः, केन्द्रीय-संस्कृत-विद्यापीठम्, तिरुपति १९६६.

sources.[1] The present study shows that in most cases the emendations made by Dr. V. Raghavan were correct, although he did not have at his disposal all the texts in which the individual verses were cited.

6. The verses of *Narābharaṇa* are quoted here in alphabetical order :

7.1. *Narābharaṇa* 236 beginning with अपि सहवसताय सतां, an *āryā* verse, omits four syllables in *d*. Dr. V. Raghavan reconstructed in the following manner (प्रीतिः कुमु)-देन्दुवद्भाति.

7.2. The verse occurs also in the *Nītidviṣaṣṭikā* (108) with a different *a* (सह वसतामप्यसतं); [also so in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (399), *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (SR.) (58.175),*Su bhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (SSB.) (321.181) and among so-called Cāṇakya's aphorisms (Cr.)[2] (1036)[3] with a different *d* (भवति हि कुमुदेन्दुवत् प्रीतिः). It appears also in the *Sūktiratnahāra* (36.30 and 239.41) where it is attributed to Sundarapāṇḍya[4] and in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (399) where it is attributed to Ravigupta[5].

7.3. The missing portions of *d* were very rightly reconstructed by Dr. V. Raghavan, but it would be better if the last word would read भवति instead of भाति. It reads so in all the other texts known.

7.4. Thus, it seems that this text should read in the *Narābharaṇa* :

अपि सहवसतामसतां
जलरुहजलवद्भवत्यसंश्लेषः ।
दूरेऽपि सतां वसतां
प्रीतिः कुमुदेन्दुवद् भवति ॥

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1. Consequently verses 93, 100, 113, 130, and 300 are omitted; they do not appear, as far as could be ascertained, in any primary or secondary sources.
2. *Cāṇakya-Nīti Text Tradition,* reconstructed and critically edited by L. Sternbach, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series* 27-29, Hoshiarpur (Cr.)
3. *Cāṇakya--rāja-nīti-śāstra* version 3.38 and *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya,* Calcutta 1322 (1925) 61.79.
4. But omitted in both places in the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-nidhi.* Cf. L. Sternbach, *Sāyaṇa's Subhāṣita-sudhā-nidhi* and *Suryapaṇḍita's Subhāṣita-ratnahāra* in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendrīya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha* 27. 167-260.
5. Cf. L. Sternbach, *An Additional Note on Sundarapāṇḍya's Nītidviṣaṣṭikā in Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* 25. 335-6 (No. 108) and L, Sternbach, *Ravigupta and his Gnomic Verses* in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 48.137-60.

8.1. *Narābharaṇa* 255 beginning with अभिवादनशीलस्य, a *śloka*, omits in *b* one syllable (वृद्धोप...विन).

8.2. The verse was included in the *Narābharaṇa* from the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* (2.122). It occurs also in the *Mahābhārata* (Bhandarkar edition 5.39.60. Roy's edition 5.38.75-6; Calcutta edition 5.1520-1), among so-called Cāṇakya's aphorisms (Cr. 1174)[1], in several *nibandha*-s (*Vīramitrodaya*, *Saṁskāra-khaṇḍa* 460.23-4; *Vidhānapārijāta* 1.501.14-5;, *Smṛticandrikā* 37.7, *Smṛtimuktāphalam* 108.34, *ad Parāśara-Smṛti* 1.1; 336.5-6) and in several *subhāṣita-saṅgraha-s* (*Samayocitapadyaratnamālikā 1* अ 52, *Subhāṣita-saptaśatī* 391, Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprueche* 504); the verse was also incorporated in the Old Javanese *Sārasamuccaya* (256). In these sources variants occur in *c* and *d*.[2]

8.3. The missing portion in *b* was very rightly reconstructed by Dr. V. Raghavan. The correct reading of *subhāṣita* 225 in the *Narābharaṇa* seems to be identical with the reading of the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*, i.e.,

अभिवादनशीलस्य नित्यं वृद्धोपसेविनः ।
चत्वारि तस्य वर्धन्ते आयुः प्रज्ञा यशो बलम् ॥

9.1. *Narābharaṇa* 221 beginning with अश्वारूढै पयः पानं, an *anuṣṭubh*, has in d पादचारी. Dr. V. Raghavan suggested that this word should read : पादचरि.

9.2. The verse appears also in the *Samayocitapadyaratnamālikā* (2 प 37) but with a different reading in *c* (शिविकी नर्दनं चेव); other variants in *a* (अश्वारूढः) and in *b* (गजारूढश्च) are unimportant; in *d Samayocitapadyaratnamālikā* has पादचरी and not पादचरि but omits च before पा. The addition

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1. *Vṛddha-cāṇakya, textus ornatior* version 12.11.

2. *c* सम्यग् (°क्) [त°] *Vīramitrodaya, Smṛtimuktāphalam;* संप्रवर्धन्ते *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* (Jha's ed.), *Mahābhārata;* वर्धन्ते (°र्धंते *Cāṇakya*) *ad* Parāṣara, *Smṛtimuktāphalam*, Cāṇakya, *Narābharaṇa*, *Samayocita°;d* आयुर्विद्याय° Medhātithi, *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* (*vulgata*), Cāṇakya, *Subhāsita-saptaśatī;* आयुर्धर्मो Medhātithi, Govindarāja, *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* (Jha ed.); आयुर्प्रज्ञा (°युः प्र°) *Vīramitrodaya*, *Mahābhārata* (*var.*); कीर्तिरयुर्यं° *Mahābhārata*, *Sārasamuccaya*; वर्धन्ते *Vīramitrodaya*, *Vidhānapārijāta*; ह्यायुः *ad* Parāṣara; आयुः कीर्तिर *Mahābhārata*, (*var.*); आयुर्विद्या *Mahābhārata* (*var.*), *Samayocita* °; य° व° transposed *Mahābhārata* (*var.*).

of in the *Narābharaṇa* seems to be unnecessary, the more so as that would make the verse in *d* hypermetric.

9.3. Thus, it seems that this verse should read in the *Narābharana* :

अश्वारूढं पयःपानं गजारूढं तु मैथुनम् ।
आन्दोलिकायां मर्दनं पादचारी तु भोजनम् ।।

10.1. *Narābharaṇa* 178 beginning with असन्तुष्टो द्विजो नष्टः , a *śloka*, has in *d* पण्यस्त्रीभिः Dr. V. Raghavan suggested to read instead निर्लज्जा च.

10.2. The verse is a well known verse; it occurs among the so-called Cāṇakya's aphorisms (Cr. 110)[1], the *Hitopadeśa*[2] and among some texts of the *Pañcatantra*[3]: it also appears in numerous *subhāṣita-saṅgraha*-s *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* 162.411 (*SR.*); *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* 493.418 (*SSB.*); *Subhāṣita-sudhā-nidhi* 198.2 (*SSSN.*); *Sūktiratnahāra* 236.2 (*SRHt.*); *Vyāsa-subhāṣita saṅgraha* 54 (*Vyās.*);, *Samayocita-padyaratnamālikā* 1 अ 11 and 2 अ 2 (Sama.); *Nītiśāstra* in Telugu 42 (NT.); *Padyataraṅgiṇī* of Vrajanātha (*VP.*) 9.63; O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprueche* 755 (*IS.*). It was also included in the Pāli literature of Burma, Siām, Chiang Mai, Lāos and Cambodia (*Lokanīti* 117), in the Pāli literature of Burma (*Dhammanīti* 353), the Burmese literature (*Nīti kyan* 145), the Old Javanese literature (*Nītiśāstra* 4.24; *Tantri Kāmandaka* 28) in the Ceylonese literature (*Vyāsakarāya* 52) and in the Siāmese literature (*Vyākāraśataka* 50). In *SR.* the verse is attributed to Cāṇakya and in *SRHt.* to *Vyāsaśataka*[4]

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1. *Vṛddha-cāṇakya*, *textus ornatior* version 8.18; *Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra* version 78, *Laghu-cāṇakya* version 4.3, *Cāṇakya-rājanīti-śāstra* version 8.130 and individual texts; *CSLd* 3.80, *CnT* II 10.9, *CnT* III. 7.18 (cf. 3.7), *CnT V* .34, *CnT* V. 34, *CnT* 1.17, *CPS* 261.109

2. Johnson's ed. 3.67, Schlegel's ed. 3.64, Mueller's ed. 3.64, Peterson's ed. 3.62, Nepālī version 3.62, Kale's ed. 3.64, Library East-India House ed. of 1810, 85.5-6 Colebrooke's ed. 113.5-6.

3. *Textus amplior* (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft* 61.27) 1.6, J. Hertel. *Ueber einige HSs. von Kathāsamgraha-Strophen in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft* (64.58) 10.

4. Cf. L. Sternbach *Sanskrit Nītī-literature in "Greater India" in Vivekanand Commemoration Volume: India's Contribution to World, Thought and Culture.* Madras 1970; pp. 33-40. Cf. also *Samayamātṛkā* 4.68 and 4.70.

10.3 Numerous variants occur in *a*. *b* and *c*[1]. In *d* the variants are: निर्लज्जा यत्कुलाङ्गना (in some texts of the *Pañcatantra*); निर्लज्जा च in some texts of the so-called Cāṇakya's aphorisms, the *Hitopadeśa* and the *Pañcatantra*, as well as in *Sama*; (निर्लज्जा : सुकुला) in some texts of Cāṇakya's aphorisms; निर्लज्जेव् in *NT*; व[च] in some texts of Cāṇakya's aphorisms; कुलाङ्गना in some texts of Cāṇakya's aphorisms, *the Hitopadeśa*, the *Pañcatantra*, as well as in *SRHt*, *SSR*, *Sama*; कुलस्त्रिय: in some texts of Cāṇakya's aphorisms and the *Hitopadeśa*, as well as in *SR*. and *SSB* and लयोपित: in some texts of Cāṇakya's aphorisms. None of the texts where this well-known *subhāṣita* occurs introduced in *d* the word पण्यस्त्री instead of निर्लज्जा without shame, immodest. पण्यस्त्री (a woman for money) is a word very often used to denote a venal woman, a whore[2]. However, in this context to introduce the word पण्यस्त्री instead of निर्लज्जा does not make sense; निर्लज्जा

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1. *a* असंतुष्टो द्विजो some Cāṇakya's and *Pañcatantra* texts, *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi Sūktiratnahāra :* असंतुष्टो some Cāṇākyā's texts; असंतुष्ट: or असंतोषा some Cāṇakya's texts; द्विज some Cāṇakya's texts;यतिर (द्विज) Vyāsa नष्टा or नष्ट some Cāṇakya's, texts, *Hitopadeśa* and *Pañcatantra* texts *b* संतुष्टा इव पार्थिवा some Cāṇakya's and *Hitopadeśa* texts; संतुष्टा पृथिवीभुज: some Cāṇakya's texts; संतुष्ट पृथिवीपति: some Cāṇakya's texts; संतुष्टा:(°ष्ट)पार्थिवा: पदा some Cāṇakya's and *Hitopadeśa* texts; संतुष्टतस्चैव पार्थिवा: (°र्थि°) some Cāṇakya's and *Pancatantra* texts; संतुष्टस्च महीभृत: some Cāṇakya's and *Hitopadeśa* texts, Samayocita⁰ संतुष्टस्च (संतोषेणो) महीपति: some Cāṇakya's texts;4⁰ तुष्ट: क्षत्रियस्तथा some *Pañcatantra* texts, *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi*, *Sūktiratnahāra* ; संतुष्टा च some Cāṇakya's and *Hitopadeśa* texts; संतोषेण some Cāṇakya's texts; महीभुज: some Cāṇakya's texts, *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*, *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* ; महीपति: some Cāṇakya's and *Hitopadeśa* texts, *Samayocita⁰*, *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṅgraha* (Indian, Ceylonese and Siāmese); पृथिवीपति: some Cāṇakya's texts; तु पार्थिवा: some Cāṇakya's textss; चैव पार्थिवा: some Cāṇakya's texts ; *c* सलज्ज some Cāṇakya's texts; गणक some Cāṅakya's texts; नष्टा: some Cāṇakya's texts; लज्जा [न°] some Cāṇakya's s texts.

2. Keśantana cited in *Śabdakalpadruma* (*ad* पण्यस्त्री) considers पण्यस्त्री as a synonym of वेश्या· Kuliūka commenting on *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* 9.259 uses this word instead of पण्ययोषित· Also quoted in the *Hitopadeśa* (Schiegels ed, 2.23) by Bhartrhari and Amitagati.

is a counterpart of सलज्जा in *c*; it is not meant to be another synonym of गणिका (in *c*); therefore, the word निर्लज्जा should be rightly, as Dr. V. Raghavan suggested, substituted for पण्यस्त्री. Most of the texts quoting this verse have, however, निर्लज्जाश्च instead of निर्लज्जा च.

10.4 Thus, it seems that this verse should read in *Narābharaṇa* as it reads in *Cr*.:

असंतुष्टा द्विजा नष्टाः सन्तुष्टाश्च महीभृतः ।
सलज्जा गणिका नष्टा निर्लज्जाश्च कुलाङ्गनाः ॥

11.1. *Narābharaṇa* 49 beginning with अहमिहैव वसन्नपि तावकः, a *drutavilambita* verse; reads in *c* and *d* सङ्गमः . Dr. V. Raghavan suggested instead the reading सुसङ्गमः.

11.2. The verse is often cited in *subhāṣita-saṅgraha*-s. We find it in the *Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa* of Vidyākara (1648) where, however, *c* and *d* are transposed, as well as in the *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (284.13), the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (117.15), the *Subhāṣita-ratnākara* (134.41) *SRK* and in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprueche* (7714)[1].

11.3. The *Narābharaṇa* followed the *SR.*, *SSB*, *SRK*, and the *Subāṣita-ratna-koṣa* texts with the exception of *a* which reads : अहमिह स्थितवत्यपि तावकी[2].

11.4. The change of the word सङ्गमः into सुसङ्गमः in *c* and *d* made by Dr. V. Raghavan is correct. Without this addition the verse would be defective as far as the metrics is concerned; also by the addition of सु° in both places the sense of the verse is improved.

11.5. Thus it seems that this verse should read in the *Narābharaṇa* :

अहमिहैव वसन्नपि तावकी (°कः)
त्वमपि तत्र वसन्नपि मामकः ।
न तनुसंगम एव सुसङ्गमः
हृदयसंगम एव सुसङ्गमः ॥

1. The collator of the *Subhāṣitaratnākara* took it from the *Sphuṭaśloka*

2. *c* and *d* in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* read : हृदयसंगतमेव सुसंगतं/न तनुसंगतमार्यं सुसंगतम्.

12.1. *Narābharaṇa* 298 beginning with आशा नाम मनुष्याणां, a *śloka*, has in *d* कुत्रचित्. Dr. V. Raghavan suggested instead the reading बद्धवत्.

12.2. The verse is often cited in primary and secondary sources. It appears among Bhartṛhari's epigrams of doubtful origin (405) and in several *subhāṣita-saṅgraha*-s (*Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* 76.10, *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* 348.12, *Subhāṣita-sudhā-nidhi* 173.3, *Sūktiratnahāra* 225.18, *Saṁskṛta-lokokti-prayoga* 41.24-5, *Subhāṣita-ratna-mālā* 1.2.79,) *Subhāṣita-mañjarī* 2.46), as well as in some unpublished *subhaṣita-saṅgraha*-s (*Subhāṣitasuradruma* of Keḷadi Basavṇṇa Nāyaka MS. in BORI 228 of the late additions, fol. 16 *a* and *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Bhaṭṭaśrīkṛṣṇa MS BORI 93 of 1883-84, 6.206).

12.3. This verse does not contain any variants in a, *b* and *c*; the variants are only in *d* where the word कुत्रचित् (which Dr. V. Raghavan substitutes by बद्धवत्) occurs. In the *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*, the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*, the *Saṁskṛtalokokti-prayoga* and in the *Subhāṣita-mañjarī* the reading is पङ्गुवत् instead of कुत्रचित्. Although the word कुत्रचित् does not read too well, no reason is seen for substituting it by बद्धवत् since none of the texts known contains this word; perhaps it could be substituted by the word पङ्गुवत्.

12 Thus, it seems thatthis verse should read in the *Narābharaṇa* :

आशा नाम मनुष्याणां काचिदाश्चर्यशृङ्खला ।
यया बद्धाः प्रधावन्ति मुक्तास्तिष्ठन्ति कुत्रचित् ॥

(to be continued)

TĀR रघम् *ŚBR* प्रदघा:

Dr. Surya Kanta

DELHI

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka I. 1 reads :—

अपाश्न्युष्णिमपा रक्षः । अपाश्न्युष्णिमपारघम् ।
अपाग्रामप चार्वत्तिम् । अपदेवीरितो हित ॥

The word रघ is not quotable and the reading रघम् is doubtful. Sāyaṇa explains it : 'ज्वरदाहकृतं शरीरशोषणं तद्धेतुभूतं पापं च' । The explanation is apt and fits in here. But how to get it ?

I should amend 'रघम्' into 'दघम्' which I should equate with 'दग्धम्' meaning decursed, ill-luck, misfortune.

The use of घ for-ग्ध-in the derivatives of the root √दह् is met with in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* xiii. i.3.4. :—

ईश्वरो वा एषः । पराङ् प्रदघोः ।

Here प्रदघो: stands for प्रदग्धो: [=प्र√दह्+तोस्] which is an infinitival form of √दह्. प्रदघो: is repeated in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* xiii.1.10.6. :—

ईश्वरो वा एषः । पराङ् प्रदघोः ।

प्रदघो: occurs only in the thirteenth Kāṇḍa of the *Śatapatha* and it may incidentally show that this particular Kāṇḍa was composed by a seer who was fond of using प्रदघो: for प्रदग्धो:

An analysis of the vocables occuring in the ten *Maṇḍalas* of the *ṚV.* is very instructive; and reveals that the different *Maṇḍalas* of the *ṚV.* are the compositions of different authors.

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1. For a detailed discussion of the confusion of द with other letters cp- my *Atharva Prātiśākhya* Notes pp. 55-56.

POETRY OF AŚVAGHOṢA

Dr. V. Varadachari

TIRUPATI

Aśvaghoṣa was a Buddhist philosopher of the first century A D.[1] He is held to have been a *protégé* of King Kaniṣka[2]. He was a Brahmin by birth and later became a convert into Buddhism[3]. He speaks about himself as a resident of Sāketa, that is, Ayodhyā. He was the son of Suvarṇākṣī. He was a great debator.[4] It is not clear whether he could have been identical with his namesake who is held to have preached Mahāyāna Buddhism.[5] He is considered to have been a follower of the school of the Dharmaguptas.[6]

Aśvaghoṣa had a very rich and varied equipment when he tried his hand in literary pursuits, He had a thorough and deep knowledge of the Hindu lores. He was quite conversant with the episodes and anecdotes of Hindu theology and Paurāṇic literature.[7] The burning zeal of one who could not get mental and spiritual satisfaction from the faith he professes and, therefore, embraces a new faith is evident in the Kāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa. The high moral tone which characterized the preachings of the Buddha left

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1. A.B Keith : *Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 55; *Aśvaghoṣa* by B.C. Law : p.31.
2. B.C. Law : *Aśvaghoṣa* 31 ; The Buddhist traditions make him a contemporary of Kaniṣka ; Ibid. PP. 3, 4.
3. Ibid. PP. 11-12.
4. Vide : —

   आर्यसुवर्णाक्षीपुत्रस्य साकेतकस्य भिक्षोराचार्य्यभदन्ताश्वघोषस्य महाकवेर्महावादिन: कृतिरियम् । *Saundaranandam* ed. by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri, R.A. Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1939, Colophon on P. 126.
5. There were at least three distiuct persons with the name Aśvaghoṣa, all of them having been preachers of Buddhism. Vide :—B.C. Law: *Aśvaghoṣa* p. 6.
6. The school of the Dharmaguptas originally belonged to the 'Mahīśasakas, a typical *Hīnayāna* denomination,' Ibid. PP. 6-7. In support of this, B.C. Law adds, 'the tenets of Buddha expounded by Aśvaghoṣa in his two Kāvyas, viz. the *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananadam*, are all doctrines of *Hīnayāa*, there being not the slightest trace of *Mahāyāna* in them.' Ibid. PP. 6-7. Also see ibid. p. 17.
7. Ibid. PP. 17 to 19.

an indelible impression on him resulting in his adopting an uncompromising attitude towards the lapses which he discerns in the personal character of those who are extolled as eminent personages in the Hindu lores.[1] Failure on the part of such persons to understand the ultimate truth must have made them weak-minded and commit the wrong deeds. He was much influenced by Vālmīki both for the descriptive material and language. As a philosopher, he took to the writing of literary pieces. He was not prompted in this by a desire to be called a poet. His one aim was to present the truths of the Buddhist religion in poetic form. The serious matters in Buddhism are presented to the aspirants like bitter medicinal pills given to patients made palatable by coating them with sugar.[2]

As a philosopher, Aśvaghoṣa was eager to preach the doctrines of Buddhism. He desired to adopt the form of poetry for this purpose. He must have had some pattern of poetry available to him which he could imitate to his advantage.[3] In so doing, he, being a novice and having erudite learning, chose to parade his learning and was pedantic in his writings. It is in this background that his literary works require to be studied.

Among the literary production of Aśvaghoṣa, the *Buddhacarita* is a poem in the *Kāvya* style recounting the life of the Buddha. It is now available in 13 cantos with four more added to it in the last century by

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1. Cf. *Buddhacarita* IV.16-21, 72-80 ; VIII 77-79, XI 13-16. *Saundaranandam* VII. 25-45, IX. 17-20 ; XI. 42-50. There are discrepancies in these narrations. See B.C. Law : *Aśvaghoṣa* PP. 17-19.
2. Vide :—

   इत्येषा व्युपशान्तये न रतये मोक्षार्थगर्भाकृतिः
   श्रोतॄणां ग्रहणार्थमन्यमनसां काव्योपचारात्कृता ।
   यन्मोक्षात्कृतमन्यदत्र हि मया तत्काव्यधर्मात्कृतं
   पातुं तिक्तमिवौषधं मधुयुतं हृद्यं कथं स्यादिति ॥

   Saundaranandam XVIII. 63, also see 64 ibid. The third line in the *śloka* cited above shows that Aśvaghoṣa wrote, as a philosopher, works for obtaining salvation.
3. There is close correspondence between the writings of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa. To a reader free from predilection, both these writers seem to have been aware of the manner of writing adopted by each other. They were evidently living in almost the same period. Kālidāsa's priority over Aśvaghoṣa does not appeal to the taste of many orientalists of the West. Cf. Dr. V. Varadachari : *The Date of Kālidāsa*. The *Vikram*, Ujjain Vol. VII. 1964.

Amṛtānanda on the strength of the Chinese version of this poem.[1] A Hindi version,[2] which is based on the Chinese version of the original, proves the untrustworthy nature of the version made by Amṛtānanda. This is borne out by the discrepancy in the number of verses in the version of Amṛtānanda and the Hindi rendering of the Chinese version.[3] In this connection, it must be borne in mind that the Chinese version too is not to be taken as an accurate version of the original.[4] However, the extent of the whole work could be admitted as 28 cantos, where the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* and the distribution of Buddha's relics along with their enshrinements are dealt with. The source for the theme of this poem seems to have been the *Lalitavistara*, a *Sarvāstivāda* work.[5]

The *Saundaranandam*, which is a later production,[6] is written in Kāvya style. In 10 cantos, it describes how Nanda, the half-brother of Gautama, was converted into a monk, weaning him away from his wife Sundarī of fascinating beauty. This poem is in many respects superior to the *Buddhacarita*[7]

The *Śarīputraprakaraṇa*, which is also known as *Śāradvatīputraprakaraṇa* is a *Prakaraṇa* type of drama written by Aśvaghoṣa. It is now available in fragments.[8] It deals with the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana by the Buddha This drama has close correspondence with the classical type of drama as laid down in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The auothor incorporated into this play the allegorical element also by making wisdom (*buddhi*), fame (*kīrti*) and firmness (*dhṛti*) as characters.[9] In all probability, he was the

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1. B.C. Law : *Aśvaghoṣa* P. 26.
2. Suryanarayana Chowdhury : The *Buddhacarita*—translated into Hindi—Second Part—Cantos 15-28, Purnea, Bihar. For detailed discussions on this, see Preface PP. vi-ix by E.B. Cowell to the *Buddhacarita*, Oxford 1893.
3. Amṛtānanda's version has 119, 132, and 31 *śloka*-s and the Hindi version 58, 95 and 41 respectively in XV, XVI and XVII cantos.
4. B.C. Law. *Aśvaghoṣa* PP. 26-27.
5. Ibid. PP. 27-31. There are differences on some minor points which would suggest that Asvaghoṣa could have access to other source-books which are not known now.
6. Scholars have different opinions on this matter. Vide :—B.C. Law : *Aśvaghoṣa* P. 27.
7. Mm. Haraprasad Shastri : Preface, PP. iii-vi to the *Saundaranandam*.
8. This was published by Prof. H. Luders. It consisted of nine acts.
9. See B.C. Law. *Aśvaghoṣa* PP. 33-34 for details.

earliest writer to produce an allegorical play. Along with the Ms. of this play, two other dramas were discovered in fragments. One of them is allegorical in character and the other deals with the conversion of the voluptuary Somadatta into the Buddhist faith.[1] These too could have been from the pen of Aśvaghoṣa but this requires more evidences for confirmation.

A reflection on the themes of the works mentioned above makes it clear that the motive of Aśvaghoṣa in writing these works was to make use of the literary form for depicting the Buddha's greatness and for showing his zeal to convert people into this faith. This is enough evidence to understand that Aśvaghoṣa was only a philosopher who tried his hand at literary productions for preaching his philosophy.

The Buddha and his followers used the Prākṛta language for preaching the doctrines and for writing them down in the form of works. Perhaps, during the 3rd century B.C., the leading exponents of Buddhism felt the need to write in Sanskrit also so as to make their doctrines carried to the non-Buddhists who made use of Sanskrit and also to have the Buddhist literature occupy a significant place along with the non-Buddhistic literature by using Sanskrit. This attitude resulted in the writing of the *Mahāvastu*, *Jñānaprasthānaśāstra*, *Abhidharmavibhāṣā*, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Lalitavistara*, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and others. Some of these are in Sanskrit with an admixture of Prākṛta. The influence of Prākṛta on these Sanskrit writings is evident in the use of Sanskrit expressions which are defective in the light of the rules of Sanskrit grammar.

The three works of Aśvahoṣa bear ample testimony to these aspects of Sanskrit writing by the Buddhists in the early periods. At the outset, the defects in regard to the change of *s* into ṣ present themselves to a Sanskrit reader.[2] The consonants *ś* and *s* are wrongly used in verbal forms.[3] There is no justification for the use of the word *dharma* with *-n*[4] and

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1. Ibid, P. 34.
2. The following deserve mention here *sisiñcire* (*Buddhacarita* VIII-26) infringing *Aṣṭādhyāyī* VIII. 3.64 Other instances are *visismiye* (*Buddhacarita* X. 3), *niṣpṛhatayā* (Ibid. III. 17) and others.
3. Vide :—*Vavāśire* (*Buddhacarita* XII. 118) *viniṣkāśya* (Ibid. XV. 83). The latter occurs in Amṛtānanda's version.
4. *Buddhacarita* V. 77.

the use of the affix *-ya* with a root[1] not preceded by a preposition. Equally unjustifiable is the word *pheṇa*[2] with a cerebralised *n* and the use of the word *saṅgrāhaka*[3] in the sense of the driver of the chariot.

Secondly, the rules of grammar are violated in the use of the periphrastic forms[4] split by the use of other words. Patañjali was aware of such usages which he condemns.[5] Curiously enough, Kālidāsa also is guilty of a usage like this.[6] Such cases are, however, only three, all occuring in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and only three all occuring in the *Buddhacarita*. This was perhaps an alternative mode of using the periphrastic perfect in the period about the beginning of the Christian era.[7]

Thirdly, while employing the figure *upamā*, the word denoting the *upamāna* is repeated[8]. This is held by some scholars as indicative of *Aśvaghoṣa's* inferiority as a poet.[9] Such a remark is quite unwarranted, since the most eminent poet Kālidāsa is equally guilty of a similar usage.[10] However, such cases of similes are defended by Vāmana in his

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1. *Saundaranandam* I. 28 ; see *Aṣṭādhyāyī* III. 4. 21 and VII. 1.37 for the rules for using the suffixes *-ktvā* and *-ya*,
2. *Buddhacarita* XII. 107.
3. Ibid. III. 27. This is said to be a Pāli word. Preface P. xv by E.B. Cowell. The *Buddhacarita*. See ibid for similar usages. The word *asti* is mentioned as a *nipāta—Saundaranandam* XII. 10.
4. Vide :—मातृष्वसा मातृसमप्रभावा संवर्धयामात्मजवद्बभूव । *Buddhacarita* II. 19.
   यथावदेनं दिवि देवसंघा दिव्यैर्विशेषैर्महयां च चक्रुः । Ibid. VI. 58.
   प्रत्यर्चयां धर्मभृतो बभूव स्वरेण भाद्राम्बुधरोपमेन Ibid. VII. 9.
5. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini III. 1.40,42.
6. तं पातयां प्रथममास पपात पश्चात्—1 *Raghuvaṁśa* IX. 61.
   भ्रूभेदमात्रेण पदान्मघोनः प्रभ्रंशयां यो नहुषं चकार । Ibid. XIII. 36.
   संयोजयां विधिवदास समेतबन्धुः । ibid. XVI. 86.
7. This is the defence for this usage. *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa* permitted such usages. S. P. Pandit: Notes on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* III. 5.
8. Vide :—
   स्त्रीणां विरेजुर्मुखपङ्कजानि सक्तानि हर्म्येष्विव पङ्कजानि । *Buddhacarita* III. 19.
9. K. M. Shembaonekar : *The Glamour about the Guptas*, P. 66.
10. Vide :—
    दिलीप इव राजेन्दुरिन्दुःक्षीरनिधाविव 1 *Raghuvaṁśa*—1.12

Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti.[1] On the strength of the explanation given for such similes by Vāmana, Tippabhupāla[2], the commentator on the *Kāyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* and Aruṇagirinātha[3], the commentator on the *Raghuvaṁsa*, Aśvaghoṣa's usage also can be defended.[4]

Fourthly, Aśvaghoṣa is pedanitic while he tries to exhibt his aequaintance with the grammatical forms. The same root is used by him several times to yield different meanings by prefixing it with the respective prepositions.[5] The suffix *-tasil* is repeated in one and the same *śloka*.[6] The author is fond of using the verbal forms in the aorist repeatedly[7] with the causal form[8] (*ṇic*) and in the passive[9] also.

Fifthly and lastly, there are certain expressions that are vague and foreign to Sanskrit literature. Some of them are *sṛjayā*[10], *sahīyā*[11], *sūryaka*[12]

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1. *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* IV. 2.19. The passage 'बलसिन्धुः सिन्धुरिव क्षुभितः' is cited here. The army was vast like the ocean and hence the comparison. It was restless and tossed like the ocean and hence the second comparison for restlessness. Though there is repetition of the word *Sindhu*, there is no restatement in regard to the meaning.
2. The purpose of the first use of the word *sindhu* in the compound *balasindhu* is to suggest vastness of the army and that of the second separately is to suggest that the army was as restless as the ocean. Tippabhupāla's commentary on ibid.
3. The word '*rājendu*' implies close similraity between Dilīpa and moon. The word '*indu*' used separately suggests the rise of Dilīpa in that family like that of the moon in the milky ocean. Aruṇagirinātha on *Raghuvaṁśa* I. 12.
4. Women's faces are compared to the lotuses by the word *mukhapaṅkajāni*. The women were in the mansions. Hence, their faces as noticed there were like the lotuses which are brought from the tanks and attached to the mansions. For similar cases refer to the *Buddhacarita* I. 78, III. 20, IV. 5 and *Saundaranandam* II. 49, III. 28 and XVII. 66.
5. *Saundaranandam* I. 15, II. 10, XVI. 42.
6. Ibid. XVII. 15.
7. *Buddhacarita* II. 43; *Saundaranandam* II. 12-17, 19-23, 25, 26.
8. *Saundaranandam* II. 27-30; 33-39. Bhāmaha considers the use of the form *ajihladat* as erroneous bringing it under *śrutikaṣṭa*—*Kāvyālaṅkāra* I. 53.
9. *Saundaranandam*. II. 40-44. Besides, the roots are used in aorist frequentative, e.g., *Buddhacarita* II. 40, and aorist desiderative, e.g., *Saundaranandam* II. 18, 39; The Vedic form of √dā in aorist desiderative is used in ibid. 18, see *Ṛgveda* X. 151.2 where *didāsat* occurs. The root √av is used in nine different senses in the *Buddhacarita* XI. 70.
10. *Buddhacarita* IX. 8.
11. Ibid. X. 26.
12. Ibid. XIII. 11; the word *loṣataḥ is also used—Saundaranandam* XVI. 77.

and others. Perhaps they were in vogue in the Buddhist circles during the period when the Buddhists tried to record their doctrines in Sanskrit. Evidently, they are of Prākṛtic origin.

In this context, it must be noted that glaring violations of Sanskrit grammatical rules abound in the version (cantos XIV-XVII) of the *Buddhacarita*. The errors range from euphonic combinations[1] to the indiscriminate use of the suffix *ktv ā* and *lyap*.[2] In verbal forms, there is carelessness in the use of the *Parasmaipada* and *Ātmanepada* terminations[3] and incorrect formations.[4] Besides, there are expressions[5] which are foreign to Sanskrit.

Notwithstanding the above features which are noticed in the writings of Aśvaghoṣa and which do detract the otherwise fine poetry from due appreciation, there is much to be said in favour of the elegance and charm of his poetry which can easily bear comparison to that of any other Sanskrit poet of the classical period. Of course, his poetry lacks in the extravagant manner of later day poetry.

The two poems abound in elegant descriptions and narrations which characterize them as *Mahākāvyas*. The city of Kapilavastu is described after the manner of the city of Ayodhyā in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The city was rich in cattle and mineral wealth. The cows yielded milk in plenty.[6] The country received rains in the proper seasons.[7] Peace and plenty flourished everywhere. The ramparts and bazars added to the charm and attractiveness of the city.[8] The people who lived there were rich but not deluded. They were sufficiently learned but not proud.

Vide :—

वसुमद्भिरविश्रान्तैरलंविद्यैरविस्मितैः ।
यद्बभासे नरैः कीर्णं मन्दरः किन्नरैरिव ॥

Saundaranandam I. 48

1. *Buddhacarita* XIV. 13, XV. 85.
2. Ibid. XV. 12, 13. 15, 40, 109; XVI. 87; XVII. 8.
3. Ibid. XV. 61, 115; XVI. 84, 90, 92, 95, 98, 117, 128.
4. Ibid. XV. 112; XVII. 2, 17, 22, 24, 26.
5. विहेठयितुं ibid. XV. 45. खिखिखरी ibid. XV. 107, 109; XVII. 14.
6. Ibid II. 5.
7. Ibid II. 7.
8. *Saundaranandam* I. 42, 43.

Since tax was not collected unjustly, the city was opulent.

Vide :—

यस्मादन्यायतस्ते च कञ्चिन्नाचीकरत्करम् ।
तस्मादल्पेन कालेन तत्तदापूपुरन् पुरम् ॥

Saundaranandam I. 56

The city's physical appearance gets a significant treatment in the *Buddhacarita* while in the description contained in the *Saundaranandam* there is accent on the prosperous condition of the city.

The plight of Yaśodharā when she was distressed that her husband Gautama did not return from the forest is depicted with a pathetic strain.[1] Equally pitiable is the condition of Sundarī who felt miserable at the continued delay in her husband Nanda's staying away from home when he followed the Buddha.[2] This description is more impassioned than that of Yaśodharā. The description of the women sleeping in the palace,[3] as Gautama left the palace for the forest reminds us of a similar description in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] of the sleeping women in Rāvaṇa's harem as viewed by Hanumān. The purpose of giving such a description is well brought out by the following *śloka* :—

अशुचिर्विकृतश्च जीवलोके
वनितानामयमीदृशः स्वभावः ।
वसनाभरणैस्तु वञ्च्यमानः
पुरुषः स्त्रीविषयेषु रागमेति ॥

Buddhacarita V. 64

How the women of the city had their curiosity aroused to behold Prince Gautama as he passed through the streets is very graphically described.[5]

1. *Buddhacarita* VIII. 34 has an identical tone in *Raghuvaṁśa* XIII. 59, cf. *Buddhacarita* VIII. 55-58 with *Kirātārjunīya* I. 38-40.
2. *Saundaranandam* canto VI. Special mention must be made of the posture of Sundarī while she was waiting for her husband's return (*Śl.* 2). her bewailings (12-19); and the effect on her on hearing that Nanda had turned a recluse (24-34).
3. *Buddhacarita* V. 47-62. The 63rd *śloka* contains the line गुणवद्वपुषोऽपि वल्गुभासो नृपसूनुः स विगर्ह्यांम्बभूव । which shows the effect on Gautama.
4. *Rāmāyaṇa-Sundarakāṇḍa* canto X.
5. *Buddhacarita* III. 13-24, Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa* VII. 6-11 and *Kumārasambhava* VII. 57-62 for a similar description. Scholars differ about this and discuss Kālidāsa's indebtedness to Aśvaghoṣa and vice-versa.

Aśvaghoṣa excels himself in portraying women's coquetry while showing how the women in the city tried in vain to disturb Gautama in order to keep him away from renunciation.[1] Cupid's attempt to disturb the penance of Gautama is humorously depicted[2] and reminds us of the demonesses in Aśokavana in their appearance.[3]

The literary manner (*rīti*) of Aśvaghoṣa is elegant and charming and belongs to the *Vaidarbhī* kind.[4] The *Buddhacarita* is, however, lacking in the grace and polish of the *Saundaranandam*. Probably, the former work did not give much room for the display of poetic talent, as it presents a serene and sober hero, while in the latter work, scope was afforded to describe the passionate Nanda and Sundarī.

The literary devices were used by Aśvaghoṣa to perfection. Among the figures, the simile is employed with great effect. Chanda, the driver of the chariot, appeals to Gautama not to renounce his royal household. He is requested not to leave his father as a heretic (*nāstika*) leaves good duty (*saddharma*), his mother as an ungrateful person (*kṛtaghna*) leaves virtuous action or hospitality (*satkriyā*), his wife as a timid fellow (*Klība*) leaves the wealth which comes to him (*prāptām śriyam*) and his son as an addict to evil (*vyasanī*) leaves his good reputation (*uttamam yaśuḥ*).[5] The women who were waiting for the return of Gautama from the forest came out of the mansions on hearing that the chariot had arrived like the unsteady lightnings from the autmnal clouds.[6] While referring to the central doctrines of Buddhism, Aśvaghoṣa remarks that just as a flame when it is extinguished does not emit its rays upwaradly or downwardly likewise when passion or like is destroyed, the person does not turn to any side but acquires quietitude.[7]

There are five examples of *Rūpaka*. Vide :—

1. *Buddhacarita* IV. 1-54.
2. Ibid. XIII. 17-27 and 36-55.
3. *Rāmāyaṇa-Sundarakāṇḍa* XVII. 4-7.
4. Cf. अनभ्रवृष्टिः श्रवणामृतस्य सरस्वती विभ्रमजन्मभूमिः ।
   वैदर्भरीतिः कृतिनामुदेति सौभाग्यलाभप्रतिभूः प्रजानाम् ॥
   Vikramāṅkadevacarita 1.9.
5. *Buddhacarita* VI. 33-34. The aptness of the comparison (*aupamya*) is arresting.
6. Ibid. VIII. 20.
7. *Saundaranandam* XVI. 28.

शोकाग्निना त्वद्विरहेन्धनेन
निःश्वासधूमेन तमःशिखेन ।
त्वद्दर्शनायर्छति दह्यमानः
सोऽन्तःपुरं चैव पुरं च कृत्स्नम् ॥
Buddhacarita IX. 29

प्रज्ञाम्बुवेगां स्थिरशीलवप्रां
समाधिशीतां व्रतचक्रवाकाम् ।
अस्योत्तमां धर्मनदीं प्रवृत्तां
तृष्णार्दितः पास्यति जीवलोकः
Ibid I. 76

There are examples of *ananvaya*[1] and *virodhābhāsa*[2]. These illustrations show Aśvaghoṣa as an artist quite acquainted with the appropriate use of rhetorical embellishments.[3]

Yamaka and alliteration abound in these works[4]. They have a peculiar grace and appear to have a delicacy of appeal not generally met with except in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] and the works of Kālidāsa[6].

Vide :—

उदारसंख्यैः सचिवैरसंख्यैः
कृताग्रभावः स उदग्रभावः ।
शशी यथा भैरकृतान्यथाभैः
शाक्येन्द्रराजः सुतरां रराज ॥
Buddhacarita I. 14

तमार्यगृह्यं निगृहीतधेनु-
र्मनुष्यवाचा मनुवंशकेतुम् ।
विस्माययन् विस्मितमात्मवृत्तौ
सिंहोरुसत्त्वं निजगाद सिंहः ॥
Raghuvaṁśa II. 33.

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1. *Buddhacarita* I.5.
2. Ibid. I. 10.
3. Cf. *Saundaranandam* I. 53, 54.
4. For examples, see *Buddhacarita* IX, 30; *Saundaranandam* IV. 46; V. 6, VI. 25; X. 1, 2, 5, II ; XI.3, 4 ; XVIII. 13.
5. *Rāmāyaṇa-Sundarakāṇḍa*, cantos V and VII.
6. Vide :—*Raghuvaṁśa* II. 30, 69 ; V. 2 ; XV. 8, 28.

Aśvaghoṣa handles the metres with effortless ease and among the rare ones, the following deserve mention :—*Udgīta*[1], *Dhṛti*[2]. *Atirucirā*[3], *ujjvalā,*[4] *Pracupitā*[5] and *Suvadanā*[6]. Among the familiar ones, he adopts *Anuṣṭubh*, *Upajāti*, *Vaṁśastha*, *Śikhariṇī and Vasantatilakā*.

The most significant trait in these works is the elevated moral tone which is reflected in many didactic passages. Some of the noteworthy passages are :—

१. सुलभाः खलु संयुगे सहाया
विषयावाप्तसुखे धनार्जने वा ।
पुरुषस्य तु दुर्लभाः सहायाः
पतितस्यापदि धर्मसंश्रये वा ॥[7]

Buddhacarita V. 76

२. वासवृक्षे समागम्य विगच्छन्ति यथाण्डजाः ।
नियतं विप्रयोगान्तास्तथा भूतसमागमः ॥
समेत्य च यथा भूयो व्यपयान्ति बलाहकाः ।
संयोगो विप्रयोगश्च तथा मे प्राणिनां मतः ॥[8]

Ibid VI. 46, 47

३. अप्रियं हि हितं स्निग्धमस्निग्धमहितं प्रियम् ।
दुर्लभं तु प्रियहितं स्वादु पथ्यमिवौषधम् ॥[9]

Saundaranandam XI. 16

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1. *Saundaranandam* III. 4.
2. Ibid, VII. 52.
3. *Buddhacarita* III. 65 ; XII, 118 ; *Saundaranandam* X. 64.
4. *Buddhacarita* VIII. 87.
5. *Saundaranandam* II. 65.
6. Ibid. XI. 62.
7. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa-Yuddhakāṇḍa* XVI. 21; *Kirātārjunīya* I. 2.
8. The use of the word *vigacchanti* in *Śloka* 46 is not apt, cf. for a similar sense *Rāmāyaṇa-Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*—105—26.
9. Cf. *Kirātārjunīya* I, 4; also refer to

परोऽपि हितवान् बन्धुः बन्धुरप्यहितः परः ।
अहितो देहजो व्याधिः हितमारण्यमौषधम् ॥

cited in *Subhāṣitāvalī* 2705.

४. अकालो नास्ति धर्मस्य जीविते चञ्चले सति ।

Buddhacarita VI. 21

The whole of canto XI[1] of the *Buddhacarita* is devoted to condemn the attitude of people to get attached themselves to the world and the worldly objects and as such may be considered as having didactic import.

Apart from these didactic sayings, these works contain the views of Aśvaghoṣa on the various aspects of life. Old age and its effect on human beings are well brought out.[2] Prevention from doing what is not good, cooperation in doing what is good and non-desertion in times of distress are the three characteristics of a friend.[3] Greater importance is to be attached to cleanse the heart of the sins and this could be achieved by cultivating virtues and not by simply taking bath in water howsoever holy it is held to be.[4]

The poet's erudition is evident also in the choice of expressions which, though out of the ordinary usage, are apt. Such expressions might have been taken from the Sanskrit of the Buddhists or from the Prākṛta dialects which were then in vogue. Most of the expressions occur in the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* of Amarasiṁha, who, perhaps as a Buddhist,[5] selected these from accepted usage by Aśvaghoṣa and others and enumerated them in the lexicon which he compiled. Among them, the following deserve mention:— वेश्य,[6] त्रिपिष्टप,[7] कोल,[8] व्याड,[9]

1. cf. *Buddhacarita* IV. 99 and *Saundaranandam* XI. 24, 25 & 28 which are true and also humorous.
2. *Buddhacarita* III. 30, 31.
3. Ibid. IV. 64; cf. *Saundaranandam* XI. 17.
4. Ibid. VII. 30, 31.
5. A. B. Keith: *Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 413.
6. This word means costume, Vide:—*Amarakośa*, II. 2. 2, Bhānuji on the above *Kośa* tries to clarify the difference between the palatal and cerebral sound here but this is meaningless. For instance, for the use of this word, see *Buddhacarita* VIII, 21; X. 6, 9, 32; XIII. 68,
7. This is an alternative word for *triviṣṭapa*. Vide :-Bhānuji on *Amarakośa* I. 1. 6. For the formation of this word, see *Uṇādisūtras* 425. This word occurs in the *Buddhacarita* XI. 10,
8. This word, which occurs in the *Buddhacarita* XII. 93, means the *badara* fruit (jujube), Vide:—Bhānuji on the *Amarakośa* I. 10.11 where he cites the lexicon *Śāśvata*.
9. This word, which occurs in the *Buddhacarita* XIII. 22, means snake, Vide;—*Amarakośa* III. 3. 42.

गगण,[1] पद्मः,[2] दुष्ठु,[3] शमथ,[4] तर्ष,[5] केशराणि[6] and कलसः[7].

Forms like *adidāsīt*[8] and *Kṛśana*[9] are found used only in the Veda. This reveals that Aśvaghoṣa was not free from the influence of Vedic expressions, even though he became a Buddhist. The use of these need not be condemned on the ground that they are not used by later classical Sanskrit writers, as they are grammatically correct.

Aśvaghoṣa's acquaintance with the systems of Indian thought is profound and is revealed in his presentation and references to some of their doctrines in simple poetic form. His knowledge of the teachings of the *Bhagavadgītā* is suggested in the *Saundaranandam*.[10] Canto XII of the

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1. According to the *Amarakośa*, the word is *gagana* formed according to the *Uṇādisutra* गमेर्गश्च । 235—I. 1. 1. Perhaps the form was *gagaṇa* with the cerebral in the sense of 'containing troops of moving beings', Vide :—M. Williams: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* P. 277; *Buddhacarita* XIII. 56.
2. The word (*Buddhacarita* XIV. 82) takes either masculine or neuter gender. Vide :—*Amarakośa* I. 10.39. The use in the masculine is rare, Vide :—*Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāsa III. 4.
3. *Buddhacarita* IV, 84; Vide :—*Amarakośa* III. 5. 19. It is formed on the model of *suṣṭhu* on the strength of the *Uṇādisutra* अपदुः सुषु स्थः 25.
4. *Buddhacarita* XVI. 106. The word means tranquility. Vide :—*Amarakośa* III. 2. 3.
5. *Saundaranandam* IV. 11, VIII. 17, (where the word is used in the sense of thirst); ibid X. 40, 41 (where it is used in the sense of desiring to possess). Vide :—*Amarakośa* II. 9.55 on which Bhānuji cites *Viśva*—तृषा लिप्सातृषयोः स्त्रियाम् but the word is used in the masculine in the *Amarakośa* supra.
6. *Saundaranandam* X. 24; Vide :—*Amarakośa* I. 10. 43 on which Bhānuji derives it from the $\sqrt{\text{Śṝ}}$ with the suffix *-ap* and so the palatal is justified here although the text reads it with a dental.
7. *Saundaranandam* I. 28. This means a jar, Vide :—*Amarakośa* II. 9. 31 on which Bhānuji derives it from the word *Ka* which means water with the addition of *las* formed from the $\sqrt{las}$. See ibid for formation of the word *Kalaśa* with the palatal. For more examples of these kinds, see Haraprasad Sastri: Preface to the *Saundaranandam* pp, iii & iv.
8. *Adidāsīt* is a Vedic word Vide :—*Ṛgveda* 10.151.2. This word occurs in the *Saundaranandam* II. 18.
9. *Buddhacarita* II. 36. The word means pearl. Vide :—A.A. Macdonell : *Vedic Reader for Students* I. 35.4. According to the commentators Skandasvāmin, Mādhava and Sāyaṇa, it means gold. Vide :—commentaries on ibid.
10. Cf. *Saundaranandam* XVIII. 39, 41, and XIV. 1-9 with *Gītā* XI. 14, 44; and VI. 16-17 respectively.

Buddhacarita gives a faithful exposition of the *Sāṅkhya* system. The concept of *mokṣa* as *Brahmabhāva*, which is a very ancient belief, is referred to by Aśvaghoṣa.[1]

The four truths of Buddhism, called *Āryasatya* are admirably presented in the following lines :—

तद्व्याधिसंज्ञां कुरु दुःखसत्ये
दोषेष्वपि व्याधिनिदानसंज्ञाम् ।
आरोग्यसंज्ञां च निरोधसत्ये
भैषज्यसंज्ञामपि मार्गसत्ये ॥
तस्मात्प्रवृत्तिं परिगच्छ दुःखं
प्रवर्तकानप्यवगच्छ दोषान् ।
निवृत्तिमागच्छ च तन्निरोधं
निवर्तकञ्चाप्यवगच्छ मार्गम् ।

Saundaranandam XVI. 41-42

Here is the fine presentation of the four truths as disease, diagnosis, health and remedy and equally attractive is the use of the √*gam* with various prefixes to convey what one should do.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki was used to a great extent by Aśvaghoṣa in his descriptions[2] in the two poems. Certain ideas[3] were borrowed

1. *Buddhacarita* XII. 65. Cf. ibid. XII. 42 ; XV. 93. Aśvaghoṣa is possibly making a reference here to the theistic *Sāṅkhya*.
2. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa—Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 48.7 ; 60.2 ; and 105.26 and *Sundarakāṇḍa* X. 4 to 17. There is a reference in the *Buddhacarita* VIII. 81 to Daśaratha's grief at the exile of Rāma.
3. Cf. *Buddhacarita* II. 10 with *Rāmāyaṇa-Bālakāṇḍa* VI. 6 ; ibid. VI. 46 and 47 with *Ayodhyākaṇḍa* 105.26, ibid. VIII. 13 with ibld. 48.7; ibid VIII. 76 with ibid. 60.2.

Cf. रुरोद मम्लौ विरुराव जग्लौ
बभ्राम तस्थौ विललाप दध्मौ ।

Saundaranandam VI. 34

with

आस्फोटयामास चुचुम्ब पुच्छं
ननन्द चिक्रीड जगौ जगाम ।
स्तम्भानरोहन्निपपात भूमौ
निदर्शयन् स्वां प्रकृतिं कपीनाम् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa-Sundarakāṇḍa X. 54

by him actually from Vālmīki. The close correspondence between the poems of Aśvaghoṣa and those of Kālidāsa is so striking that the conclusion is irresistible that they knew each other's composition. If this is not admitted, at least they must be admitted to have belonged to the same period.[1] However, a close examination of the passages,[2] ideas[3] and

1. Vide :—V. Varadachari : *Date of Kālidāsa-Vikram.* Vol. VII, 1964.

2. Compare

(१) तं गौरवं बुद्धगतं चकर्ष भार्यानुराग पुनराचकर्ष ।
सोऽनिश्चयान्नापि ययौ न तस्थौ तरंस्तरङ्गेष्विव राजहंसः ॥
with *Saundaranandam* IV. 42
मार्गाचलव्यतिकराकुलितेव सिन्धुः
शैलाधिराजतनया न ययौ न तस्थौ ॥
Kumārasambhava V. 85

(२) तां सुन्दरीं चेन्न लभेत नन्दः
सा वा निषेवेत न तं नतभ्रूः ।
द्वन्द्वं ध्रुवं तद्विकलं न शोभे-
तान्योन्यहीनाविव रात्रिचन्द्रौ॥
with *Saundaranandam* IV. 7
परस्परेण स्पृहणीयशोभं
न चेदिदं द्वन्द्वमयोजयिष्यत् ।
अस्मिन् द्वये रूपविधानयत्नः
पत्युः प्रजानां वितथोऽभविष्यत् ॥
Kumārasambhava VII. 66
Raghuvaṁśa VII. 14

(३) अतोऽपि नैकान्तसुखोऽस्ति कश्चि-
न्नैकान्तदुःखः पुरुषः पृथिव्याम् ।
with *Buddhacarita* XI. 43
कस्यान्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ॥
Uttara-Meghadūta 46

3. (1) Cf. *Buddhacarita* I. 41 with *Raghuvaṁśa* III. 14 and *Kumārasambhava* I.23.
(2) *Buddhacarita* III. 13-24 with *Raghuvaṁśa* VII. 5-11 and *Kumārasambhava* VII. 56-62.
(3) *Saundaranandam* XVI. 84 with *Kumārasambhava* I. 59.
(4) Ibid. XII. 9 with *Raghuvaṁśa* XV. 9.
(5) Ibid. VI. 26 with *Raghuvaṁśa* XVIII. 8

expressions[1] occuring in the works of these two writers will lend support to the first mentioned conclusion. The admission of this will, on the other hand, show that one must have been atleast the predecessor of the other, or at any rate the senior contemporary, in which case both must have been residing in the same locality. Unfortunately, there is no agreement among scholars to give assent to this supposition, as it would then lead to giving up their notions and theories regarding the date of Kālidāsa.

Bhāravi,[2] the author of the *Kirātārjunīya* was indebted to Aśvaghoṣa for a description. Buddhaghoṣa, the author of the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, simply imitated Aśvaghoṣa by writing this poem. Śaraṇadeva cites Aśvaghoṣa by naming him in his *Durghaṭavṛtti.*[3] Perhaps, the Hindus and Buddhists, who came after Aśvaghoṣa, were intolerant of each others' contributions and did not come forward to express their appreciation of the others' contributions.

Aśvaghoṣa's place in the field of Sanskrit poetry is enviable in as much as he achieved success on a religious theme in poetic form marked by simplicity of language and style. In his poems, 'matter and poetic quality' are more appealing than its 'manner and artistic effect.'[4] 'This is certainly different from the later taste and standard of verse-making ; and it is not surprising

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1. (1) Cf. *Buddhacarita* II. 19, VI. 58, VII. 9 with *Raguhvaṁśa* XI. 61 XIII. 36, XVI. 86.
   (2) *Buddhacarita* XII. 2 with *Raghuvaṁśa* V. 34,—perfect participle of $\sqrt{gam}$.
   (3) *Saundaranandam* III. 22 with *Raghuvaṁśa* V. 61, XI. 65,—perfect participle of $\sqrt{sth\bar{a}}$.
   (4) *Saundaranandam* V. 29 with *Raghuvaṁśa* VIII. 30, IX. 44, XI. 22,—the perfect participle of $\sqrt{\bar{i}}$ with *upa*.
   (5) *Saundaranandam* II. 18 with *Raghuvaṁśa* XII. 19, V. 74, *Pūrva Meghadūta* 36.
   (6) सिंहोरस्का महाभुजः । *Saundaranandam* I. 19 with व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्धः सालप्रांशुर्महाभुजः । *Raghuvaṁśa* I. 13·
   (7) प्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः । *Saundaranandam* V. 17 with प्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः *Mālavikāgnimitra* I.2.
2. Cf. (1) *Buddhacarita* I. 13 with *Kirātārjunīya* I. 11,
   (2) *Buddhacarita* VIII. 55 to 58 with *Kirātārjunīya* I. 34 to 36, 38 to 40.
   (3) *Saundaranandam* XI. 16 with *Kirātārjunīya* I.4.
3. He is mentioned as Ghoṣa—*Durghaṭavṛti* PP. 7, 17, 62, 86, 97, 116 and as Aśvaghoṣa on P. 97.
4. S.K. De : *History of Sanskrit Literature*. P. 78.

that with the exception of Kālidāsa, who is nearer his time,[1] Aśvaghoṣa excercised little influence on later Sanskrit poets, although the exception itself is a sure indication of the essential quality of his literary effort. It is unfortunate that the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* has not come down in full. Two purposes would have been gained, if it had been available. Firstly, a comparative estimate of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa as dramatists could be had. Secondly, the extent of the influence, which Aśvaghoṣa as the first writer of a drama with allegorical characters, exercised on Jayantabhaṭṭa, the writer of *Āgamaḍambara*, and Kṛṣṇamiśra, the author of *Prabodhacandrodaya*, could be studied more thoroughly and with greater confidence.

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1. Ibld. 78.
   Though Prof. De is not inclined to admit contemporaniety of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa, (Vide:—ibid. P. 125), it is evident that the two poets were not separated by centuries. There is more than one reason to believe that Kālidāsa might have been the elder contemporary.

THE ASSOCIATION OF DIVINITIES IN PAIRS

Dr. J. Gonda

UTRECHT

One of the most interesting complexes of problems with which the student of the history of Indian religions is confronted is the relation between Vedic religion and the beliefs and practices of Hinduism. To what extent did Vedic ideas survive; to what extent were they adapted and transformed; to what extent were they exclusively and typically "Vedic", failing to make an appeal to the feelings of those who adhered to the religions of Śiva and Viṣṇu ? Referring for a general discussion of some pertinent problems to former publications[1], I would like to invite attention here to one point which does not seem to have so far been elucidated with all distinctness desirable.

As is well known, one of the peculiar features of Vedic religion is the celebration in pairs of deities whose names are joined in the form of a dual compound : Mitrā-Varuṇā, Indrā-Varuṇā, Indrā-Viṣṇū, Agnī-Ṣomā etc. with the exception of Mitra-and-Varuṇa and Agni-and-Soma these dual deities did not even leave their traces in the *Mahābhārata*. In the post-Vedic period they sunk into oblivion.

Now, while correctly stating that this association of divinities in pairs was a Vedic custom that did not survive into subsequent stages of Indian religion, the late French savant Louis Renou[2] added : "the later Harihara is a subordinate figure, lacking consistent treatment." This is true, but—it would appear to me—it is not the whole truth. In a book on the Vedic dual divinities, which I hope, will be published within a year, I made an attempt to show that one of the striking characteristics of the phenomenon is the idea of complementary and co-operative union. Two divine figures, which, though perhaps unlike in power and influence, are essentially each other's equals, combine so as to constitute a closely associated pair. Parjanya and Vātā (Rain and Wind) are as a double deity implored

1. See J. Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, The Hague 1965 and *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, London 1970.

2. L. Renou, *Religions of Ancient India*, London 1953, p. 21.

to give new life to the soil (*Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* 6. 49. 6). Indra and Varuṇa could be regarded as in a way supplementing each other because the former personifies the dynamic aspects of sovereignty, the latter its static aspects. The close association of Agni and Soma, the two great ritual deities, may have been brought about in those circles which performed rites consisting of a combination of fire cult and soma sacrifices. Indra and Agni have so much in common—their protective power, victoriousness and ability to ward off demons and enemies as well as their common interest in the ritual—that it is not surprising to find that they were closely associated as the dual deity Indrāgnī. Even Mitra and Varuṇa, who, according to Coomaraswamy[1], were a "mixed person of both gods rather than an aggregate or mere composition of an essence and a nature," are distinct divine personalities. Although they could appear as an indistinguishable unity when, or in so far as, they fulfil the same functions, Mitra and Varuṇa are, in the main, a double representation of the same range of ideas ; presupposing each other's existence they co-operate with one another. If appearing as a dual deity they constitute a biunity of conjoint principles which in their functions and activities often complement each other[2]; whereas, for instance, Varuṇa as the guardian of the Universal Order punishes the transgressor, his companion and complement Mitra, no less its promoter and maintainer, is the divine functionary who redresses if something has gone wrong, who appears, adjusts, restores, writes men in a friendly manner. Mitra appeases, Varuṇa restrains, (*Kāṭhakasaṁhitā* 25. 10)

On the other hand, the fused or composite gods of the Hindu period differ from the Vedic double divinities in that they express identity or constitute combinations into one single manifestation of the Divine Being rather than co-operative duality. Viṣṇu and Śiva are explicitly declared to be "the two highest who are one" (*Harivaṁśa*, 10660 f.) and may as such be involved under joint titles such as Harihara or Pradyumna-Īśvara[3]. Both gods are sometimes praised as being, each of them, one half of the Highest God. Or the original form of God is said to be composed of two "halves" known individually as Śiva and Viṣṇu[4]. The poet, who in

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1. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government*, American Oriental Series 22, New Haven 1942 (New York 1967), p. 6, n. 6.
2. For details see J. Gonda, *The Vedic God Mitra*, Leiden 1972.
3. On an inscription found at Deopara in Bengal (about 1100) : *Epigraphia Indica* I. p. 311
4. See e.g. Abhinanda, *Rāmacarita* (11th century ?), 9, 52; 24, 112.

Harivaṁśa, a. 181 glorifies this composite figure, says that "he does not see any difference between Śiva resembling Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu resembling Śiva", adding : "Viṣṇu is Rudra and Rudra is also Viṣṇu. Just as water falling into water does not cease being water, thus Viṣṇu united with Rudra becomes Rudra without changing his nature"; "they are one single being which has doubled and is infinite and omnipresent"; "from the very beginning these two divinities are but one". And to quote the *Skanda-Upaniṣad*: "Both gods, Mahādeva and Mahāhari, are identical; Viṣṇu appears as Śiva, Śiva as Viṣṇu; *Śivasya hṛdayam Viṣnur Viṣṇoś ca hṛdayom Śivaḥ, yathā Śivamayo Viṣṇur evaṁ Viṣṇumayaḥ Śivaḥ*" and so on.

Similar observations may be made in connection with the combinations of, for instance, Śiva and Sūrya, who are explicitly identified under names such as Mihireśvara[1] or Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava and as such regarded as the manifestation of one and the same Supreme Being.

The difference in character between the Vedic dual deities and these Hindu combinations is not, however, hard to understand. As soon as a community comes to worship an Īśvara, a sole High God, there is no longer occasion for complementary or co-operative forms of union of two divine figures which, though perhaps unlike in power and influence, are distinct personalities and essentially each other's equals. When a god is recognized as the Īśvara any other deity claiming a high rank is liable to become an aspect, double or manifestation of this Highest God. If in such a community two gods are regarded as representatives of the One Highest Being the only conclusion possible is the admission that they are essentially identical. This did not, however, prevent the authors of devotional literature or the promulgators of popular religion from introducing the belief—well known to their Vedic predecessors (see e.g. *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā*. 7.83. 1; 10. 145. 5; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, 1. 181; *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 14. 1. 3. 1 "a pair means strength")—that union means force. When, for instance, neither Viṣṇu nor Śiva was able to conquer the fierce demon Guha, both gods combined their essences, contrary though they were, into a single, unforeseen manifestation and succeeded in overthrowing the tyrant. Thus, according to the legend, this union of both great gods in a single anthropomorphic manifestation came to pass.

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1. I refer to D. K. Biswas, *Surya Śiva, in Indian Historical Quarterly* 24 (1948), p, 142 ff.

THE MAN-EATER CONVERTED

Dr. J. Ensink

GRONINGEN

In a contribution to the volume "*Pratidānam*", presented to F. B. J. Kuiper, I have discussed the tales about king Kalmāṣapāda in the epics and *purāṇas* and tried to show that in these tales Vedic traditions have combined with a story from *itihāsa-purāṇa*.[1] Before turning to other tales about one king Kalmāṣapāda it may be useful to recapitulate the relevant points of that paper.

From *itihāsa-purāṇa* then the following elements appear to stem:—

(1) The king kills a demon, whose companion vows vengeance.

(2) Misled by the demon the king offers food with human flesh to his *guru*.

(3) The *guru* curses the king to become a man-eater, but

(4) limits the duration of the curse to twelve years.

(5) The king refrains from cursing the *guru* in return and, in dropping the cursing water on his feet, gets his feet spotted. Hence his name Kalmāṣapāda.

(6) The king for twelve years lives as a man-eater and during that period devours a brahman. The brahman's wife curses the king to die as soon as he has intercourse with a woman.

(7) After the twelve years the king authorises his *guru* to beget offspring with the queen.

(8) The qeen gives birth to a prince, Aśmaka.

In the *Ādiparvan*'s version the king's becoming an instrument of Viśvāmitra's hate against Vasiṣṭha and the killing of Vasiṣṭha's sons are derived from Vedic tradition. In all versions Vasiṣṭha's being or becoming the king's *guru* is probably also a Vedic element. In connection with the

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1. Ensink 1968 b. Lommel's paper on *Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra* (1967) had not yet come to my knowledge then.

matter we are going to discuss it is important that among these Vedic elements there is no man-eater story.

In this paper I intend to deal with the other Kalmāṣapāda stories known to us. These are numerous. Watanabe[1] drew up a list of some twenty versions from Buddhist literature, Hamm (1951) discussed five from Jaina texts and two Old-Javanese texts (*Sut. K.*[2] and *Sut. CP.*) will prove relevant to our inquiry.

Though these versions diverge widely, there clearly is a central theme, which is common to all of them. This could not be better formulated than the Javanese poet Tantular did when he entitled one of his works (*Sut. K.*; a very diverging form for the rest) *Puruṣāda-śānta*, "the Man-eater converted". Indeed the conversion of the man-eater is the dénouement of the drama in nearly all of these tales.[3] This also clearly opposes this man-eater story to the one we found in the *Ādiparvan*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *purāṇas*. There the cannibalism is due to one or even two curses and ends either after the set period of twelve years has elapsed or by an exorcism, a theme which we may call "the man-eater through execration" for convenience. Though moral elements are not absent from the latter tale, in the former one the moralizing tendency is stronger and more in tune with the Buddhist and Jaina teachings.

The "man-eater converted" theme in most cases has been combined with other themes. To illustrate this, one of the versions, the *MahāSut.J.*, may be passed in review.

Sutasoma, son of the king of Indapatta, and Brahmadatta, son of the king of Kāśī, meet at the gate of Takkasilā, where they are going to study and become friends.

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1. Watanbe 1909. French translations Chavannes 1910-1935. 41/1. 143-148 (from the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsamuccaya;* cp. Watanabe 1909. 248-250) and 133/1.405f. (from the Older *Saṁyuktāvadāna;* ep. Watanbe 1909. 243f.); Lamotte 1944-1970. 1. 260-263 (from Nāgārjuna's *MPPŚ*; cp. Watanabe 1909. 245-248). The tale has been represented in the frescoes of Ajaṇṭā (Foucher 1921. 213f.), and in the sculptures of Aurangābād (Foucher 1932), Barabuḍur (Krom-van Erp 1920-1931. serie I B a, pl. XIV, nos. 116-120; according to Jm.) and Pagan (Grünwedel 1897). *Bibliography Lamotte* 1944-1970. 1.260, note 1 and 2, 853, note 1.
2. Kern 1888; Ensink 1960 and 1967. 10-12.
3. An exception is the tale in Saṅghadāsa's *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, where the man-eater is killed by Vasudeva (Hamm 1951. 67f.).

After having become king, Brahmadatta eats meat even on *Uposathas*. Once the meat is eaten by the pedigree dogs kept in the palace and the cook, as he can nowhere buy meat, cuts a piece of flesh from a dead body in the cemetery and prepares it for the king. The king relishes it. He makes the cook tell what kind of meat this is and orders him to serve human flesh every day. When in the end the cook is compelled to murder people, general Kālahatthi finds him out and through him the king. There is a long discussion between the general and the king, in which both parties tell parables, but the king sticks to his decision to have human flesh for meat and is banished together with the cook. They resort to the jungle, where the king waylays travellers. Once, travellers wanting, he kills his cook and devours him.

Chased by the escort of a rich brahman the man-eater gets his foot wounded by an acacia splinter and makes a vow to a tree spirit to sacrifice a hundred and one kings if he recovers. So, when the foot is well again, the man-eater captures a hundred kings. The tree-spirit (who has not effected the healing) is worried over the man-eater's doings. On the advice of Sakka he instigates the eater to capture Sutasoma as the last victim.

Just as Sutasoma is going to bathe a brahman comes to him, who wants to recite four verses. Sutasoma asks him to wait till he has made his ablutions, but when he comes out of the water the man-eater seizes him and carries him off. Sutasoma is not afraid of dying, but he cannot bear the idea that the brahman will wait in vain and not get a remuneration for the recitation of his verses as he expected. Therefore, he asks the man-eater to let him go on parole. After having made a few objections, the man-eater consents. Sutasoma returns to the palace, hears the four verses from the brahman, rewards him with princely munificence, and, notwithstanding the entreaties of his parents, goes back to the man-eater. In the course of the conversation which follows the man-eater is more and more impressed by the noble character of the prince and he asks him to repeat the four verses he has heard from the brahman. He appreciates these highly and, therefore, grants Sutasoma four boons. Sutasoma wishes (1) that the Man-eater may live a hundred years, (2) that he will not eat the captive kings, (3) that he will set them free, and (4) that he will henceforth abstain from eating human flesh. Moreover, Sutasoma has the one hundred kings promise that they will not take revenge on Brahmadatta and also persuades the people of Kāśī to restore Brahmadatta to the throne.

To thank the tree-spirit for his help in the matter Sutasoma has a tank dug near the tree and founds a township there. "And because it had been founded at the place where 'Spotted Feet' (*Kammāṣapāda*) had been converted, that township got the name of Kammāsadammanigama."[1]

In this *jātaka* "man-eater converted" theme has been combined with other elements, all of which recur in other versions. From this point of view we may sum up the tale as follows.

(1) An account of how the man-eater came to be a man-eater.

(2) The "round number of victims" theme.

(3) The "Promise to Return" *motif*. In the *MahāSut.J.*, as in serveral other versions of our tale, it is connected with the brahman reciting four verses.

(4) The conversion of the man-eater by his last captive.

These chapters have been discussed in detail by Watanabe. I have little to add and for the rest shall limit myself to those points that seem relevant to my disquisition.

(1) The question how the man-eater acquired his bad habit seems to have interested the narrators very much.

Most of the more detailed Buddhist versions account for it with a tale which is very much akin to the one of the *MahāSut.J.*

In two Jaina versions[2] the meat is stolen by a cat; in three others the king/prince wants to eat meat even on fast-days, when no ordinary meat is available.

In the Old-Javanese *Sut.K.* the meat is stolen by dogs and swine, but the Cantakaparva (*Sut.CP.* 78b), which as a rule follows *Sut.K.*, here has a quite different tale: "A dish of fresh banana stalks was served to him every day. Now, the person who cooked the food cut his hand, the blood ran upon the stalks, it was cooked together with them, and Purosada enjoyed it." This feature is also found in a text entitled *Baṭara Kala* which is a script (*lakon*) for the wayang, the Javanese shadow puppet play.[3]

1. J 5, 511, 14f. : *kammāsapādassa damitaṭṭhāne niviṭṭhattā pana so gāmo Kammāsadammanigamo nāmajāto.*

2. Haribhadra's *Āvaśyakaṭīkā* and Saṅghadāsa's *Vasudevahiṇḍi* (Hamm 1951. 67f.).

3. Ensink 1967. 59, note 3.

As both the *lakon Baṭara Kala* and the tale of Sutasoma are staged in exorcistic rituals (Javanese *ruvat*; Balinese *lukat*; Ensink 1968a, 429ff.), we may suppose that the Cantakaparva author borrowed the tale of the cut finger from that special class of wayang plays.

In some versions[1] the origin of the cannibalism is traced further back. A king[2] in the jungle copulates with a lioness and a son[3] is born from that union. The boy somehow comes to the royal court and succeeds his father. Then follows a tale, similar to that of the *MahāSut.J.*, how he by chance comes to taste human flesh.

In the *Jayadd.J.* the man-eater immediately after his birth is carried off by a *yakkhinī* and reared on human flesh.

Tantular (*Sut.K.* 21.2—22.5) tells about a *rākṣasa* called Śūciloma, who is subdued by the Bodhisattva Agrakumāra and for the rest of his life practises austerities This Śūciloma is reborn as Sudāsa's (sic!) son Sudaṇḍa, king of Ratnakhaṇḍa. The king becomes possessed by Rudra and develops a leonine character. Even the gods are afraid of him. Once the meat destined for him is stolen by dogs and swine ..The possession by Rudra (there called Paśupati) is also mentioned in *SutCP.* (78a).

DMA and its Tibetan translation *Dzang lun* have the most complicated story : Kalmāṣapāda is born of king Brahmadatta and a lioness. When he has become king, he demolishes a temple in fulfilment of a wish of one of his queens. The deity of the temple takes the shape of a sage and asks the king henceforth to serve him food with meat every day. When the true sage comes and is offered meat, he becomes angry and curses the king to be a man-eater for twelve years. This curse takes effect when the cook forgets to prepare meat and roasts the corpse of a child.

In the Mahāyānist texts the passage about the king becoming a man-eater is obviously meant as an example of the objectionableness of eating meat, the king is represented as going from bad to worse : *sa māṁsabhojanāhārātiprasaṅgena...māṁsāni mānuṣyāny api bhakṣitavān* (*Laṅk. Sū.* 250.14f.).[4]

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1. Ārya Śūra *Jm.* 31/209. 15ff.; *BKA* (D'Oldenburg 1893.331f.); *DMA* (Watanabe 1909.266); *Dzang lun* 311f. and *SMBhN*.
2. In *Jm.*, *BKA* and *SMBhN* he is called *Sudāsa*; in *DMA*/*Dzang lun Brahmadatta*.
3. In Jm. *Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa*; in *BKA Saudāsa Narasiṁha*; in *SMBhN Siṁhasaudāsa*; in *DMA*/*Dzaṅ lun Kalmāṣapāda*.
4. A similar moral Chavannes 1910-1935. 41, 1. 143f.

(2) The round number of victims occurs in nearly all Buddhist versions. It is absent from the Jaina tales, nor is it part of the *Jayadd.J.* But in the tales about Sutasoma[1] the liberation of the fellow-captives is considered an important deed of the Bodhisattva, which is even mentioned in such short references as in the *Bodhisattvapūrvacaryā* (Watanabe 1909.251) and RP (22.9f.). The divergences are not very great.

The reason why the man-eater has to make so many captives as a rule lies in the vow he made to the tree-spirit; in *DMA* and *Dzang lun* the *rākṣasas* who follow the man-eater ask him to give a banquet in which one thousand kings will serve as meat.

In *Sut.K.* and *Sut.CP.* the vow is made to *Kāla*.

The captives as a rule are referred to as kings (*rājan*), sometimes as kṣatriyas, sometimes as princes (e.g. Jm. *rājakumāra* or *kṣatriyakumāra*).

In most cases the number of the captives is a hundred, in *DMA Dzang lun* and another Chinese version[2] it is one thousand and in the *Saṁyuktāvadāna*[3] it is one hundred.

There is some difference as to whether Sutasoma himself is included in the round number or not. We have seen that in the *MahāSut.J.* the man-eater makes a vow to offer a hundred and one kings to the tree-spirit. In the rest of the tale the narrator obviously gets confused, for the captured kings, Sutasoma not yet being seized, are repeatedly said to be a hundred and one in number[4] and the *Nidāna* follows this calculation (J 1.46.23).

In *Jm.* the man-eater, when Sutasoma has asked him to be set free on parole, considers: *kiṁ ca tāvan mamānena naṣṭenāpi syāt| asti hi me svabhujavīryaprabhāvād vaśīkṛtam śatamātraṁ kṣatriyakumārāṇām| tair yathopayācitaṁ bhūtayajñaṁ kariṣyāmi|* "What is it to me if I lose him! For by the superior strength of my arm I already have captured a full hundred young noblemen. With them I may perform the sacrifice according to my vow."

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1. P'u Ming in some Chinese versions.
2. Watanabe 1909. 252f.
3. Watanbe 1909. 250f.
4. 473.16; 496.24; 497.8. But 474. 15f. the man-eater seeing the tree-spirit in the shape of an ascetic, thinks: *imam gahetvā ekasatam pūretvā balikammaṁ karissāmi.* "When I have seized him and thus completed the number of a hundred and one, I shall bring the sacrifice".

In *Sut.K.*, when the man-eater in a long military campaign has taken prisoner a hundred kings and comes to offer them to *Kāla*, the offer is declined, because, as *Kāla* says : "They have little merit and force, are defiled, no good food and tasteless" (*hīnaguṇālpaśakti kaluṣa ndātan subhukty āsepa/* 111.1 b). If the man-eater can bring him Sutasoma, he may set the hundred kings free. So the man-eater with his troops sets out to take Sutasoma prisoner. This passage may have been inspired by some sentence like that we find in the commentary (*veyyākaraṇa*) on a verse of the *MahāSut.J.* (475.20f.) : *ye vā te vā dubbalarājāno ānesi Jambudīpatale jeṭṭhakaṁ Sutasomarājānaṁ sace tvaṁ nānessasi vacanan te musā nāma hoti/* "No matter which weak kings you bring, if you do not bring Sutasoma, the foremost king in Jambūdvīpa, your vow is false."

However, in most tales the number of the captured kings is ninety-nine plus Sutasoma as the hundredth one.

That the round number of victims is a theme in itself will appear more clearly from a comparison with the story of Aṅgulimāla. This character, who was a murderer, but was converted by the Buddha and became an *arhat* soon afterwards, is well known in Buddhist literature.

He plays a role in the story of the Buddha's lifetime (*paccuppannavatthu*) which introduces the *MahāSut. J.*

Aṅgulimāla—now already an *arhat*—by an act of truth saves the life of a woman who has a difficult delivery. This is an occasion for the bhikkhus to recount the great deed done by the Buddha in converting such a cruel murderer as Aṅgulimāla. The Master, perceiving this conversation, goes to the hall of audience and, to show that even in a former life he converted Aṅgulimāla to better ways of life, tells the story of Sutasoma and the man-eater. In the concluding passage (*samodhāna*) Sutasoma is identified with the Buddha and the man-eater with Aṅgulimāla.

The part of Aṅgulimāla's story which interests us here is told in many texts.[1] In Dhammapāla's commentary on the *Theragāthā* it runs as follows.

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1. *Majjh. N.* 8.62.97-100 (*Aṅgulimālasutta*), translated by Burlingame (1921. 3. 6-9); *Th.* 866-891/80-82; Dhammapāla *ThA.* ad 866-891/3. 54-57; Chavannes 1911-1935. 41.1. 148-150. According to Wesselski 1930 tales about "the murder pleasing to God" in Western Asia and Europe have a root in a version of the tale of Aṅgulimāla.

When Aṅgulimāla, as a brahman youth, has completed his study his master asks him a thousand right-hand fingers as a honorarium Aṅgulimāla murders nine hundred and ninety-nine men, cutting a finger from each victim, stringing the fingers on a cord and wearing this over his shoulder as if it were a sacrificial cord.[1] Hence the name Aṅguli-māla "Finger-garland."

The king of Kosala sends an armed force to take him prisoner. To warn him of this danger Aṅgulimāla's mother goes to her son. The Buddha perceives that Aṅgulimāla will murder his mother in order to make up the thousand fingers full, and therefore, appears on the road before Aṅgulimāla's mother. The murderer now takes his weapons and runs in pursuit of the Buddha, but, though he is running and the Buddha walking, he cannot overtake him. Then he stops and cries to the Exalted One telling him to stand, on which the Buddha replies: "I am standing, stand you too." Puzzling over this answer Aṅgulimāla asks :

"While going along, ascetic, you say 'I am standing still' and you say that I, who am standing still, am not standing still. I ask you, ascetic, 'Why are you standing still and I am not standing still?' "

And the Master answers :

"I am always standing still, Aṅgulimāla, having given up violence towards all beings; but you are unrestrained towards living creatures. Therefore, I am standing still, you are not standing still."[2]

Deeply impressed by these words the murderer throws his weapons away, touches the Master's feet and asks to be ordained.

From the comparison of the stories of Sutasoma and Aṅgulimāla it is clear that the conversion of the man-eater/murderer by the man whom he intended to be his last victim is an essential element in the "round number of victims" theme.

(3) The theme of the "Promise to Return" is wide-spread in the stories of many peoples.[3] Apart from the short references it is found in each of

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1. *ThA*. 3. 56. 6 *yaññopacitam* may be read as *yaññopavītam*. Cp. *PTSD* s. v. *yañña*.

2. Th. 861f./81. The translation is Norman's. A similar discussion between the man-eater and the tree-spirit in *Mahā Sut. J.* A striking parallel in Haribhadra's *Āvaśyakaṭīkā* (Hamm 1951. 72).

3. Bloomfield 1919. 183 and 1923. 218f. Tawney-Penzer 1924-1928. 7. 202f.

the Buddhist versions of our tale listed by Watanabe[1] and then it is always connected with the request of the brahman, who in some versions just begs for alms, but as a rule offers to recite stanzas, usually four.

The theme has a great moral significance: if the conversion of the man-eater and the liberation of the kings is the great achievement of the Bodhisattva, the fulfilment of the promise to return is the essential means to that end. It is also an example of the Bodhisattva's high virtue, the perfection of truth (*saccapāramī*) according to the *Hīnayāna*,[2] the perfection of good conduct (*śīlapāramitā*) according to the *Mahāyāna*.[3]

At this point the Javanese recension (*Sut. K.* and *Sut. CP*) radically departs from the traditional form. Tantular does not know about the visit of the brahman We have seen that the man-eater marches against Sutasoma's capital, Hastina, to take the king prisoner. The troops of Hastina and their allies, contrary to Sutasoma's will, oppose the enemy valiantly, but are defeated. Then Sutasoma, physically unarmed, goes out to meet the man-eater, who, being possessed by Rudra, has taken the form of that god in the course of the battle. Sutasoma approaches Rudra without being harmed by the fire issuing from Rudra's body. The flames turn into *amṛta*, which restores the fallen heroes to life, and the god cannot get a firm hold of the king. Irritated he lets off all kinds of missiles, but these turn into flowers, a lovely pavilion, tank and embankment. In extreme rage Rudra takes the shape of Kālāgnirudra and threatens to consume the world by fire. Gods and seers descend to withhold him. They point out to him that he, as a form of the supreme Śiva, is in reality one with Sutasoma, who is an incarntion of the supreme Buddha, Śiva and Buddha being one. But the angry god is deaf to their words. Now Śakra appeals to Sutasoma. The king concentrates (*ekacitta*) and produces a spiritual weapon, the divine Bajratīkṣṇa. This annihilates Rudra's fury; the god is pacified and withdraws from the man-eater's person. The man-eater is now only a mortal creature and does not want to sacrifice Sutasoma. But Sutasoma insists upon being brought to *Kāla*,

1. The *Jayadd. J.* has a curious variant: the promise made by the father Jayaddisa is fulfilled by the son, Alīnasattu, who is the Bodhisatta.

2. *J. I.* 46. 24. Cp. Chavannes 1910-1935. 133/1. 406. The *Jayadd. J.*, where the situation is different (cp. preceding note), is considered an example of *sīlapārami* (*J. I.* 45. 20ff.).

3. The version of the *Ṣaṭpāramitāsamuccaya*. (Watanabe 1909. 248-250; Chavannes 1910-1935. 41/1. 143-148) is told in a chapter on *śīlapāramitā*. Nāgārjuna twice (*MPPŚ* 1.260 and 2 853) mentions the *jātaka* as an example of *sīlapāramitā*.

so that the hundred kings may be set free. So it is done, the hundred kings are released, but *Kāla* proves unable to swallow the Bodhisattva and has to let him loose too. Both *Kāla* and the man-eater become Sutasoma's pupils.

In comparing this version with the others one should bear in mind that Tantular had set himself the task to develop the subject-matter of a *Jātaka* story into a *mahākāvya* (Old-Javanese *kakavin*). A battle, for instance, was one of the things which he had to describe, according to the rules of *alaṅkāraśāstra*.[1]

The conversion of *Kāla* in the *kakavin* seems to be a more elevated form of the tricking *Kāla* out of his claim, which is the regular conclusion of wayang plays used in exorcistic rituals.[2] The *Sut. K.* in recent times indeed has been used in such rituals.[3] Whether it has been composed for that purpose is an open, but interesting, question.

Watanabe has drawn a detailed picture of the development of the story as he sees it. He operates on the principle that the development must have been from the simple story to the more complicated one. A detailed discussion of his views cannot be undertaken here. I limit myself to some questions concerning the relation of the Buddhist man-eater stories to the Vedic tradition and the epics.

From the analyses given of the epic-puranic story and the story from Buddhist and Jaina literature it is clear that these are two different stories. This was already pointed out by Watanabe (1909. 287f.): "The simplest form of the Kalmāṣapāda legend, as we have seen in the Old *Saṁyuktāvadāna*, takes on the independent nature of a *Jātaka* story. It appears simply as one of those primitive forms of the birth stories, which are found in the basreliefs on the Bharhut *Stūpa*. The king, the *Rākṣasa*, the begging Brahmin and truthfulness of speech as the didactic nucleus of the story, are quite common figures in the ancient birth-stories. Here we cannot naturally trace any Brahmanic influence."

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1. On the role of *alaṅkāraśāstra* in Old-Javanese literature cp. Hooykaas 1958.
2. Ensink 1968 a. 429-432; Hooykaas 1972. Several of these wayang plays will be edited and translated in Professor Hooykaas' forthcoming book "*Kāma and Kāla, Materials for the Study of the Balinese Shadow Theatre*" (North Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam-London),
3. Ensink 1968 a. 432-435.

Other scholars have postulated a common origin of the two stories. Speyer (1895. 314) said : "In the *Mahābhārata* the legend of Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa, the man-eater, is told, I, adhy. 176 and 177. It is very different from the Buddhistic fashion, yet both versions must be derived from one source". Kern (1912) thought that the two versions had a common origin in a myth of the lunar eclipse, Kalmāṣapāda representing Rāhu and Sutasoma/Vasiṣṭha the Moon. Lommel, discussing the saga of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, says (1967. 223) : "The Buddhist legends..., as late offshoots, still belong to our saga."

Watanabe (1909. 288) supposes some Vedic influence in the Buddhist story as soon as the name Sutasoma appears. This name, literally meaning "one who has pressed soma"[1], according to him is here an epithet of the Vedic king Sudās, a character who in ihe Ādiparvan becomes the man-eater king Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa.[2] He also suggests that the name P'u Ming, which in some Chinese versions is found for Sutasoma, might go back to Sanskrit *Subhās(a)*. This would be "only a slight paleographical or phonetic change of *Sudās*." Obviously what is thought to be borrowed from the Veda is only the name Sutasoma and this according to Watanabe would refer to "the bright side, the triumphant character, of Sudās", whereas his dark side developed into king Kalmāṣapāda of the epic. Though for the latter development there is sufficient evidence, it is not clear in what the bright side of Sudās is thought to consist in this connection.

The hypothesis that the name Sutasoma was borrowed from Sudās is not inviting for two reasons. (1) As I have pointed out, no man-eater story is connected with king Sudās in the Veda and it is, therefore, all the more difficult to see what would be the link between him and the Bodhisattva Sutasoma. (2) Sudās has no special claim to the qualification *sutasoma*. Any king praised in the Veda may be supposed to have pressed soma regularly. Nowhere in the *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā* is *sutasoma* predicated of Sudās; it seems on the whole to be said more often of priests than kings.

To my mind the name Sutasoma, containing a word for "moon" and evoking the notion of *saumya*, must have been a fit name for a benign person. It is not only given to the Bodhisattva in the *MahāSut. J.*, but also in the *CullaSut. J.*, which is a renunciation story. The Buddhist narator who first gave the name to the Bodhisattva, may have been

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1. Cp. Grassman 1873-1875. 1532 s. v. *suta-sóma*.
2, Ensink 1968 b, 578-580,

inspired by the name of the son of Bhīma and Draupadī,[1] but he may have had another example, or it may have been his own idea.

Different etymologies of the name are given in the texts available to us.

The Pāli *jātakas* take the element *suta-* not in the sense of "pressed", but of "heard, learning". *MahāSut. J.* 457. 5 : *sutavittakatāya pana taṁ Sutasomo ti sañjāniṁsu.* *CullaSut J.* 177. 16 f. : *sutavitto savanasīlo ahosi, tena naṁ Sutasomo ti sañjāniṁsu* "He considered learning as wealth and was in the habit of hearing (teachers). Therefore they called him Sutasoma". The term *sutavitta* (*ka*)- has been mistranslated by some scholars (Francis in Cowell 1895-1907. 5; Dutoit 1907-1921; Lommel 1967. 224), who took *suta-* for "soma-juice", but parallels for that meaning are not known in Pāli. Grünwedel (1897. 37) interpreted it as "because he immediately knew whatever he heard." The right meaning, "lover of learning" (litterally "considering learning as wealth") has been given by Kern (1912. 183=1915. 132). Cp. *PTSD* s.v. *vittakatā-*. The meaning appears from *MahāSut. J.* 477. 9 : *imā Kassapadasabalena desitā catasso satārahā gāthā, tumhe sutavittakā ti sutvā tumhākaṁ desetum āgato mhīti,* "As I have heard that you consider learning as wealth, I have come to teach you four stanzas that have been taught by the Buddha Kassapa, each worth a hundred pieces of gold", and *ThA* ad 547-556/2.231 : *so sutavittakatāya pāto 'va catūhi dvārehi sīghaṁ dūte pesesi : 'Yattha bahussute passatha, tato nivattitvā mayhaṁ ārocethā' ti'* "As he considered learning as wealth, early in the morning he quickly sent out messengers through the four gates, ordering them to come back to tell him if they found men of great learning." Watanabe (1909.261) shows that in the *Siṁhasaudāsamāṁsabhakṣanivṛtti* the name of the hero must have been *Śrutasoma.*

Ārya Śūra (*Jm.* 31/207.21 ff.), probably by way of a pun, derives the name from *suta-* "son" and *soma-* "moon": *tasya guṇaśatakiraṇamālinaḥ somapriyadarśanasya sutasya Sutasoma ity evaṁ pitā nāma cakre|*

Tantular obviously takes the name in the same sense. In the beginning of his poem (*Sut.K.* 3.1cd) he says that his father gave him the name of Sutasoma ' because his complexion, which was as fine as one could wish, gave joy to all the world". Once (*Sut.K.* 137.2d) Tantular uses the variant *Somasūnu.*[2]

1, Sörensen 1904, 666, s, v, *Sutasoma,*

2. Van der Tuuk (*KBW* 3. 318 b, s. v. *soma*) suggests that the name might be due to a confusion of *Buddha* and *Budha*, the latter being the planet and a son of the moon. One would then expect *Somasuta.*

The most evident links between the epic-puranic story and the Buddhist one are the names Kalmāṣapāda and Saudāsa.

The name *Kalmāṣapāda*, or its variant *Kalmāṣāṅghri*, occurs in all versions discussed in my previous paper (1968 b). *Kalmāṣapāda* or *Kammāsapāda* is found in several Buddhist versions, though in most of these it is not frequently used, either *Porisāda* or *Saudāsa* being the current designation.

As I have tried to show (1968 b, esp. 581f.), the name Kalmāṣapāda, and probably a story about its origin, must of old have belonged to what I have termed the Mitrasaha-tradition. Though stories explaining a name are often found to be secondary, the story of king Mitrasaha refraining at the last moment from cursing his *guru* and dropping the cursing-water on his own feet does not look like being secondary. On the other hand, very few Buddhist texts offer an explanation: the spotted feet have been inherited from the man-eater's lioness mother[1], or are due to the wound incurred by an acacia splinter.[2] These do look secondary.

As to the origin of the name, one could think of the following two hypotheses.

(1) The word *kalmāṣapāda* was an idiomatic term for "ogre".[3] Its origin must then have been irretrievably forgotten.

(2) The story of the Mitrasaha-tradition does indeed give the origin of the name.

In the first case epic-puranic bards and Buddhist narrators may have adapted the word to their use independently of each other.

If, as to my mind is much more probable, the second hypothesis is true, it is evident that the Buddhists have borrowed the name from *itihāsa-purāṇa* on the basis of the characters in both tales being man-eaters. For

3. *DMA*, cited by Lamotte 1944-1970. 1. 261, note 2 (on p. 262). Watanabe (1909. 292) refers to this explanation. It is certainly not the explanation of "the Buddhists" as he says.

2. Buddhaghoṣa *DA* 2. 483. For an explanation of the same type from an Old-Javanese text cp. Ensink 1968 b. 582, note 33.

3. This seems to be Fausboll's opinion, as in his edition he consistently writes *kammāsapāda-* without capital (*MahāSut*. *J*. 475.15; 503.17; 511.14). Francis (Cowell 1895-1907. 5. 274-279) translates accordingly. Cp. *PTSD* s. v. *kammāsa*. Grünwedel 1897.56: "the ogre splashed with blood."

the rest the use of the name does not seem to imply the borrowing of any other features. Indeed *DMA/Dzang lun* in its tale about the curse is undeniably influenced by the Mitrasaha-tradition, but this must be ascribed to later borrowing. The same is the case with the *Bodhisattvapūrvacaryā*,[1] which mentions the twelve years' curse.

No doubt exists as to the provenance of the name *Saudāsa*. It developed in Vedic tradition as a derivative of *Sudās*. In the epics and *purāṇas* it was understood as a patronymic from *Sudāsa* and its bearer became a man-eater. Only then it must have been borrowed by Buddhists and Jainas. Here again nothing but just the name was copied. Of the Buddhist tales, especially those, in which the man-eater is the son of a lioness, use it; some texts extend it to *Siṁhasaudāsa*. The Javanese recension only uses *Sudasasuta*, *Sudasaputra* and *Sudasātmaja*; consistently with *da* short.

Thus we see that the tale of "the man-eater converted", apart from a few special and unimportant cases, has borrowed only names from the epic-puranic tale of "the man-eater through execration".

There is one case in which the two themes have become mixed in a curious way. This is the story of Uttaṅka in the *Āśvamedhika-parvan*[2]. It is in substance the same as the well-known tale from the *Pauṣyaparvan* (*MBh.* 1.3).

Uttaṅka's teacher, who here is Gautama, is so pleased with his pupil that, though he gives all other students leave to go, he keeps Uttaṅka with him until he is old and grey. But in the end the master lets him go too, restores him to the age of sixteen and gives him his daughter in marriage. Uttaṅka undertakes to bring the earrings of Madayantī, king Saudāsa's spouse, to Gautama's wife, Ahalyā. When he comes to Saudāsa, it is just that sixth meal-time[3] for the king, when, obviously owing to a curse, he has to eat human flesh. Therefore, he wants to devour Uttaṅka right away, but Uttaṅka asks leave first to fulfil his mission and promises him to come back. Madayantī, who at the sixth meal-time lives apart from her

1. Watanabe 1909. 25 f.
2. *MBh.* 14. 55-57. Cp. Wilhelm 1965. 27-30.
3. *ṣaṣṭhe kale*. Cp. Vi. *Pur.* 4.4.32; Ensink 1968 b. 575.

husband, is not prepared to part with the earrings unless Uttaṅka brings her some token from her husband. Saudāsa gives him the verse :

na caivaiṣā gatiḥ kṣemyā na cānyā vidyate gatiḥ |
etan me matam ājñāya prayaccha maṇikuṇḍale[1] ||

"Neither does this way lead to peace nor is there another way for me. When you have heard this opinion of mine, give him the earrings."

In the conversation that follows Saudāsa explains that this stanza refers to the curse laid upon him by a brahman. Uttaṅka asks whether it is fit (*kṣama*) for him to return and Saudāsa answers that, as seen from that standpoint, Uttaṅka should not come back. It seems to be understood that thereby Uttaṅka is released from his promise. Madayantī now gives him the earrings and for the rest the tale is in the main the same as in the *Pauṣyaparvan*.

We recognize two familiar themes : "the man-eater through execration" and "the promise to return", both, however, rather truncated. The "promise to return" theme was probably taken from some tale about the man-eater converted". Then this is the only indication that our tale also occurred outside the literature of Buddhists and Jainas.

The conclusions arrived at in this paper may be summarized as follows.

(1) The tale of "the man-eater converted" is essentially different from the tale of "the man-eater through execration".

(2) It has the "round number of victims" theme in common with the legend of Aṅgulimāla.

(3) It has no roots in the Veda.

(4) Apart from a few special and unimportant cases, it has borrowed only the names Kalmāṣapāda and Saudāsa from the tale of "the man-eater through execration".

(5) Special features in the tale of Tantular's *Sut. K.* are due to the dictates of *alaṅkāraśāstra*.

(6) Perhaps *Sut. K.* and certainly *Sut. CP.* have been influenced by the wayang literature.

(7) There may have existed versions of the tale of "the man-eater converted" outside Buddhist and Jaina literature.

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1. *MBh.* 14. 57. 2.

Abbreviations

BKA	*Bhadrakalpāvadāna*. See D'Oldenburg 1893, 331-334 and Watanabe 1909. 265.
CullaSut. J.	*Cullasutasomajātaka*. *J.* 525/5. 177-192. Translation Francis in Cowell 1895-1907. 5. 91-99.
DA	Buddhaghoṣa. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids, J. Estlin Carpenter and W. Stede. London 1886-1932. 3 vols. Reprint.
DMA	*Damamūkāvadāna*; Chinese: Hsien yü king. See Watanabe 1909. 266-268.
Dzang lun	*ḥDzaṅs blun oder der Weise and Thor, übers. u. hrsgeg.* von I. J. Schmidt. St. Petersburg 1843.
J.	*Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*. The *Jātaka* together with its commentary ed. V. Fausböll. Index by Dines Andersen. London 1877-1897. 7 vols. Reprint. Translations Cowell 1895-1907; Dutoit 1907-1921.
Jayadd. J.	*Jayaddisajātaka*. J 513/5. 21-36. Translation Francis in Cowell 1895-1907. 5. 11-19.
Jm.	Ārya Śūra, The *Jātaka-Mālā*. ed. Hendrik Kern. Cambridge, Mass. 1891. Reprints. Tale, page and line. Also edited by P. L. Vaidya. Darbhanga 1959. Reference to pages of Kern's edition in the margin. Translation Speyer 1895.
KBW	H. N. van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*. Batavia 1897-1912. 4 vols.
Laṅk. Sū.	The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, ed. Bunyiu Nanjio. Kyoto 1923. Translation Suzuki 1932.

MahāSut. J. — *Mahāsutasomajātaka*. J. 537/5. 456-511. Translations Francis in Cowell 1895-1907. 5. 246-279; Grünwedel 1897. 37-56.

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MBh. — The *Mahābhārata*, ed. V. S. Sukthankar and S. K. Belvalkar. Poona 1933-1966.

MPPŚ — Nāgārjuna, *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*. Translation Lamotte 1949-1970.

PTSD — T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede. The Pali Text Society's *Pali English. Dictionary*. London 1921 1925. Reprints.

RP — *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, publiè par Louis Finot. St. Pètersbourg 1901. Reprint' 's Gravenhage 1957. Translation Ensink 1952.

SMBhN — *Siṁhasaudāsamāṁsabhakṣanivṛtti*. See Watanabe 1909. 261f.

Sut. CP. — The tale of Sutasoma according to the *Cantakaparva*, ed. and transl. Ensink 1967. Page of the manuscript.

Sut. K. — Tantular, *Puruṣāda śānta*, also entitled *Sutasoma Kakavin*, ed. with Balinese and Indon. transl. I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa. Denpasar 1959-22 fase.

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Vi., Pur. — *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, with the comm. of Śrīdhara-svāmin, ed. V. A. Bhaṭṭācārya. Calcutta 1882.

VMKAWL — *Verhandelingen en Mededeelingen der Kon.* Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde. Amsterdam.

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BĀLĀ TRIPURĀ-STAVNAM

Dr. A. N. Jani

BARODA

This small devotional poem eulogising the Goddess Bālā Tripurā is published here perhaps for the first time from a MS (Accession No. 5197) in the collection of the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, (Former Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā), Ahmedabad.

The text is bristling with errors. This may be either due to the corrupt exemplar or due to the scribal limitations. The latter alternative seems more plausible, as would be clear from the variants given in the footnote.

The MS begins thus :—

॥ ॐ बालात्रिपुरायै नमः ॥
॥ अथ बालादेव्याः स्तुतिः ॥

and ends as follows :—

॥ इति श्रीविश्वसारे तन्त्रे त्रिपुराबालास्तोत्रं समाप्तम् ॥

The scribe is not consistent even as regards the title of the poem. In the beginning he calls it *Bālātripurāstavanam* and *Bālādevyāḥ stutiḥ* while in the colophon he gives it as *TripurāBālāstotram*.

I tried to find other MSS. of the *stotra* but could not succeed. The Oriental Institute of Baroda does not have a single MS. of this *stotra*—nor of the *Viśvasāratantra* of which it forms a part. During my visit to Lucknow last year I consulted the Catalogue of MSS. of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad and requested my friend Shri G. C. Sinha, Secretary of the Parishad, to get my text collated with MS. or MSS. in the collection of the Parishad. But after a thorough checking he writes to me in his letter dt. 4-9-73 as follows :—

"None of the Manuscripts of the Parishad's collection, which we both noted down while you were here in June, 1972, relates to the particular text which you are editing. I searched for Manuscritpts of this work in the Sarasvatī Bhavan also but could not find any. I was trying to acquire for the Parishad the collection of Manuscripts belonging to Kālī Maṭha at Varanasi and expected to find some Manuscript or the other of your work

too in the said collection......Fortunately, I have been able to get hold of the Kālī Maṭha collection of Manuscripts and am trying to find out if it contains any Manuscript of the work in question."

After this he writes as postscript "It contains none."

Under these circumstances I present hereunder the *stotra* with my own emendations showing other readings of the Ahmedabad MS., (called A here) in the foot note. English rendering of the *stotra* is also given along with it so that its contents may be known even to those who may not have access to original Sanskrit.

Stanzas 13 and 14 seem to be interpolations as the last stanza of the *stotra* speaks of only 12 stanzas and secondly for the fact that they breath a spirit quite different from that found in the foregoing stanzas.

॥ श्रीः ॥

वालात्रिपुरास्तवनम्

ॐ वालात्रिपुरायैं नमः ।

अथ वालादेव्याः स्तुतिः ।

1 a ॐ ब्रह्मादयः स्तुतिशतैरपि सूक्ष्मरूपां
1 b जानन्ति नैव जगदादिमनादिमूर्तिम् ।
1 c तस्माद् वयं कुचनतां नवकुङ्कुमाभां
1 d स्थूलां स्तुमः सकलवाङ्मयमातृभूताम् ॥ १ ॥

2 a सद्यःसमुद्यतसहस्रदिवाकराभां
2 b विद्याऽक्षसूत्रवरदाभयखड्गहस्ताम् ।
2 c नेत्रोत्पलैस्त्रिभिरलङ्कृतवक्त्रपद्मां
2 d त्वां हारभाररुचिरां त्रिपुरे! भजामः ॥ २ ॥

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1 [c].A माभम्

1 [d].A स्थूल, भूतम्

2 [a].A कराभ्याम्

3 a सिन्दूरपूररुचिरं कुचभारनम्रं
3 b जन्मान्तरेषु कृतपुण्यफलैकगम्यम् ।
3 c अन्योन्यभेदकलहाकुलमानभेदै-
3 d र्जानन्ति किं जडधियस्तव रूपमम्ब! ॥ ३ ॥

4 a स्थूलां वदन्ति मुनयः श्रुतयो गृणन्ति
4 b सूक्ष्मां वदन्ति वचसामधिवासमन्ये ।
4 c त्वां मूलमाहुरपरे जगतां भवानि!
4 d मन्यामहे वयमपारकृपाम्बुराशिम् ॥ ४ ॥

5 a चन्द्रावतंसकलितां शरदिन्दुशुभ्रां
5 b पञ्चाशदक्षरमयीं हृदि भावयामः ।
5 c त्वां पुस्तकं जपवटीममृतौघकुम्भं
5 d व्याख्यां च हस्तकमलैर्दधतीं त्रिनेत्राम् ॥ ५ ॥

6 a शम्भुस्त्वमद्रितनयाकलितार्धभागो
6 b विष्णुस्त्वमम्ब! कमलापरिणद्धदेहः ।
6 c पद्मोद्भवस्त्वमसि वागधिवासभूमि-
6 d स्तेषां क्रियाश्च जगति त्रिपुरे! त्वमेव ॥ ६ ॥

7 a आश्रित्य वाग्भवभवांश्चतुरः परादीन्
7 b भावान् पदेषु विहितान् समुदीरयन्तीम् ।
7 c कण्ठादिभिश्च करणैः परदेवतां त्वां
7 d संविन्मयीं हृदि कदापि न विस्मरामि ॥ ७ ॥

8 a आकुञ्च्य वायुमभिजित्य च वैरिषट्क-
8 b मालोक्य निश्चलधिया निजनासिकाग्रम् ।
8 c ध्यायन्ति मूर्ध्नि कलितेन्दुकलावतंसं
8 d त्वद्रूपमम्ब! कृतिनस्तरुणार्कमित्रम् ॥ ८ ॥

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3 [a]. A सिदुर ; -पुर-
4 [a]. A स्थूलम्
4 [c]. A मुल
5 [b]. A र्मायं, भावयन्ति (भावयामः edr.)
5 [c]. A मृताघ ; -कुंभम्
7 [d]. A यदेषु; A - दीरयन्ती
8 [b]. A कृनस्तरु

9 a त्वं प्राप्य मन्मथरिपोर्वपुषोऽर्धभागं
9 b सृष्टिं करोषि जगतामिति वेदवादः ।
9 c सत्यं हिमाद्रितनये! जगदेकमातर्!
9 d नो चेदशेषजगतः स्थितिरेव न स्यात् ।। ९ ।।

10 a पूजां विधाय कुसुमैः सुरपादपानां
10 b पीठे तवाम्ब! कनकाचलगह्वरेषु ।
10 c गायन्ति सिद्धवनिताः सह किन्नरीभि-
10 d रास्वादनाऽऽसवरसाऽरुणनेत्रपद्माः ।। १० ।।

11 a विद्युद्विलासवपुषः श्रियमावहन्तीं
11 b यान्तीं स्ववासभवनाच्छिवराजधानीम् ।
11 c सौषुम्णमार्गकमलानि विकासयन्तीं
11 d देवीं भजामि परमामृतसिक्तगात्रीम् ।। ।१ ।।

12 a आजन्म जन्मभवनं भवनं श्रुतीनां
12 b चैतन्यमात्रतनुमम्ब! नवाऽऽश्रयामि ।
12 c ब्रह्मेशविष्णुभिरुपासितपादपद्मां
12 d सौभाग्यजन्मवसतिं त्रिपुरे! भजामि ।। १२ ।।

13 a शब्दार्थभाविभुवनं सृजतीन्दुरूपा
13 b या तद् बिभर्ति पुनरर्कतनुः स्वशक्त्या ।
13 c वह्न्यात्मिका हरति तत् सकलं युगान्ते
13 d तां शारदां मनसि जातु न विस्मरामि ।। १३ ।।

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9 [a]. A पुरर्ध-

9 [c]. A मदद्रि-

10 [c]. A किंनरिभिः 10 d-A आराधना-(?) for आस्वादना–

11 [c]. A सोषुम्ण

11 [d]. A भजेत (भजामि edr.)

13 [a]. A सृजतेन्दु ; रूपाम

13 [b]. A र्कतनुम्,

13 [c]. A वन्ह्यात्मिका

13 [d]. A यातु

14 a नारायणीति नरकार्णवतारिणीति
14 b गौरीति खेदशमनीति सरस्वतीति ।
14 c ज्ञानप्रदेति नयनत्रयभूपितेति
14 d त्वामद्रिराजतनयेति बुधा वदन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

15 a ये स्तुवन्ति जगन्मातः ! श्लोकैर्द्वादशभिः क्रमात् ।
15 b त्वामनुप्राप्य वाक्सिद्धिं प्राप्नुयुस्ते परां श्रियम् ॥ १५ ॥
॥ इति श्रीविश्वसारे तन्त्रे त्रिपुराबालास्तोत्रं समाप्तम् ॥

TRANSLATION

1. Brahmā and others do not know, even with the help of hundreds of eulogies (offered to you), you, whose form is very subtle, and who being beginningless is the beginning (primeval cause) of the world. Therefore, we praise you of gross form, bent down due to the burden of the breasts, having the lustre of fresh saffron and the originator of all (types of) literature.

2. Oh Tripurā ! We attend upon (worship) you, having the splendour of thousands of newly-risen Suns, wielding in your (four) hands book, rosary, (and sign of) boon and a safety-promising sword, whose lotus-like face is adorned by three lotus-like eyes and who is attractive by the profuse garlands.

3. Oh Mother ! can the dull-witted know, with the help of different proofs which are undetermined due to quarrels of mutual differences, your form, which is as beautiful as a stream of vermilion, bent down by the burden of breasts, only to be discerned by the reward of meritorious deeds of the past births ?

4. The sages call you gross, the Vedas speak of you as subtle, others describe you as the abode of speech. Still others describe you, Oh Bhavāni ! as the origin of the worlds. But we take you to be an endless ocean of mercy.

5. We meditate in our heart upon you, adorned with a crest-ornament of moon, as beautiful as the autumnal moon, made up of fifty letters,

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14 a. A तारीणीति

14 b. A स्वती च

15 A ये स्तुति; जंजग ; जगम्मातः

having three eyes and wielding in your lotus-hands, book, rosary, pitcher full of nectar and the (sign of) exposition.

6. You are Śiva, whose half body is occupied by the daughter of the mountain, (i. e. Pārvatī). Oh Mother ! you are Viṣṇu, whose body is entwined by Lakṣmī. You are Brahmā, the residence-quarter of Sarasvatī. And their (various) functions in the world also are you.

7. I never forget you, the highest deity (residing) in my heart in the form of understanding (or Intellect) expressing, with the organs (of speech) such as throat etc., (different) thoughts deposited in the words, resorting to the four stages Parā etc. emerging out of the *Vāṇībīja*.

8. After withdrawing the vital airs and after conquering the group of six enemies (such as desire, anger etc.) and concentrating upon the tip of their nose with steady mind, Oh Mother ! the blessed ones meditate upon your form, which has on its head the crescent moon as a crest-jewel and which is like the rising Sun.

9. The Vedas declare that after resorting to the half portion of the body of Lord Śiva (lit. the enemy of Kāmadeva) you are creating many universes. Oh daughter of the Himālaya mountain ! Oh the sole Mother of the Universe ! it is quite true. Otherwise there can not be the existence of the whole Universe.

10. Oh Mother ! after having worshipped your seat (of worship) in the caves of the Meru mountain (lit. the golden mountain) with the flowers of celestial trees, the wives of the *siddha*-s are singing (songs in your praise) along with the wives of the *Kinnara*-s, with their lotus-like eyes red due to the flavour of the wine of propitiation.

11. I adore the Goddess (*Kuṇḍalinī*) bearing the splendour of the appearance of the flashes of the lightning, going from her own residence-quarters (i e. the *Mūlādhāracakra*) to the capital of Śiva (i.e. the *Sahasrāra-cakra*), making the lotuses on the track of the *Suṣumṇā* bloom, and sprinkling the body with the highest (divine) nectar.

12. Oh Mother ! I resort to your form, made up of Consciousness alone, which is the abode and birth-place of the Vedas ever since their appearance. Oh Tripurā ! I adore you, whose lotus-feet are attended upon by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and who is the source of the rise of good luck.

13. I never forget in my mind that Śāradā, who in the form of moon creates the world, consisting of word and sense, who again sustains it in the form of the Sun by Her power and who in the form of Fire, destroy it entirely at the end of a *yuga.*

14. The learned call you by following names : the wife of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), the saviour from the ocean of hell, Gaurī (the wife of Śiva), the remover of miseries; Sarasvatī (the wife of Brahmā) the bestower of (true) knowledge, decorated with three eyes and the daughter of the King of the mountains (i.e. Himālayas = Pārvatī.)

15. Oh You Mother of the worlds! those who (will) praise you with these twelve stanzas one after the other, would get the supernatural perfection of speech and highest glory by resorting to you.

A NOTE ON RELIGIOUS LEANINGS OF KING YAŚOVARMAN OF KANAUJ

Dr. S. M. Misra

LUCKNOW

Various views have been proffered regarding the religious faith of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj. The fact that all the plays of Yaśovarman's court-poet Bhavabhūti were enacted on the occasions of the *Yātrā* festivals held in honour of Kālapriyanātha[1] led Hertel[2] and others[3] to surmise that he was the presiding deity of the family of the Kanauj king, and that his shrine stood at Kanauj. This conjecture is not convincing. The main purpose of the poet in getting his dramas staged on the above mentioned occasions was to make their wide publicity.[4] There is nothing to substantiate the view that Kālapriyanātha was the presiding deity of Yaśovarman's family. Besides, a thorough search by us at Kanauj as well as in its suburbs did not yield any trace of the temple of that deity. Nor is there any local tradition about its existence in the past.

Adris Banerji[5] contended that Yaśovarman was a Bhāgavata i.e., Vaiṣṇava, on the basis of his comparisons to Hari[6] and Keśava[7] two of the

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1. *Mālatīmādhava* (Published by Motilal Banarsidas, 1967) Act I, p. 5; *Uttararāmacarita* (Nirṇaya Sagar Press), Act I, p. 9; *Mahāvīracarita*, (Nirṇaya Sagar Press) Act I. p.5

2. *Asia Major*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

3. See R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, 1959, p. 209; *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, (Baroda 1934) Appendix I, p. 285.

4. That Bhavabhūti's literary works were not properly received and appreciated by (his native) people is evident from his following remarks :

   'This poetic composition (i. e., *Mālatīmādhava*) is not meant for those who are predisposed to disregard it. whatever be the extent of their knowledge. There will (definitely) be born or there is (already) some one whose wits and wisdom match with those of mine (in evaluating and appreciating this work), for time is without end and the earth is boundless' (*Mālatīmādhava*, Act I, verse 6)

   Bhavabhūti, therefore, wanted to make his plays popular by getting them staged on the occasions of the Yātrā festivals of *Kālapriyanātha*, where people from different places used to throng.

5. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XV, p. 205.

6. Hari had obtained Lakṣamī, her consort, after churning the ocean. Similarly, Yaśovarman attained sovereignty or rājya Lakṣamī by his own prowess (*Gauḍavaho*, verse 1039).

7. Yaśovarman has been compared to Keśava in as much as the latter rests on the Śeṣa in the sea ; while the fame of the Kanauj king had also reached the shores of the ocean. (Ibid; verse 1045)

various forms of Viṣṇu. But such comparisons point towards the divinity of kings based on the functional resemblance between a ruler on the one hand, and a god or gods on the other.[1] They have nothing to do with the religious proclivity of a potentate. A much more convincing evidence of the Vaiṣṇava faith of Yaśovarman is furnished by another source which has, however, been ignored by Banerji. Yaśovarman wrote a play entitled *Rāmābhyudaya*[2] (i.e., the rise of Rāma), obviously to eulogise the glory and achievements of Lord Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. From this it may safely be deduced that the Kanauj king chose the theme on account of his devotion to Rāma.

According to R.S. Tripathi,[3] Yaśovarman was either a Śaiva or a Śākta. The conjecutre regarding his faith in Śaivism appears to have been based on the presumptions[4] that Kālapriyanātha was the presiding divinity of Yaśovarman's family, and that he should be identified with Śiva. But it has been discussed elsewhere[5] that Kālapriynātha was the sun god whose shrine

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Thus the contexts of these comparisons are quite different from what Banerji thinks them to be.

1. "When the Avatāra theory beecame popular, kings began to be regarded as incarnation of gods", (A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, 1958, p, 91)
2. "*Rāmābhyudaye Yaśovarmaṇā*" (Abhinavagupta on the *Dhvanyāloka*, Bombay, 1928, p, 48), This play is not available in its original form. Its quotations are found in several later works viz., the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (Calcutta, 1912), pp, 75-76; *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (Oxford, 1937), p, 331; *Daśarūpaka* (Varanasi, 1955), p. 50; *Bhāvaprakāśana* (Baroda, 1930), pp, 200, 212, 232, 233 and 237; *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Bombay edition), p. 270; *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Bombay, 1886) verse 1776. *Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. III, 20 and 64. Also see K. C. Pandey's *Abhinavagupta, a Historical and Philosophical Study* (Varanasi, 1963), pp. 236 and 777, for references to this play in the *Abhinavabhāratī*, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, Vol. I (Baroda, 1929), pp. 44, 55-56, 72-73, 91-92, 95, 109-110, 116, 144, 158. For a detailed information about this play and its conjectural summary see V. Raghavan's "*Some Old Lost Rāma Plays*" 1961, pp. 1-25. H. C. Ray, however, ascribes this play to king Sankaravarman of Kashmir (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXX No. 4, pp. 381-382) But the arguments adduced by him are far-fetched and untenable.
3. *History of Kanauj*, p. 209.
4. Tripathi has, however, not given any argument in support of his suggestion.
5. See my article entitled, "*New Light on The Identification of Kālapriynātha*", published in the *Purāṇa*, Vol. XV, No. 2. July 1973, pp. 171-177.

stood at Kālpī;[1] and that he was not the presiding deity of Yaśovarman's family.

As far Yaśovarman's devotion to Śakti, it is amply borne out by the *Gouḍavaho*. It tells us that during the course of his *digvijaya*, Yaşovarman visited the celebrated shrine of the *Vindhyavāsinī-devī* and invoked her with profound reverence.[2] This invocation betrays, without doubt, his marked leanings towards the Goddess.

Yaśovarman also seems to have had faith in the Vedic rituals. For, Vākpati tells us that his patron was coronated (*Kayāhiseso* i.e., *Kṛtābhiṣekaḥ*) before he started on his military expeditions.[3] Commenting on the word *abhiṣeka* i.e., coronation, Haripāda adds that it included a bath taken with (the recitation of) the Vedic *mantras*, and performance of sacrifices befitting such an occasion.[4] If the commentator's interpretation is correct, then it would point towards Yaśovarman's regard for the Vedic religion and rituals.

In the Manikyala *stūpa* were found the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka mixed with a single gold coin of Yaśovarman and a number of silver Sassano-Arabian coins roughly belonging to the same period (during which Yaśovarman ruled). Cunningham ascribed this coin to Yaśovarman of Kanauj. He also contended that the *stūpa* was originally constructed during the reign of Huviṣka and that Yaśovarman re-built it after a lapse of seven centuries and deposited in it the old relics with the addition of his own glod coin.[5] But this piece of evidence is not sufficient to show that the Kanauj king was a Buddhist. For in the first place, the attribution of this coin is not beyond controversy.[6] And secondly, even if it belonged to

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1. This identification has been suggested earlier by V. V. Mirashi (*I.H.Q*, Vol. XI, p. 289 ; *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 33 ff ; *Purāṇa*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1966, pp. 38-51), A.S. Altekar (*The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 102), S.S. Awasthi (*I.H.Q*. Vol. XXXVII, pp. 207-209) and D.C. Sircar (*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 1960, pp. 241-244)

2. *Gauḍavaho*, verses 285-347.

3. *Aha so Kayāhiseso samayammi ṇimilla—meha-māhappe. Calio sayala-dharā-valaya vij-paḍibaddha-aya-vavasāo* (*Gauḍavaho*, verse 192).

4. "*Kṛtābhiṣeka Vaidikamantra-kṛtasnānaviśeṣaḥ-kṛta-prāsthānikahomaḥ*" (On verse 192 of the *Gauḍavaho*)

5. *A.S.I.*, Vol. II (8871), pp. 159-160.

6. H ernle, however, attributed this coin to Yaśodharman of Mālavā (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903, 549-552 ; 1909 pp. '05-108). But his arguments are not convincing.

Yaśovarman, its testimony cannot be regarded as conclusive.[1] It is more probable that the Manikyala *stūpa* was renovated by Mālāda who was an ardent Buddhist and the son of Tikiṇa, the incharge of the north-western province (*udīcīpati*) of Yaśovarman's dominions.[2]

The Jaina work *Prabandhakośa* of Rajaśekharasūri written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D.,[3] informs us that Yaśovarman breathed his last taking refuge in (the life of) a Jaina monk by observing threefold purification.[4] This information appears incredible for the following reasons :

(i) The evidence of the *Prabandhakośa* is not only much later[5] than the time of Yaśovarman, but is also contradicted by contemporary sources which represent him either as a votary of Rāma or that of Śakti.

(ii) Other Jaina works, viz. the *Bappabhaṭṭisūricarita*, the *Prabhāvakacarita*, the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* and the *Tapagaccapaṭṭāvali* etc., throwing light on the history of Yaśovarman, give no indication of his faith in Jainism.

(iii) Last but not the least, sectarian writers generally represented almost every important person figuring in their accounts, as having become a convert to their religion, regardless of the facts to the contrary. Their information, therefore, should not be accepted unless it is corroborated by some source; or else, is not contradicted by any authentic evidence.

Thus, we have positive proofs of Yaśovarman's devotion to Rāma and Śakti. The contention that he was a devotee of Śiva has nothing to commend it. Nor should he be believed to have become a Jaina during the closing days of his life, on the basis of the testimony of the

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1. A coin can easily be moved from one place to another or dropped somewhere accidently. Therefore, the evidence of the find-spot of a coin should be utilised with caution especially when it is not supported by any other source.
2. *E.I.*, Vol. XX, text, pp. 43-44.
3. See *Gauḍavaho*, Introduction, p. CXLIII ; G.C. Choudhary, *Political History of Northern India from the Jaina Sources, p.* 18.
4. *Yaśovarmā arhantaṁ tridhā (trividha) śrddhyā śaraṇaṁ śrayan dyāṁ gataḥ*. (*Prabandhakośa*, Shantiniketan, 1935, p. 28).
5. We should, of course, accept those statements of these Jaina works which are positive and receive corroboration from other source or sources, which do not appear improbable and are not contradicted by more credible testimony.

Prabandhakośa alone. Similarly, the evidence regarding his alleged patronage to Buddhism is also inadequate and dubious. Yaśovarman's religious proclivity would have been known to us more precisely, had Vākpati mentioned the name of the deity in whose honour his patron had raised a shrine at Ayodhyā.[1]

1. During the course of his military expeditions, Yasovarmān reached Ayodhyā (*Hariścandranagarī*), where he stayed for some time and constructed a temple. (*Gauḍavaho*, verses 507-508) But the association of any particular divinity, with this temple is not indicated.

A LINGUISTIC PHENOMENON FROM THE *MAHĀBHĀṢYA*

Dr. S. D. Laddu

POONA

I. There is in the *Mahābhāṣya* a well-known reference in the Introductory Ssction (*Paspaśāhnika*)[1] to the need of accurately uttering certain expressions like *mañcaka-* "a raised seat, couch" etc. (instead of *mañjaka-* etc.) which are not mentioned in any Sūtra or Gaṇa.[2] This same reference is also found made once again by Patañjali.[3]

Besides that, there are in the *Mahābhāṣya* two other cases that can be noted, probably as records of devoicing, at the same time carrrying a morphological bearing, in the contemporary speech of Patañjali.

II. Pāṇini has listed[4], among a few irregular forms, *kupya-* which does not show Guṇa. Kātyāyana noticed[5] that the form was restricted to the sphere of a name, probably having in view the usage of his times. Kātyāyana's words are explained by Patañjali with the statement that the other form (i.e. the one not being a name) was *gopya-*[6]. This latter one, that is regularly derivable with Guṇa from *gup-* "to preserve" means "that which is to be preserved" and has an adjectival value. *Kupya-*, if derived from the same root, can, by extension of the same sense, stand as a name for some object of value that is to be preserved. Thus, from the same root *gup-* we get regularly *gopya-*, an adjective, and irregularly *kupya-*, a name. But if *kupya-* were derived from *kup-*, it does not yield a sense suited (by extension) to be a name. All that means that, in Kātyāyana's time (as also in Patañjali's), there was current a name-form *kupya-* which was originally *gupya-* (showing an irregular absence of Guṇa), beside the regular *gopya-* which was an adjective, both having the root *gup-* as their basis.

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1. Kielhorn's edition : I. 14. 19f.
2. '*agrahaṇāni prātipadikāni*' of Patañjali (I. 14.18). It can be seen, however, that, of the three expressions cited there, *palāśa-* occurs as many as six times in the *Gaṇapāṭha*, while *mañcaka-* occurs once (as no. 170 in the *ardharcādi* Gaṇa of Pāṇini 2.4.31, with *mañca-* also occurring as no. 60 in the *utkadāri*, Gaṇa of Pāṇini 4.2.90
3. II.201.3.
4. *rājasūya-sūrya-mṛṣodya-rucya-kupya-kṛṣṭapacya-aryathyāḥ*, 3.1.114.
5. *kupyaṁ saṁjñāyām*, 3.1.114.2.
6. *gopyam anyat*, II.86.22.

Thus, the name-form *kupya-* of the times of Kātyāyana and Patañjali reflected a devoicing from the earlier *gupya-*. In early literature, *kupya-* (in the sense of a base metal yet carrying some value and hence "worth preserving") is found attested in the *Mahābhārata* (15.11.10),[1] *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (1.16.29; 2.17.1,17), *Manusmṛti* (7.96, 10.113, 11.66) and *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

III. Pāṇini had laid down[2] that a compound, denoting a name and resulting from the Upapada *śam-* preceding any root (say, *kṛ-*), would, in the feminine, be *ā*-ending, such as *śaṅkarā-*. However, a compound, qualifying an agent with some habit etc. and resulting from any Upapada preceding the root *kṛ-*, would be *ī*-ending in the feminine[3] such as *yaśaskarī-*. These two rules gave rise to a doubt about a fem. form resulting from *śam-* and *kṛ-* and denoting both a name and an agent with a habit. Kātyāyana argued and resolved the doubt[4] in favour of *Śaṅkara-* (and not *Śaṅkarī-*). Patañjali accepting the argument illustrated it with the form *Śaṅkarā-* which was the name either of an ascetic lady or a fortune-telling lady at the same time being habitually beneficent.[5]

Now, one scholar named Kuṇaravāḍava, probably a contemporary of Patañjali but hailing from a different locality, steps in here, as is recorded by Patañjali. Kuṇaravāḍava seeks to offer a pure pronunciation of the form *Śaṅkarā-* from the connected usage cited by Patañjali with which he was obviously familiar. He says (while not questioning the current utterance as *Śaṅgarā-*) that the form was really or originally *Śaṅgarā-* "uttering a benediction", and further explains that the root at its basis was *gṛ-* "to utter and not *kṛ-*[6]. (By this, there was no possibility of the habit sense in the form, as the root *kṛ-* was kept out of the picture).

The linguistic value of Kuṇaravāḍava's note is obvious. The variation that he had noted was in the beginning probably a phonetic confusion between his "correct" form *Śaṅgarā-* and Kātyāyana's "incorrect" form *Śaṅkarā-*; and later this lead to a morphological

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1. *hiraṇyam kupya-bhūyiṣṭham mitram kṣīṇam akośavat viparītān na gṛhṇīyāt svayam sandhiviśāradaḥ*
2. *Śami dhātoḥ sajñāyām*, 3. 2. 14.
3. *kṛño hetu-tācchīlya-ānulomyeṣu*, 3.2.20.
4. *Śami saṁjñāyām dhātugrahaṇam kṛño hetvādiṣu ṭapratiṣedhārtham*, 3.2.114.1.
5. *Śaṅkarā nāma parivrājikā śaṅkarā śakunikā tacchīlā ca*, II. 100.6.
6. *naiṣā śaṅkarā śāṅgaraiṣā. gṛṇātiḥ śabdakarmā; tasyaiṣa prayogaḥ*. II. 100. 8-9.

confusion of deriving the form from the root *kṛ-* instead of from the root *gṛ-*. The variation, thus, reflected either a regional peculiarity or a historical development (from pre-Patañjalian *Śaṅgarā-* to Patañjali's *Śaṅkarā-*. In any case this is an instance of devoicing at the time and in the region of Patañjali.

The last two cases cited above probably suggested a tendency at devoicing (from a voiced base) in the linguistic habits of the society of Patañjali. The first case[1], however, appears to suggest that there was at that time a section of people who over-critically imagined a voiced form in a majority of cases and were inclined to utter it as such (as, for instance, the hyper-puritanic though incorrect pronunciation by some Marathi speakers of the form *duṣṭa* as *druṣṭa*). But Patañjali in that case stepped in to discourage this hyper-puritanic voiced utterance of such speakers.

1. There is found only the root *mañc-* in the *Dhātu-pāṭha* in the senses of *dhāraṇa, ucchrāya* and *pūjana* (cl. I. 186, *Mādhavīya-Dhātuvṛtti* cl. I. 106), while *mañj-* is shown only by Hemacandra as of cl. X (though there too as a v. l. for *mañj-* : see Palsule, *Concordance*, p. 99) and is understood by *Monier-Williams (A Sanskrit- English Dictionary)* probably invented to account for some words of uncertain origin. Even *mañc-*, showing only a few conjugated and derived forms, is thonght to be "doubtless artificial" by Whitney (*Roots*, p, 117).

THE RIVER HO-NAM-MO-CH'IANG AND BUDDHISM

Dr. S. N. Prasad

PILANI

A controversy has been raised round the identification of the river Ho-nam-mo-ch'iang. Carlleyle has identified this river with Kudwanati in the Basti district of U.P.[1] but that does not seem to conform to facts. Thomas held the view that no river of the name existed at all.[2] The view expressed by Thomas is not supported by any evidence. Therefore, it is rejected. Elaborate mention of the river Ho-nam-mo-ch'iang in the Buddhist literature p.oves beyond doubt that the river Ho-nam-mo-Ch'iang was famous in the history of Buddhism. This iiver should be conveniently identified with the present Āmī river of the Basti district of U.P.[3]

Āmī, Anômā, or Āmi is the tributary of ancient river Achirāvatī (Rāptī). The tributaries and affluents of the river Rāptī are very numerous. The chief of these is the Āmī, a stream which commences at a short distance from the river Rāptī. At first it is very inconspicuous but gradually assumes a defined channel, flowing through tracts of stiffy clay and barren unproductive *ūsar*. From Basti, it passes into Magahar West. Here it receives a small tributary on its right bank near Barskhor. This is known as the Reruwā which rises in the depression to the Rudhaulī. On the eastern border of Barganā, the Āmī is joined by the Barār, another old channel of the Rāptī, which flows from the direction of Bankaṭā and is reinforced by a similar stream named the Būḍhā, which starts to the west of Bānsī. After joining the Barār, the bed of the Āmī deepens and becomes wider. At the point of exit, it is joined on the south by the

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1. A. S. R., XXII, 224
2. *The Life of Buddha*, 61.
3. This district is one of the largest districts of U.P. It lies between the parallels of 26°23' and 27°30' north latitude and 82°13' and 83°18' east longitude. The vast tract of the district is of irregular shape. The district lies between the ancient Śrāvastī (Gonda district of U. P.) on the west and Gorakhpur (U.P.) on the east. On the south, the Ghāgharā separates it from the capital of ancient Uttar Kosala (Faizabad), which on the northern boundary marches with Nepal, running at a distance of some 20 or 30 miles from the outer range of the Himālayas.

Bastī Gazetteer, vol. XXXII (1907). 1.

Khuḍwā Nālā which rises to the north of Mīrganj and the combined waters pass into the Gorakhpur district to join the ancient river Achirāvatī.[1] Āmī rises from pargana Rasūlpur in Basti (U.P.) and after a course of some forty-four miles, enters into the Gorakhpur district of U.P. near Rampur in pargana Magahar. From here, it flows towards the usual south-easterly direction, falling into the ancient Achirāvatī (Rāptī) near Sohgaurā in pargana Bhānapār.[2]

The Basti district of U.P. has played a role of considerable significance in the history of Buddhism. The district forms part of the holy land of Buddhism and the site is situated near Kapilavastu, where Gautam was born. Several coins of the Kuṣāṇa, the Śuṅga and other dynasties of Ancient India were found here. Ruins of ancient brick buildings are to be seen in many places in the district. Among them, mention may be made of Bhanlā, Baharī, Kathelā, Khirinpur, Makhurā,[3] Nagar, Rāmpur, Waraī. These and several others still await a careful exploration.

The river Āmī is famous in the history of Buddhism as the scene of Prince Siddhārtha's assumption of the dress of an ascetic, where he cut his hair and dismissed his attendant Channā and Kaṇṭhaka his horse.[4] According to the Burmese[5] and Ceylonese[6] chronicles the distance from Kapilavastu was thirty yojanas or about two hundred and ten miles. In the Tibetan translation of the *Lalitavistara* the distance is noted as six yojanas or forty two miles.[7] This distance has been accepted by Cunningham also.[8] When prince Siddhārtha left Kapilavastu to enter upon the life of a mendicant, he took the road by Vaiśālī to Rājagṛha. The general direction

1. *Basti Gazetteer*, 32. 13-14.
2. *Gorakhpur Gazetteer*, vol, 31. 12.
3. S. N. Prasad : *An Identification of Makhakṣetra of Vīlmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda,* Vol, XX, September, 1970 No, 1, pp. 33-35 ff, Here the author has identified Makhabhūmi mentioned by the Ādi Kavi Vālmīki with the present Makhaurā of the Basti district of U.P.
4. *Dhammapada* Commentary, I. 85.
5. Bigandet: *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, p. 41.
6. Turnour: *J.A.S B.*, VII. 809.
   Hardy in *Manual of Buddhism* on page 160 says 480 miles, from which it is clear that he has adopted Turnour's erroneous valuation of the Yojana at 16 miles.
7. Foucax, French translation, 214.
8. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, 358.

of his route was, therefore, nearly east-south-east part of Deokalī to the bank of the Āmī river below Saṅgrāmpur and above the point where it enters the Aumiyār lake.[1] The point of crossing must have been just above the head of the Aumiyār lake.

In the Sanskrit language Āmī will be Avami which means inferior. The name seems to be of a descriptive type because the river is of small size as compared with the other rivers of eastern U.P. The total length of the river is of only forty five miles. The name is, therefore, a suitable appellation of the old channel to distinguish it from the larger or main stream of the river Achirāvatī (Rapti).

According to the *Lalitavistarā* the point where Buddha crossed the river was the town of Maneyā in Anuvaineya.[2] Anuvaineya means the country along the Vaineya river or on the lower course of the Vaineya. It seems that the name is probably derived from Veṇu which means a 'bamboo' and if so, it would mean 'bamboo river' and would thus be equivalent to Bānsī, which might have been applied to it on account of bamboos on its banks or because it flows in the town of Bānsī.

There is astonishing unanimity between the Burmese and Singhalese legends that Prince Siddhārtha, on reaching the bank of this river, enquired about its name, and on being informed that it was called Āmī (Anômā) made a remark on the name of the river.[3] According to the Burmese legends, the name of the river was Anaumā, on hearing which the prince remarked, "I will not show myself unworthy of high dignity I aspire to". Then "spurring his horse, the fierce animal leaped at once to the opposite bank". Hardy writes "On arriving at the river he enquired its name from the noble and when he was told that it was Anômā illustrious or 'honourable', he received it as another omen in his favour". George Turnour gives the story at length from the Ceylonese Aṭṭakathā of *Buddhawanso*.[4] The *Aṭṭhakathā* called the *Madurathavilāstin* on the *Buddhawanso* which is the fourteenth book in *Khuddakanikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka*.[5] The *Buddhawanso* preserves the history of the last twenty-

1. *Eastern India*, ii. 314. Buchanan calls it the Nawar lake, but in the *Atlas of India* and other Govt. Maps it is named as the Amiyār Tāl and the river is called the Āmī Nadī.
2. Foucaux, translation from Tibetan, p. 214.
3. Bigandet, *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, 41.
4. George Turnour, *J.A.S.B.*, VII (1838), 808.
5. T. R. Chopara, *The Kuṣa-Jātaka*,

four Buddhas. It is believed that it was delivered by Śākya himself in the first year of his Buddhahood. Prince Siddhārtha enquired of Chandaka. "What is the name of this river ?" "Lord! its name is Anomā". Replying 'nor will there be any Anomā',.[1] Siddhārtha pressed his hand to the horse and gave him the signal to leap. The horse springing aloft alighted on the opposite bank of the river.

The identification of the Buddhist Anomā with the present Āmī river is still further confirmed. On reaching the opposite bank, the prince alighted from his horse and directed his attendant Chandaka to return to Kapila.[2] At this spot there stood a stūpa called Chandaka-nivarttana or "Chandaka's return", which in the spoken dialects would perhaps have been shortened to Chandabarttana. Cunningham has identified it with the village of Chandolī on the eastern bank of the Āmī river near the head of the Aumiyār lake[3] and ten miles to the south of the Gorakhpur district of U. P. The prince cut his long locks of hair '*cūḍā*', which being thrown aloft were caught by the gods, who built a stūpa at the spot called '*Cūḍā potigṛaha*', or the 'heap of hair locks'. In the spoken dialects shortened '*cūḍāgaha*', which may be identified with the village of Cheneyā, three miles to the north of Chandolī. The prince next changed his royal garments, called Kāśāya, because it was made of the fine and costly texture and fabrics of Kāśī, for the plain dress of an ascetic. At the spot where this event took place the people built a stūpa, named Kasaya-grahan or "doffed garments". This place has been indentified with the village of Kāseyar, three and half miles to the south of Chandolī.

The extraordinary influence of rivers on Indian history has always been a paradox to historians with pragmatic bias. Such a little part of eastern U. P. could produce both Buddhism and Jainism and through them they could exercise unparallelled effects on the course of man's activity during the last more than thousand and five hundred years. The geography of this region should be extensively studied. Analysis of its historical data will be found to be fruitful in understanding the course of ancient Indian history.

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1. This remark involves a pun, however, it is by no means a matter of levity in Buddhistical literature *J.A.S.B.*, VII, 808 f, 4.
2. Foucaux, op. cit., p. 214
3. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 361.

EKAVṚ́DH AND *EKAVṚ́T*[1] IN VEDIC LITERATURE

M. A. Mehendale

POONA

In the *Śat. Br.* 13.2.1 are mentioned food offerings (*annahoma*-s) which are offered as a part of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The offerings consist of different materials like *ājya*, *saktu*, *dhānā* and *lāja*. They are offered throughout the night. The offerings commence with those offered to *prāṇa*, *apāna* etc. and then come those which are offered to the cardinal numbers like *eka*, *dvi*, *tri* etc. and go upto *śata* and *ekaśata*. Everytime the numbers are raised successively by one. The formulas, accompanying the offerings, like *prāṇāya svāhā*, *apānāya svāhā* etc. are found in the *Vāj. Saṁ.* 22.23-24. While explaining the significance of raising the numbers each time by one the *Śat. Br.* (13.2.1.5) observes : *ékasmai svā́hā dvā́bhyāṁ svā́hā śatā́ya svā́haikaśatā́ya svā́hétyaupūrvàṁ juhoti | anupūrvàm evaínāṁs tat prīṇāti | ékottarā juhoti | ekavṛ́d vaí svargó lokàḥ | ekadhaivaínaṁ svargàṁ lokàṁ gamayati|* "To one hail ! to two hail ! ...... to a hundred hail ! to a hundred and one hail !' He offers in the proper order : in the proper order he thus gratifies them (the gods). He performs oblations successively increasing by one, for single, indeed, is heaven : singly he thus causes him (the sacrificer) to reach heaven" (Eggeling).

The word *ekavṛ́t* is used in the above passage to describe heaven. Eggeling translates it as 'single' which shows that he looked upon the word *ekavṛ́t* to contain the root noun *vṛ́t*. But since the word occurs while giving justification for raising the numbers each time by one (*ékottarā juhoti*) it appears that it would be better to interpret *ekavṛ́t* as the nom. sg. of *ekavṛ́dh* 'rising by one'. In the Vedic literature when the heaven is looked upon as consisting of the three or seven divisions, these are supposed to lie one above the other and the sacrificer rises (*ā-ruh*) gradually up to them.[2] Since the divisions are looked upon as placed singly one above the

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1. BR assigns to *ekavṛ́t* the meaning 'einfach'.
2. See "*Die Dreiteilung des Himmels*" and "*Sieben Goetterwelten*", Lueders: *Varuṇa* I pp. 57ff.

other, the heaven is properly described with the epithet *ekavṛ́dh* and not *ekavṛ́t*. Only such interpretation of the word will bring out clearly the relationship between the oblations to the numbers rising by one (*eka-uttarāḥ āhutayaḥ*) and the heaven also rising by one (*eka-vṛt* < *ekavṛdh svargaḥ*).

It is not intended to suggest that *ekavṛ́t*, with the root noun *vṛ́t* as the second member, does not occur at all in the Vedic literature. It occurs, for example, in the *Śat. Br.* 3.6.3.14 in connection with the spreading of the sacrificial grass. The text reads as: *gṛhītvā́ prastarám ekavṛ́d barhíḥ stṛṇāti* "having taken the Prastara he spreads the altar-grass in a single layer" (Eggeling). The commentator on the *Kāty. Śr. S.* 8.2.25 and 8.7.12[1] where the word occurs in a similar context also explains it as 'having one layer' (*ekavṛt-ekadhātu*) i.e. the grass is spread only once (*ekavāram*).

Even in cases where it is certain that the stem is *ekavṛ́t*, and not *ekavṛ́dh*, it is difficult to decide whether the latter part of the compound contains the root noun *-vṛ́t* (from √*vṛt* 'to be, to exist') or the root noun *-vṛ́-t* (from √*vṛ* 'to cover').[2] When *ekavṛ́t* appears in connection with the sun as in the *AV* 13.4.12 *sá eṣá éka ekavṛ́d éka evá* or in 13.4.15 *yá etáṁ devám ekavṛ́taṁ véda* one can be sure that *ekavṛ́t* contains the root noun *-vṛ́t* and means 'existing alone, existing by oneself'.[3] But in the same hymn when it is said *eté asmin devā́ ekavṛ́to bhávanti* (13), it seems that *ekavṛt* contains the root noun *-vṛ́-t* "These gods in him become covered by one (i.e. by the sun)".[4]

In the end we may note the occurrence of *ekavṛ́t* in the *Maitr. Saṁ.* 4.2.13. The passage reads as: *devā́ vái sárve sahā́ntárvanto 'bhavaṁs té*

1. Also *Mānava Śr. S.* 2.2.4.3. The word *ekavṛt* occurs also in the *TS* 5.2.3.7. (*ekavṛ́taivá suvargáṁ lokam* etc.). But since the context there is of piling the altar in one layer, *ekavṛ́t* having the root noun *vṛ́t* is quite in order.
2. See *Alt. Gr.* II. 2, p.43; also see the views of BR and Hertel cited there.
3. This becomes clear when we read about the sun in the following verses (16ff.) *ná dvitī́yo ná tṛtī́yas* etc.
4. But Whitney translates: "These gods in him become single".

sárve sahá vyájāyanta|tád[1] *ekavṛ́d aśayat sáṁvṛttam|tád devā ítthám céttham ca vyátyacaraṁs tán mitrā́váruṇā acāyatām* "The gods, verily, all became pregnant together. They were all born together. That lay alone (i.e. by itself, without procreation) rolled together. The gods passed by and beyond it in this way and that. Mitra and Varuṇa observed it." In this passage also *ekavṛ́t* is to be interpreted as containing the root noun *-vṛ́t*.

1. It is not clear what this *tád* stands for. It is narrated further that a cow was created from that *tád*.

ŚIVA-ŚAKTI, THE WORLD AND THE ŚĀMBHAVA MEANS TO LIBERATION IN PRATYABHIJÑĀ SAIVISM.

Dr. Jadunath Sinha

CALCUTTA

Reality is Śiva-Śakti—Vasugupta defines Reality as *Caitanya* or *Ātman*. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara describes *Caitanya* as the essence of *Ātman*, of the nature of knowledge and action. It is the essence of Śiva because of its being unveiled or unlimited. Varadarāja regards *Caitanya* as *Ātman*, or Śiva's freedom. It is His body full of transcendental consciousness, because of its identity with the form of pure consciousness. *Caitanya*, dynamic supramental consciousness, is the ontological nature of the universe. Kṣemarāja regards *Caitanya* as absolute freedom full of relations to all cognitions and actions,—omniscience and omnipotence. The supremely conscious Being is independent in all cognitions and actions, and called *Ātman*.[1]

Somānanda regards Śiva and Śakti as two inseparable aspects of the Reality. Śiva endowed with Śakti is capable of creating, maintaining and dissolving the universe through His volition. There is no difference between them in Śaivism. If Śakti were conceived to be capable of creating the universe and omnipotent, Śiva endowed wiih Śakti would have nothing to do, and Śakti would be powerful Śiva because of Her omnipotence. But Śakti is power of Śiva. Her effects of freedom are dependent on Śiva. So Sakti is not Siva. There is only conceptual distinction between them. They are two inseparable aspects of the integral Reality.[2]

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1. चैतन्यमात्मा । *SS*.i,1.
   चैतन्यमात्मनो रूपं सिद्धं ज्ञानक्रियात्मकम् । तग्यानावृतरूपत्वाच्छिवत्वं केन वार्यते ॥
   BSSV.i,1. verse. 15

   चैतन्यं सर्वज्ञानक्रियासम्बन्धमयं परिपूर्णं स्वातन्त्यम् उच्यते, एतदेव आत्मा ।
   KSSV.i,1. *VSSV*., i,1, verse 12-13.

2. न शिवः शक्तिरहितो न शक्तिर्व्यतिरेकिणी ॥ *SD*., iii,2
   शिवः शक्तस्तया भावानिच्छया कर्त्तुमीहते । शक्तिशक्तिमतोर्भेदः शैवे जातु न वर्ण्यते ॥
   SD. iii, 3; *SDV*. iii, 3.

Śiva is *Cit*, pure, transcendental consciousness, manifestation, or illumination. There is no illumination (*prakāśa*) without 'I'-consciousness or self-illumination. *Cit* is also *Caitanya*, dynamic consciousness. Śiva sees Himself as reflected in Śakti, like a mirror. Śakti is Śiva's power of turning upon Himself and becoming self-conscious. His reflection on dynamic consciousness, *Cit-śakti*, is the archetype (*bimba*). His 'I'-consciousness is the primary reflection, and the universe projected by Him through His powers outside and reflected in His dynamic consciousness is a secondary reflection (*pratibimba ābhāsa*). Sakti is called freedom; for She is independent of any entity external to Her. She is called *vimarśa*; since Śiva becomes aware of Himself through His reflection in Her as integral 'I'. Where He is reflected in Her, He has 'I'-consciousness (*ahaṁvimarśa*). *Vimarśa* is described as a vibration of 'I' containing and intuiting diverse entities of the universe within itself. When a conceptual distinction is made between Śiva and Sakti, the latter is regarded as an attribute of the former. There is identity (*Tādātmya*) between an attribute and a substance—Śakti and Śiva. Rather, there is perfect equilibrium (*Sāmarasya*), at-one-ment, harmony between them. There is integral unity between them. They are one in two or two in one. There is unity in duality between them. Śakti is full of illumination. Śiva is illumination, transcendental consciousness, behind Śakti. Śakti is dynamic consciousness, 'I'-consciousness, immanent in the universe. Śiva Śakti or Reality is transcendent-immanent. Every-thing is a manifestation of 'I'-consciousness but does not have it. A jar is insentient; for it has no 'I'-consciousness.[1]

The World is a reflection on Śiva reflected in Śakti. Abhinavagupta adduces the following arguments elaborated by Jayaratha to prove it. There are two kinds of causes, material and instrumental. Earth is the material cause of a jar. A staff, a wheel, etc., are its instrumental cause. An archetype (*bimba*) is not the material cause of its reflection, because it does not enter into the constitution of its reflection. A face, for example, does not enter into the constitution of its reflection in a mirror, since it is perceived as unmodified, and since it exists separately from its reflection. So it is an instrumental cause of its reflection. But a potter can make a jar without a staff, e.g., by setting a wheel in motion by striking it with his hands. But he can not make a jar without clay. So an instrumental cause is not as indispensable as a material cause. So reflections of diverse

1. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol.IV Calcutta, pp. 83-85 (2nd edition).

objects are possible without the objects (*bimba*), for another cause may produce the reflections. A beloved woman, though remote in place, may be reflected in one's consciousness through recollection. Otherwise, she can not be reflected in one's consciousness, being remote to him. An object entering into consciousness cannot be manifested as unrelated to, or separate from, consciousness. If it were unrelated to consciousness, it would be insentient, and not be manifested. Thus, a distant beloved woman's manifestation would not be accounted for. An object entering into consciousness is not anything over and above consciousness. So, such an object would not be manifested as unrelated to consciousness. It is objected that if it were true, there would be no relation between subject and object. Jayaratha replies that it is true that all are consciousness alone and that there is no trace of difference without supreme consciousness. When supreme consciousness conceals its real nature through its freedom, and when it manifests itself as of the nature of contracted knowledge, it appears to be of the nature of subject and object. Because nothing can be separated from supreme consciousness, let a contracted knower have an internnl cognition between supreme consciousness and a known object, in which a known object is reflected as separate from the cognition as in dream. In the cognition of a lover separated from his beloved woman, the object of his love is reflected in his internal cognition by intense recollection. The diverse world is reflected in the internal cognitions of contracted knowers (e.g. souls) by the powers of the Lord, even as an absent object is reflected in the cognition of a limited knower by recollection. Diverse objects are reflected in limited knowers' cognitions by His powers, which are the instrumental cause of their reflections. He assumes the forms of diverse objects of the universe through His supreme freedom, sovereignty and aesthetic delight. His supreme consciousness projects the manifold universe by His power of 'I'-consciousness. His independence of any other being in assuming the form of the universe is called supreme creative intuition (*pratibhā*) nontemporal. The Lord is never devoid of supreme divine power (*Śakti*), that manifests the universe in time. All emerge from Śiva-Śakti. The harmony of Śiva and Śakti is called the power of bliss (*Ānanadaśakti*), that creates or projects the universe. Out of the vibration of Śiva—of the nature of illumination—and Śakti of the nature of 'I'-consciousness, the power of bliss emerges. From the power of bliss, the universe of the nature of volition emerges. Śiva is transcendent of the universe. Śakti is immanent in it. But the vibration of Śiva-Śakti is

both transcendent and immanent because of the absence of different limiting adjuncts.[1]

ŚĀMBHAVA MEANS TO LIBERATION

Abhinava Gupta elaborately discusses this means. Supreme lustre of *Parama Śiva* is manifestation or illumination (*Prakāśa*). Illumination does not exist without self-illuminaton or 'I'-consciousness. Illumination is freedom. Freedom is agency of the act of illumining. Śiva's illumination is freedom in manifesting all in Himself as the foundation. Manifestation makes all manifest; the universe is not manifested as unrelated to manifestation. *Parama Śiva* manifests creation, maintenance and dissolution of the universe in His ether of universal consciousness at His free will. So diverse objects are reflected in His universal consciousness. Though the reflections are not different from the archetype (*bimba*), they appear to be different from it. The diverse qualities of objects of the universe are reflected in *Parama Śiva's* universal consciousness, even as earth, water, etc. are reflected in a transparent mirror. What is impenetrable in entities is of the nature of *māyā*, which makes them different from other entities and which makes them incapable of receiving reflections. What is not impenetrable in entities is of the nature of the power of knowledge full of *sadvidyā* and capable of receiving reflections. So the supreme Lord Himself is manifested as the archetype (*bimba*) and reflections by the power of His freedom. Śiva

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1. मय्येव भाति विश्वं दर्पणमिव निर्मले घटादीनि ।
मत्तः प्रसरति सर्वं स्वप्नविचित्रत्वमिव सुप्तात् ।। *PS*. 48.

तेन संवित्तिमुकुरे विश्वमात्मानमर्पयत् ।
नाथस्य बदतेऽमुष्य विमलां विश्वरूपताम् ।। *TA*.iii.44;*TAV*.iii.44,pp.53-54

अन्यथा संविदारूढा कान्ता विच्छेदयोगिनी ।
कस्माद् भाति न वै संविद् बिच्छेदं पुरतो गता ।।*TA*.iii.63;*TAV*.iii.63,pp.70-71.

अत एवान्तरं किञ्चिद्धीसंज्ञं भवतु स्फुटम् ।
यत्रास्य विच्छिदा भानं संकल्पस्वप्नदर्शने ।। *TA*.iii.64; *TAV*.iii.64,pp.73-74.

अतो निमित्तं देवस्य शक्त्यः सन्तु तादृशे ।
इत्थं विश्वमिदं नाथे भैरवीयचिदम्बरे ।।
प्रतिविन्बमलं स्वच्छे न खल्वन्यप्रसादतः ।।*TA*.iii.65;*TAV*.iii.65,pp.72-73
तयोर्यद्यामलं रूपं स संघट्ट इति स्मृतः ।
आनन्दशक्तिः सैवोक्ता यतो विश्वं विसृज्यते ।। *TA*.iii.68;*TAV*.iii68,p.81; Ibid. iii.60-62,66.

manifests Himself as both by His freedom. The universe being unmanifest in its nature is not manifested by itself, but manifested by Him of the nature of manifestation. So the entire universe being reflected in the supreme Lord's universal consciousness is His form or body. It is manifested as the form of the Lord, and manifested as different from His consciousness This World being reflected in His universal consciousness assumes the qualities of His manifestness, freedom, etc. even as a face reflected in a bright sword assumes its qualities.

The Lord is the material cause of reflections of diverse objects of the universe in His consciousness, and His powers are their efficient cause. They do not depend upon any other cause. Śiva is manifestation. Manifestation is freedom. Freedom is 'I'-consciousness,—His principal nature. Manifestation without 'I'-consciousness or self-manifestation is not possible. This is the special character of manifestation which differentiates it from insentient entities, and enables it to assume the form of the universe. Universal consciousness assumes the form of the universe by its power of 'I'-consciousness. This power whereby universal consciousness assumes the form of the manifold World is called supreme *pratipbhā*, which does not depend upon any other agent. This power is full of supreme freedom, sovereignty and aesthetic delight. It is replete with infinite powers.[1]

To an aspirant on whom there is intense descent of the Lord's grace the universe of diverse things is manifested as reflections in his *Ātman* of

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5: *TA.*, *TAV.*, iii. 1–4, 10-11. 44-46, 65-66
प्रकाशमात्रं यत्प्रोक्तं भैरवीयं परं महः ।
तत्र स्वतन्त्रतामात्रमधिकं प्रविविच्यते ॥ *TA*. iii. 1
य प्रकाशः स सर्वस्य प्रकाशत्वं प्रयच्छति ।
न च तद् व्यतिरिक्तयस्ति विश्वं सद्वावभासते । *TA* iii. 2
अतोऽसी परमेशानः स्वात्मव्योमन्यनर्गल ।
इयतः सृष्टिसंहाराडम्बरस्य प्रदर्शकः ॥ *TA*. iii.3
निर्मले मकुरे यद्वद् भान्ति भूमिजलादयः ।
अमिश्रास्तद्वदेकस्मिंश्चिन्नाथे विश्ववृत्तयः ॥ *TA*. iii; 4
तथा विश्वमिदं बोधे प्रतिबिम्बितमाश्रयेत् ।
प्रकाशत्वस्वतन्त्रत्वप्रभृति धर्मविस्तरम् ॥ *TA*. iii. 46
अनन्योपेक्षिता यास्य विश्वमत्वं प्रति प्रभोः ।
तां परां प्रतिभां देवीं संगिरन्ते ह्यनुत्तराम् ॥ *TA*. iii. 66

the nature of universal consciousness. His limited consciousness has expanded to universal consciousness because of the destruction of his taints. Different things are manifested to him as non-different from his *Ātman*. He becomes the Lord of the universe. This is the *Śāmbhava* means of realising one's Śivahood or Absoluteness. By this means an aspirant realises his perfect, intergral 'I'-consciousness (*pūrṇāhantāparāmarśa*). He dispenses with the muttering of *mantras*, worshipping and performing other acts. By repeatedly practising the experience of non-difference of the universe from his *Ātman*, he attains to the status of identity with Śiva or embodied release. He dissolves the determinations of the universe in his indeterminate *Ātman*. He experiences them as reflections in his indeterminate universal consciousness and non-different from it. He transcends all limitations and determinations, and becomes ubiquitous, independent, omniscient Śiva. He becomes indeterminate Absolute, perfecct, integral 'I' consciousness. The *Śāmbhava* means is practised in three ways. 1. This universe springs from me. 2. It is reflected in me. 3. It is non-different from me. The universe of subjects and objects does not spring from nescience, but from supreme consciousness. Or, such a universe is reflected in me or my consciousness. It does not appear to me to be made of parts and atoms. It dissolves in my indeterminate consciousness and appears to be non-different from me. I am the creator of the universe, and manifest it in my *Ātman* or universal consciousness, and I am of the nature of the universe. All entities are refleoted in me alone. I maintain them. My being of the nature of the universe is manifested in it. When a seeker experiences the universe to melt in his eternally manifest *Ātman* or supreme consciousness, he achieves peace. He experiences that he is the fire that burns the dream of embodied existence in the World of diverse things. He assimilates the subconscious impressions of the World to the *Ātman*'s indeterminate and integral 'I'-consciousness. When the diverse World melts in his indcterminate, universal consciousness, no other being remains than Supreme consciousness. A seeker who experiences creation, maintenance and dissolution of the universe as melting in one, indivisible, Supreme consciousness, achieves ecstasy through *Śāmbhava* means. All seekers do not achieve this state. One on whom there is descent of very excessive grace of the Lord, can achieve it. Ablution, vows, purification of body, muttering *manrtas*, sacrifices, meditation, and trance

are dispensed with at this stage. An aspirant becomes self-fulfilled and self-realised through His Supreme grace.[1]

1. *TA*; *TAV*. iii . 268-71, 274-80, 283-91
एवमात्मनि यस्येदृगविकल्प. सदोदयः ।
परामर्शः स एवासौ शाम्भवोपायमुद्रितः ॥ *TA*. iii. 269
पूर्णाहन्ता परामर्शो योऽस्यायं प्रविवेचितः ।
मन्त्रमुद्राक्रियापासास्तदन्या नात्र काश्चन ॥ *TA*. iii. 270
मत्त एवोदितमिदं मय्येव प्रतिविम्बितम् ।
मदभिन्नमिदं चेति त्रिधोपायः स शाम्भवः ॥ *TA*. iii. 280
Elaborated in my forthcoming book: *The School of Śaivism* (Sinha Publishing House. Calcutta-26).

Abbreviations.

ŚS.	=	शिवसूत्राणि (वसुगुप्त)
ŚD.	=	शिवदृष्टिः (सोमानन्द)
ŚDV.	=	शिवदृष्टिवृत्तिः (उत्पलदेव)
BŚSV.	=	शिवसूत्रवार्त्तिकम् (भास्कर)
VŚSV.	=	शिवसूत्रवार्त्तिकम् (वरदराज)
KŚSV.	=	शिवसूत्रवृत्तिः (क्षेमराज)
TA.	=	तन्त्रालोकः (अभिनवगुप्त)
TAV.	=	तन्त्रालोकविवेकः (जयरथ)
PS.	=	परमार्थसारः (अभिनवगुप्त)

MEDIEVAL SCULPTURES OF ASSAM

G. N. Bhuyan

GAUHATI

The history of sculpture of this easternmost State of India begins, as it were, from the early centuries of the Christian era, that is, from the Gupta period onwards. We do not know if Assam had any artistic tradition prior to that, since no sculptural remains belonging to the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period, not to speak of the Mauryan period, have so far been found. This is not surprising, considering the climatic condition and the ravages of time and nature, the latter being the more telling, with heavy rainfall and the consequent humidity and thick growth of vegetation and frequent earthquakes. Another reason is that no systematic excavation has so far been carried out in this part of the country. The one place, where excavation was done some two years back, yielded a rich repertoire of sculptures of the late medieval period. This alone is a sufficient proof that Assam witnessed intense artistic activities in the days of yore.

It is rather difficult, if not totally impossible, to give a connected account of the history of sculptural traditons of Assam as the numbers of sculptural specimens are not many. Of these, very few are inscribed and, what is more, most of them have been found out of their proper archaeological context. Added to this is the fact that we do not possess a single standing structural monument that can be dated before the thirteenth, or even seventeenth, century. This, however, does not mean that Assam did not possess any temple in ancient times. In fact, there was a time when this land, especially the Brahmaputra valley was littered with innumerable temples, evidence of which can be found in the existing heaps of ruins dotting the length and breadth of this valley[1], as also in the epigraphic records[1a] of the rulers of different dynasties of this state. Literary evidences, like the accounts left by travellers Yuan-Chwang,[2] who visited this part of the country during the reign of Bhaskaravarman, reinforce this contention. The reasons why no temple of the early period exists are, as has been said

1. Such as the Sun temple ruins at Tezpur, temple ruins at Deopani, Deopahar, Baman, Madan-Kamdev, Dah-Parbatiya, to name a few.

1 (a). Altogether 23 inscriptions, both in copper-plate and stone, issued by them, have so far been discovered, some of which, incidentally, record such activities, eg., *Nowgong Grant of Vanamāla* (C. 835-865 A. D.)

2. *Buddhist Records of the Western World* II : tr. Samuel Beal.

before, earthquke, heavy rainfall and the consequent humidity and vegetation.

On the basis of the sculptural remains, it can be safely said that Assam once constituted an inherent part of the artistic traditions of the rest of India. The artistic revival that India witnessed during the Imperial Guptas, also left its traces in Assam, evidence of which can be found in the superb Gupta-style temple door-jamb bearing the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which scholars are unanimous in hailing as one of the finest specimens of Gupta art activities.[1] Another sculptural remain of this period is to be found on the huge boulder at Badganga bearing the inscription of Bhūtivarman[2] wherein is depicted the image of two *dvārapālas* standing with the right leg flexed, holding a combined trident-battle-axe in the left hand, with right arm akimbo, wearing a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* identical with the one worn by Nara in the Nara-Nārāyaṇa panel at Deogarh.[3] The images are completely naked. The shoulders are square and the contour of the body angular with heavy limbs. Carved in low relief, they totally lack the elegance and suavity of the Gupta style. On the basis of the accompanying epigraph they can be dated to the middle of the century. These two are the earliest extant sculptural remains found in Assam so far.

There are a number of sculptures of eighth century vintage, notable among which is the Hari-Hara panel now displayed in the State Museum. In this the Hari aspect (left) holds in the upper right hand *gadā* with the bulbous end up, and *akṣamālā* (?) in the lower left, while Hara holds *triśūla* in the upper right and *ḍamaru* in the lower right hand. The deity stands in *tribhaṅga* and is adorned with *hāra*, *vanamālā*, and decorated *kaṭisūtra* and *kaṭi-mekhalā*. His face is serene, though the sensuous expression can be gleaned through his serenity, a feature so common in the early medieval sculptures of eastern India. On his left is *Lakṣmī*, standing cross-legged with her right hand in *varada* and the left hand holding, in all probability, *cāmara*, and adorned with *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, perforated *patra-kuṇḍala* etc., with a *tilaka* mark on the forehead. On his right stands *Umā* with flaming hair and dagger in right hand. The drapery arrangement is similar to that of *Lakṣmī*. The drapery folds are shown by schematic incised parallel lines in three.

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1. For a detailed description, vide, *Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey of India* (*ARASI*) 1922-23, 1924-25; R. D. Banerji:—*Age of the Imperial Guptas.*
2. N. K. Bhattasali : *Journal of the Assam Research Society* (*JARS*) VIII, pp.138ff.
3. Vide, *Memoris of the ASI,* No. 70, Pl XI, a.

Another image of *Hari-Hara*, now displayed in the State Museum, is four-armed and holds *triśūla*, *akṣamālā*, *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in upper-right, lower-right, upper-left and lower-left hands respectively. The deity stands in *samapāda* and is adorned with a beaded *vanamālā* having a central *svastika*-like multi-armed boss. The nose is aquiline and the face is dead-pan and stylized. *Garuḍa* is depicted in *añjali-mudrā* on the left, while on the right is the bull with its neck craned backward. The deity is ithyphallic.

Stylistically belonging to the same period is an image of *Viṣṇu*, short and squat, standing in *samapāda*. Measuring 2′6″ in height this four-armed image has its two right hands and feet missing. Of the remaining two left hands, the upper one holds *śaṅkha*, and the lower one *gadā*. It has the old-fashioned curled up *śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest. The *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* is flat and fez-like, embellished with two broad bands at both the ends and floral designs inbetween. There are *trivalī*-marks in the neck. The image is inscribed in 8th century character.[1]

Another *Viṣṇu* image hailing from the same place and co-eval with the above-mentioned *Viṣṇu*, is more elegant, though equally thick-set and heavy. The image (1′10″) is headless and holds *śaṅkha*, *padma* in *varada-hasta*, *cakra* and *gadā* in upper left, upper right, lower left and lower right hands respectively. It, too, has *śrīvatsa* mark, which is a bit more evolved than the former one in that its arms are shorter and not curled up.

To a slightly later period belongs the lower part of a door-jamb found at Tezpur, which depicts a pot-bellied *dvārapāla* with *triśūla* in hand, flanked on the right by Yamunā on her tortoise vehicle holding garlands with both the hands, and on the left by a male figure resting his body-weight on a staff held with both the hands in front. All the figures stand in *tribhaṅga*. The central figure has his left hand flexed and in *varada* pose. Their smiling faces with bow shaped mouths, raised eyebrows, large eyes and the sensual expressions, are similar to those of the *Hari-Hara* panel,

1. P. C. Chaudhury: *Journal of Indian Histoy XLVIII*, Part 1. K. N. Dikshit (*Epigraphia India XVIII*), however, assigned them to the 9th century. Stylistically, this image has resemblance with the Benisagar Viṣṇu, now in the Patna Museum (vide—*From Gupta to Pāla Sculptures*": S. L. Weiner: Fig 25), with its short fez-like *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, heavey *Vanamālā*, the stylized curled-up hem of the *paridhāna* and the short, thick-set, rigid physique. Dikshit's suggestion, however, that they are specimens of local artistic tradition is incorrect, for the feature of the Viṣṇu and the Hari-Hara images have not the slightest touch of classical or post-classical artistic idiom of Eastern India or, for that matter, of any other region. These are local products, produced by local sculptors trained in the Eastern Indian idiom.

except that these three figures are more profusely ornamented. In all these images the influence of the eastern version of the post-Gupta aritstic tradition can be definitely discerned.

With the 9th century we begin to come across sculptures of the Pāla style of Bengal. The majority of these sculptures, mostly in stelae, depict *Viṣṇu, Umā-Maheśvara, Sūrya, Mahiṣa-mardinī, Kārtikeya, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Indra, Manasā* etc. In all these, *Viṣṇu* takes the lion's share.

Two of the *Viṣṇu* images are to be seen in the Assam State Museum, sculptured in black basalt, with the painted stelae having *Kīrti-mukha* motifs at top, as the background. The god stands in *samapāda* flanked by *Lakṣmī* with *cāmara* in hand on the right and *Sarasvatī* with *Vīṇā* on left. The stelae are profusely ornamented, as also the images. Stylistically, one of these can be dated to 11th century and the other to 12th century.

Recently, no less than nine images of *Viṣṇu* in sand-stone were recovered at the Ambari area in Gauhati during the excavation of a site depicting some of the twenty-four *mūrti*-s of *Viṣṇu* such as *Keśava, Acyuta, Hṛṣīkeśa, Vāmana* and *Mādhava*, according to the *Padma Purāṇā*. Two of these *Viṣṇu* images were inscribed in 10th century characters. Stylistically too, they can be assigned to the later half of the 10th century. All the images stand in *Samapāda* holding their *āyudhas*, flanked by *Lakṣmī* with *cāmara* in hand on the right and *Sarasvatī* with *Vīṇā* in hand on the left. *Garuḍa* is depicted in the centre of the pedestal. The stelae is pointed with a *Kīrti-mukh*a motif at the top and is bordered by a plain ridged band. No other decoration is found except the usual two flying *vidyādharas* flanking the *Kīrtimukh*a. Some of the images have longish face with a very mild expression while others look gloomy with broad face, aquiline nose, sunken nose-bridge and curved eyebrows rising abruptly from the nose-bridge.

The only major *Varāha* image from Sibsagar town, now displayed in the Assam State Musem, is depicted in profile, with the face towards right, the right foot resting on the *Śeṣa* in *añjali*. The god wears a tall bulbous *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa* and is embellished with *Hāra, keyūra, kaṅkaṇa, vaijayantī* and decorated *kaṭisūtra*. On the elbow of his upper right hand is seated *Pṛthivī* in *añjali* In his upper left-hand he holds *gadā*; the lower left is in *Kaṭyavalambita* and the lower right hand, now mutilated, probably held *cakra*.

Two major specimens of *Narasimha* of *sthānaka* variety, now in the Assam State Museum, were found in Gauhati and belong to 11th-12th century A. D., judging by the tall bulbous *mukuṭa* adorning the head and other stylistic treatment. In both, *Narasimha* is shown in *pratyālīḍha* pose tearing the entrails of *Hiraṇyakaśipu*. In one of them, the demon is held cross-wise across the stomach with his right leg perched on the god's right arm, while in the other the leg of *Hiraṇyakaśipu* is free. The former is two-armed and is adorned with *keyūra, kaṅkaṇa*, etc, with a knee-length *paridhāna* and the cascade of folds hanging down between the legs. The latter too is similarly decked but is four-armed and holds *gadā* in the upper right hand and *cakra* in the upper left. There is hardly any difference between these and those found in north-eastern India in their mode of representation.

Of *Śiva* images, the important ones are those of *Umā-Maheśvara* and *Nṛtya-Naṭarāja*, typical of the Eastern School. Of the *Umā-Maheśvara* images the important ones are, two from Davakā, one from Jogijan and one from Nowgong town (all in Nowgong district). Of these, the ones from Davakā and Jogijan are similar in size, engraved in black besalt, with *Umā* seated on *Maheśvarā's* left thigh who is depicted as *Ūradhvaretas, Maheśa* embracing his consort with his left hand and fondling her left breast, *Umā* holding a *darpaṇa* (?) in her left hand and her right hand resting on *Maheśa's* shoulder. *Maheśa* has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* as head-gear and *Umā* a large chignon. With their typical sensuous smile and bow-like curved mouth, they are a fine example of 9th-10th century eastern art.

The other *Umā-Maheśa* image from Nowgong town, of which only the upper part is extant, is slightly later in date. Here *Maheśa* is shown touching *Umā's* chin with his right hand. The deities have all the bodily decorations common in such images. One of the *Vidyādharas* is still extant in the broken back panel.

Of the *Naṭarāja* image, the one now displayed in the State Museum, is in a circular panel bordered with alternating diamond and rosette patterns. Standing on his bull vehicle in dancing pose, the ten-armed god holds sword, *trisūla, dhanu* and shield, the lowermost right hand being in *varada mudrā*. The other five attributes could not be distinguished due to disfigurement, but these are in all probability rosary, *ḍamaru*, snake, *śakti* and *mudgara*. This is an eleventh century specimen of *Naṭarāja*. The other important one from Ambari, Gauhati, is a massive stelae depicting *Śiva* dancing on the back of his vehicle in the typical East

Indian style. He is flanked by Nandī and Bhṛṅgī in dancing pose holding *Kamaṇḍalu* and *Sruva*. The god has the usual *āyudhas* such as *khaḍga, śakti, mudgara, triśūla, kheṭaka, bhikṣāpātra, bhujaṅga* and *khaṭvāṅga* and the lowest right hand is in *varada*; while the corresponding left hand is in *abhaya* holding *akṣamālā*. This is assignable to the later half of the tenth ceutury.

There is a solitary specimen of *gajāntaka mūrti* of *Śiva,*[1] in which the four-armed god is depicted as standing with his right foot raised, the upper right hand overhead stretching the hide of *Gajāsura* and the lower left hand holding *dhanu*. The elephant's head is placed below in front of *Śiva's* feet.

Assam was from olden days a centre of solar worship. The very name *Prāgjyotiṣa*, the earliest reference of which is to be found in the *Gṛhyasūtras*,[2] is indicative of this. Other literary references to Assam being a centre of solar worship are not lacking too.[3] Archaeological evidences in this respect are also to be found.[4] The earliest representation of *Sūrya* is to be found in the Dah Parbatiya Gupta-style door-jamb at Tezpur wherein he is shown seated cross-legged, holding lotuses in hand and flanked by *Daṇḍa* and *Piṅgala*. Another *Sūrya* image found in Sadiya[5] wherein only the upper part of the god's body is shown, with *Aruṇa* in front concealing his lower part, and the seven rampant horses below, may perhaps be dated to 7th-8th century A.D. No other accessory figures are shown with him. The *Sūrya* found in the door-lintel of the Sun-temple at Tezpur has been assigned by R.D. Banerji[5a] to C. 8th centnry.

The three *Sūrya* images discovered in the Ambari excavation mentioned above are identical with one another in style, all standing in *samapāda*, draped in *udīcyaveśa*, holding lotuses in two hands and accompanied by *Uṣā, Pratyuṣā, Daṇḍa, Piṅgala* and *Aruṇa*. The back-slab is devoid of all decorations except the *Kīrtimukha* and the flanking *vidyādharas*. The *Sūrya* image from Gopur is similar in style but, unfortunately, mutilated in the middle. Another image from Davakā (Nowgong district) in black basalt

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1. Now in the State Museum : vide *JARS* VII, pp 73 ff.
2. P. C. Chaudhury : *The History of Civilization of the People of Assam*. p. 406.
3. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa ; Varāha purāṇa ; Kālikā Purāṇa ; Ādicarita* of Śrī Śaṅkaradeva.
4. Tezpur ruins ; Navagraha temple in Gauhati ; ruins at Surya Pahar, Mangaldai, Davaka, Sadiya ; finds at Gohpur, Narakasur Hill etc.
5. *ARASI*—1905.

5a. *ARASI*—1924-25.

is profusely decorated in the back slab with the three-fold division of *parivāra-devatā*-s, *makara-kinnara*-s and *kīrtimukha-vidyādhara*-s above, with elaborate arabesque patterns issuing out of the mouth of *Kīrtimukha*, and may be dated to 12th century A.D. The other notable *Sūrya* image[1] hewn in a huge rock by the riverside is another example of 12th/13th century sculpture. The god stands in *samapāda* with lotuses in hands, legs covered with high boots and adorned with *hāra*-s., *keyūra*, *kuṇḍala*-s etc. with a tall bulbous *mukuṭa* on his head; *Chāyā*. and *Rājnī* are shown beside him.

Othe minor deities, such as *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*, *Brahmā*, *Indra*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Kārtikeya*, *Manasā* etc. are also found.

The earliest two representations of Gaṅgā and Yamunā have been mentioned above. We have another representation of Gaṅgā depicted in a door-jamb at Silbori (Darang district) of the late medieval period. But the most interesting Gaṅgā-Yamunā images have been found at Ambari (Gauhati) where the Goddesses are shown canopied by three headed snakes, with two others held in hands. Their *vāhana*-s are shown below. The association of these goddesses with serpants is not rare in the eastern region[2].

A large number of Gaṇeśa images are to be found scattered throughout the country, mostly hewn on rocks and seated in *mahārāja-līlāsana*, although dancing Gaṇeśas too are not lacking. Almost all of them are adorned with *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, which is a common feature of north-eastern Gaṇeśa. They have their usual *āyūdha*-s in hands, such as *paraśu*, *modaka*, *akṣamālā*, fan or radish etc. An interesting image of Gaṇeśa near Gauhati holds in his hands the Vaiṣṇava *āyudha*-s of *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, and *padma*, showing definite Vaiṣṇava influence, and may thus be a late innovation of 15th/16th century. Barring this, the rest of the images belong to 11th-12th century period.

Kārtikeya images are not many. So far only three or four images belonging to the medieval period have been found. Notable among these is the Kārtikeya from Devasthana (Nowgong district), dateable to 9th century, in which the god is depicted as seated in *lalitāsana*, in with his peacock in profile below. The god holds *śakti* his right hand and a cock in his left. He is adorned with a pointed *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, perforated *patra-kuṇḍala*-s, *hāra*, *valaya* and *Kaṅkaṇa*. The folds of his *paridhāna* are marked by deep incised lines.

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1. From Gauhati.
2. *History of Bengal* : Vol 1 : ed. R. C. Majumdar : Banerji: *ARSI*-1924-25

Two images of Indra have so far been found, one in stone and the other in bronze. The former, found in Gauhati, is in black basalt, stands in *abhaṅga*, is pot-bellied and two-armed, the right hand in *varada* and the left in *abhaṅga*, has a pointed *Karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* on head and is canopied by five hooded serpents. He wears a knee-length *paridhāna* and is embellished with the usual ornaments plus the *upavīta*. The elephant is shown at the pedestal. He is flanked on his right by a bearded *ṛṣi* and on left by a cross-legged female attendant holding a sword upward in her right hand. The image is peculiar in view of his association with serpent, which may possibly be explained as an attempt to associate him with Balarama and by extension with Kṛṣṇa.[1] The image is dateable to 10th century A.D.

The bronze Indra found at Narakasur hill near Gauhati shows the god as seated on his elephant mount with two hands, one in *abhaya* and the other *varada*, flanked by two female attendants and with another kneeling near his feet. The icon has been assigned to C. 8th century A.D.[2]

Manasā is a goddess peculiar to eastern India, whose cult originated during 9th/10th century somewhere in Bengal[3] and became fully established in 10th/12th century.[4] Of the four Manasā images found in Assam so far, three are in stone and one in bronze,[5] all of them being in typical eastern style and dateable to c. 10th century.

These apart, images of Kuvera, Brahmā, Agni, Lakṣmī, Sarsvatī etc. too are found, dateable to the late medieval period. Their numbers are, however, not many. Stylistically the Brahmā image, now in the State Museum and dateable to 11th century, is in the late Pāla and Sena style.

The two Lakṣmī and Sarsvatī images from Sibsagar are of stiff modelling, with angular body contour and a lack of sense of proportion among the different limbs. Dateable to 11th century, these may be the works of local sculptors.

We can thus see that the sculptural products of Assam of medieval period are but an extension of the eastern school of medieval sculpture and that no local school worth the name grew up. Although we do find sculptures

1. *JARS* IX.
2. P. C. Choudhury, op. cit.
3. P. K. Maity : *Historical Studies in the Cult of Goddess Manasā.*
4. Bhattasali : *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*; Maity : op. cit.
5. P. D. Chaudhary : *JARS* VIII, pp 13ff.

of local idiom here and there, no connected account of its evolution, if any, is possible. T.N. Ramachandran's contention that some local touch may be found in the sculptural remains of Numaligarh[1] (Sibsagar district) may be correct; but unfortunately here too we do not find any subsequent evolution anywhere, at least not at the present stage. He further says[2] that there are certain similarities with Javanese sculptures, especially in the treatment of the flaming manes and bulging horn-like eyes of the *Kīrtimukha*. If that is so, and he is possibly correct in this, then this goes to prove the existence of some sort of cultural contact between these two parts of Asia. This is not surprising, considering the fact that artistic tradition in South East Asia in the medieval period was the result of Indian influence, political, religious as well as cultural.[3] That another channel of cultural flow from both sides passed through Assam is also proved by the existence of a number of Indian colonies in these regions. [4]

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1. Ramchandran : *ARASI*, 1936-37. He wrongly assigned them to 11th-12th century which, in fact, belong to 10th/11th century.
2. ibid.
3. Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian & Indonesian Art.*
4. R. C. Majumdar : *Ancient Idian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol I; P.C. Chuodhury : op. cit.

THE *MṚCCHAKAṬIKAM* AND THE *CĀRUDATTAM*

Ram Prakash Poddar

VAISHALI

The problem whether the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* is based on the *Cārudattam* ascribed to Bhāsa or the latter is an adaptation from the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* is as old as the discovery of the Trivandrum plays. Majority of opinion is in favour of regarding the *Cārudattam* as the older play and the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* as its later elaboration;[1] but V. Varadachari in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, C. R. Devadhar in his '*Plays Ascribed to Bhāsa etc.*', Dr. Purushottamlal Bhargava in his article '*The Mṛcchakaṭikam and the Cārudattam*'[2] and a few others have refuted the proposition. For want of any external evidence the debate has been based on internal ones, none of which, however, has furnished a knock-down proof for or against the hypothesis. The chief tool in the hands of those who support the anteriority of the *Cārudattam* is the older Prākṛita forms , but Prof. C. R. Devadhar refutes it on the ground that "the Prākṛta of the drama is a factor depending more on the provenance and the age of manuscripts than on the provenance and the age of the dramatist" As regards quotations from *Daridra-Cārudatta* like, "*Śuṣkadrumagatau rauti* ... etc. found in *Nāṭakalakṣanakośa*, Mr. Devadhara opines that '*Daridra-Cārudatta*' may be an alternative title for the *Maṛcchakaṭikam* itself and the author might be quoting from some other version. But once it is accepted that the existing *Cārudattam* is an adaptation from the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* the said quotation can at best prove the probability of a second part adapted from the other half of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*; it is quite plausible that a bigger play is adapted in two parts for stage-purposes. Coming to the other side of the question, the discrepancy in the voice of the question—"*Ko ṇu dāṇi ayyāe uvavāsassa uvadesio*?" and the answer—"*Imiṇā Vaḍvassaeṇa cuṇṇagoṭṭhena*" in the *Cārudattaṁ* seems to indicate a slip committed in course of imitating; but Dr. Tiwari regards it as a slip of pen committed by the original author

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1. See I. S. K. Belvalkar : *The Relation of Śudraka's Mṛcchakaṭika to the Cārudatta of Bhāsa*—1st AIOC, Poona.

   II. G. K. Bhat : Preface to *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. III. A. D. Pusalker : *Bhāsa : A study*. IV. R. V. Jagirdar: *Drama in Sanskrit Literature*. V. Dr. Ramashankar Tiwari *Mahākavi Śūdraka*. VI. Sukthankar: *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1925. etc.

2. Published in *Gopinath Kaviraj Felicitation Volume*.

himself. Certain verses and witticisms in the *Cārudattam* have been said to strike as being uprooted from their appropriate contexts in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* and somehow grafted in the *Cārudattam* while certain others in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* have been said to have undergone improvements upon their corresponding ones in the *Cārudattam*.

The same fact has been interpreted differently to support contrary opinions. Thus, from the Sūtradhāra's abrupt beginning in Prākṛta in the *Cārudattam* Mr. Bhargava infers its dependence upon the corresponding part in the *Mṛcchakatikam* while from the same fact Mr. Pusalker establishes the priority of the *Cārudattam* to the *Mṛcchakaṭīkam*. Our little efforts here are concentrated on this particular inconsistency.

In the opinion of Mr. Bhargava the Sūtradhāra first introduces the play to the audience, in Sanskrit, according to the tradition of the Sanskrit plays, and them he takes up the role of a Prākṛta speaking citizen of Ujjaini, In the *Cārudattam* he at once takes up the latter role. Mr. Bhargava concludes that no other explanation of this fact is possible except that the author of the *Cārudattam* has deliberately omitted the previous portion of the dialogue. Dr. Pusalker says "Now all the classical dramas have their prologue in Sanskrit which implies that the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* must have had some authority for using Prākṛta in the Prologue against the general vogue. That the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* copied the Prākṛta speech of the Sūtradhāra from the *Cārudatta* is also clear from the explanation which precedes the Sūtradhāra's speech in Prākṛta, '*Eṣs' smi bhoḥ, kāryavaśāt prayogavaśācca prākṛtabhāṣī saṁvṛttaḥ*", showing that the poet thought it necessary to explain why Prākṛta was introduced in the *Prastāvanā*. The absence of any such explanatory remarks in the *Cārudattam* indicates its priority". He corroborates the originality of the Prākṛta-speech of the Sūtradhāra in the *Cārrudattam* by quoting from *Śākuntala-Vyākhyā*—a Ms. of the 14th century where the author deplores the use of Prākṛta even by the Sūtradhāra in the *Cārudattam*.[1]

Use of Prākṛta by the Sūtradhāra in the *Mṛcchākaṭikam* and the *Cārudattam* is indeed a singular occurience of its kind in the whole range of the Snnskrit dramas inclding the Trivandrum plays. The general vogue

1. But this evidence can hardly establish that the use of Prākṛta by ihe *Sūtradhara* is an original idea of the author of the *Cārudattam*, for it is likely that the commentator cited it because here the *Sutradhāra* uses Prākrta exclusively whereas in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* he partly uses Sanskrit also.

is that the Sūtradhāra uses exclusively Sanskrit. In the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* he switches over from Sanskrit to Prākṛta as he is about to enter his house to speak to his wife. Explaining the change-over he says that the particulaı occassion and the general custom require him to speak in Prākṛta. Mr. Keith assumes that the Sūtradhāra is going to play the Vidūṣaka—Maitreya in the play; hence he changes over to Prākṛta which is the usual language of this character in the Sanskrit dramas. But this explanation cannot be accepted; for, though the Sūtradhāra and Maitreya do not appear simultaneously upon the stage, yet the latter follows the former at his heels too closely to allow any change of the make-up which would have been necessary if the Sūtradhāra himself had to re-appear in the changed role of Maitreya. Dr. Bhargava's explanation that he introduces the play in Sanskrit as the Sūtradhāra and then assumes the role of a Prākṛta speaking citizen of Ujjainī is not satisfactory; for he contiues to be the Sūtradhāra before he enters his house and even after it and the whole of his role is meant to introduce the play. According to Dr. Pusalker the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* was aware that in the use of Prākṛta by the Sūtradhāra he was going to infringe upon the set tradition of the Sanskrit dramas. So he justified himself by saying that he was doing so because it was necessary for him under the circumstances and there was also precedence. It is strange that the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, who plagiarised the whole of the *Cārudattım* and transgressed the most general rule of honesty, did not deem it necessary to offer any apology in this regard but in plagiarising the Prākṛta speech of the Sūtradhāra, wherein he transgressed the general vogue of the Sanskrit dramas, he was so obsessed with his scruples that he could not pass on without a word of apology. Again, plagiaıist like Śūdraka should have been discreet with respect to mentioning his source but directly or indirectly he referred to it to justify the use of Prākṛta by the Sūtradhāra. On the other hand, Bhāsa who stuck to the rule of the use of Sanskrit by the Sūtradhāra in his other plays connived at his self-contıadiction in the *Cārudattam* and deemed any explanation unnecessary—or probably he had no cause for this innovation.

To use Mr. Sukthankar's words, "Every change, however minute, presupposes a cause." Then the use of Prākṛta by the Sūtradhāra eitheı in the *Cārudattam* or in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, whichever may be the original, must be having a cause, for it is certainly a change and not a very minute one. The author of the *Cārudattam* gives us no cause but the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* mentions some sort of a cause. He says that the Sūtradhāra in his play is turning from Sanskrit to Prākṛta in contravention of the

established usage for there is a reason—weighty enough to warrant this great change—and it is that the particular occasion and the general custom require him to speak in Prākṛta. Here, the general custom cannot be that of the stage which has been found to be contrary to his present practice. So it remains vague. Most of the critics have inferred from his work that the Deccan was the home of the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. Now, if we propose a Śūdraka flourishing in Circa 2nd Century A.D., under the influence, if not acuatlly patronage, of Sātavāhana (Hāla)[1] the vagueness about the said general custom is removed. Sātavāhana (Hāla) was the seventeenth ruler in the line of the Āndhrabhṛtyas who ruled in the Deccan. His predilection for Prākṛta is well-known Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmaṁsā* says that there was a king in Kuntala[2] named Sātavāhana who prescribed exclusive use of Prākṛta in his *antaḥpura*. It is likely that he means Sātavāhana (Hāla); for this king indeed had a very great love for the Prākṛtas.[3] The Sūtradhāra in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* changes over from Sanskrit to Prākṛta as he enters his *antaḥpura* just to show his awareness of, and to pay his respects to, the convention of the exclusive use of Prākṛta in the *antaḥpura* of the king and he refers to this very convention as a reason for his present deviation from Sanskrit to Prākṛta.[4] The Sūtradhāra begins with his day to day life and gradually enters the world of the drama. It is quite conceivable that in his domestic life he is shown as following a convention that the king had laid down for his household; by this device the dramatist intended to please the king or his representatives whom he could not but imagine among his audience. In this light the Sūtradhāra's changing over from Sanskrit to Prākṛta in contravention of the established usage is quite understandable. Now it may be safely concluded that it is the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* who has introduced this change in the

1. The Āndhrabhṛtya rulers of the North Western Deccan styled themselves as Sātavāhanas. Their rule, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, lasted from 73 B. C. to 238 A. D. Sātavhana (Hāla) flourished towards the close of the 1st century A. D. Though most of the critics are in favour of placing Śūdraka in the 5th Century A.D., yet there are scholars who place him in the Sātavāhana period.
2. In North-Western Deccan.
3. Dr. J. C. Jain also, in his *History of Prākṛita Literature*, thinks that here Sātavāhana (Hāla) is meant.
4. On the basis of this particular evidence the earlier limits of the date of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* will be the period of Sātavāhana (Hāla). The later limit can at best be two or three generations removed from it for a family tradition like one of the exclusive use of Prākṛta in the *antaḥpura*, which had its origin in the fancy of a particular king can hardly outlive this period.

language of the Sūtradhāra for which he had the authority of a custom laid down by the king. In the *Cārudattam* the Sūtradhāra's abrupt use of Prākṛta remains an inexplicable singular event of its kind not only among the plays ascribed to Bhāsa but in the whole range of the Sanskrit dramas until we assume that it is an imitation from the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. The author of the *Cārudattam*, not being aware of the said custom, shuns the use of mixed language, drops the explanation and makes the Sūtradhāra begin abruptly in Prākṛta to achieve brevity and to remove what appeared to him simply a vogueness. This leads us to conclude that the *Cārudattam* is not actually a work of Bhāsa but it is an adaptation from the first five acts of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* made by some body else.

THE DATES OF HELĀRĀJA AND KAIYAṬA

Dr. V. Raghavan

MADRAS

In his monumental study '*Bhartṛhari*' (Poona 1969), Prof. K.A.S. Iyer, in whose honour this volume is being presented, discusses the date of Helārāja the commentator on the *Vākyapadīya* pp. 39-40. One of the two evidences he uses, as Charudeva Sastri did before him, is the likely identity of the Bhūtirāja, father of Helārāja, and the Bhūtirāja, father of Indurāja, the Guru of Abhinavagupta. The other consists of the parallel passages between Helārāja and Kaiyaṭa, already pointed out by L. A. Ravi Varma. According to Prof. Iyer, it is equally likely that Kaiyaṭa has borrowed from Helārāja. Kaiyaṭa's date is unfortunately in flux and Prof. Iyer feels that Kaiyata must be much earlier, probably of the 11th Century.

One of my students who worked on Bhartṛhari and prepared and edition of the available portion of Bhartṛhari's *Mahābhāṣya-ṭīka*, discussed the date of Helārāja[1]. He pursued these Kaiyaṭa-Helārāja parallels further and held Kaiyaṭa as the borrower and critic of Helārāja. For the date of Kaiyaṭa, he took Yudhishthira Mimamsaka's view, i.e. 1100 A.D. For the other limit of Helārāja's time, he drew attention to Helārāja's mention of the Vaiśeṣikas and their seven *Padārthas* and the first clear textual treatment of *Abhāva* as the seventh *Padārtha* in the *Saptapadārthī* of Śivāditya (C. 1000 A.D.).

Peri Sarveśvara Śarma also takes the same view of these parallels[1] between Helārāja and Kaiyaṭa and for Kaiyaṭa he takes the terminus supplied by the citation of Kaiyaṭa by name by Puruṣottama in *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (1150 A.D) pointed out by its editor S. C. Chakravartti.

Yudhishthira did not take a firm stand and naturally so. He said[2] that Kaiyaṭa flourished in the latter part of the 11th century A.D. but added that he was probably earlier still. While the previously noted writers took the Helārāja-Kaiyaṭa parallels, Yudhishthira took the Haradatta-Kaiyata parallels. Unfortunately two of these parallels show Haradatta as

1. V. Swaminathan, on the Date of Helārāja, *S. V. University Oriental Journal*, X. i, ii (1967) pp. 23.35.
2. See p. 12, Introduction to his edition of the *Kālasamuddeśa* of *Bh.'s V.P.*
3. Samskrita Vyākaraṇa Śāstra kā Itihās, Part 1, 2nd edition pp. 365-8.

referring to Kaiyaṭa but one quite the opposite of this. However, Yudhishthira takes Kaiyaṭa as earlier than Haradatta.

In the course of my edition from mss. of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa*[1], I had to make an extensive inter-related study of the leading works of grammar when dealing with the first six chapters of the Śṛ. *Pra*. These six chapters, which form a unique contribution of Bhoja to the higher philosophical discussions of the concepts of grammar, are based on the *Mahābhāṣya* and then to a considerable extent on the *Vākyapadīya* and Bhartṛhari's own commentaries, particularly that on the *VP*.

In my study of these initial grammatical chapters of the *Śṛ. Pra.*, I have found that in many places Bhoja follows or reproduces Helārāja's commentary on *VP*. III. In my edition I have provided references to the corresponding portions in Helārāja. In a majority of cases the reproduction is mostly of the ideas but with some verbal echoes also. There are, however, some passages which show verbatim reproductions from Helārāja with just a change in the sequence of the sentences. The following may be cited as examples of such verbatim reproductions :

In Ch. IV Bhoja has an extensive discussion on *kriyā*, its meaning, the question whether it is *Parokṣa* or *Pratyakṣa* and its being the cumulation of a successive series of acts with illustrative analysis of the verb *pacati* and the word *pāka*. A large chunk from this discussion is given below :

(१) एके मन्यन्ते—अधिश्रयणादीनां समुदायो बुद्ध्या निगृहीतः, एकत्वेन स पचतीत्यादीनां वाच्य इति ।

(२) न च समुदायं पचतीति प्रयुञ्जानः प्रत्येकमधिश्रयणादिषु प्रत्यस्यति, प्रत्ययाश्च न समुदाय इत्येवंरूपं प्रत्यस्यन्ति । 'अयं च अयं च' इति संबन्धिनो बुद्ध्यावगृह्णाति । किं तर्ह्याश्रितक्रमरूपमिव प्रत्येकमवयवेषु प्रत्यस्य पचतीति प्रयुङ्क्ते, तदा तस्यैव समीहितं भवति, अधिश्रयणाद्यानुपूर्व्यां फलमोदनादि निर्वर्तयितव्यमिति । यथा प्रथमक्रियासंभागे पचिरित्येवाध्यवस्यति नाधिश्रयणमिति । इतरथा ह्येवं प्रयोगः तस्याधिश्रयतीति यदा चाधिश्रयणे निर्वृत्ते नागते वा भूतभविष्यत्कालाभिधायिनं शब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते तदा समुदायरूपप्रत्यासेनैव तमवयवबुद्ध्या निगृह्य प्रयुङ्क्ते अपाक्षीत् पक्ष्यतीति । एवं भूतश्चार्थात्माऽधिकृतः साधनतन्त्रसाध्यावस्थः शब्देन प्रक्रान्तो शक्य उपलब्धुम्; यथा गौरिति गकारौकारविसर्जनीया एवोपलभ्यन्ते, समुदायस्तु बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्य एव, तथा पचतीत्यादिष्वेवाधिश्रयतीत्यादिषु अवयवा

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एव हस्तप्रसरणस्थालीविन्यासादयोऽशब्दवाच्या अप्रत्यक्षा एव । यावदपकर्षपर्यन्तप्राप्ता क्रियेति सापि नाप्रत्यस्ते क्रमरूपे समुदाये आख्यातशब्देनाभिधीयते । अपकर्षपर्यन्ता चेत्क्रमरूपेण नावगृह्णादिति अवाचक एवाख्यातशब्दः । यथा श्लोकशब्दं प्रयुञ्जानो यदा पदं पदरूपेणावगृह्णाति न तदा श्लोकस्समुच्चार्यत इति प्रयुङ्क्ते । यदा त्वाश्रितोत्तर-प्रबन्धमवगृह्णाति तदा श्लोकशब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते । एवं कृत्वा निरुक्तेऽप्युक्तं 'पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेनाचष्ट' इति ।

(३) अन्येषां दर्शनं यद्विचटनं तण्डुलावयवानां तण्डुलावयवेभ्यो विभागः यदनन्तरं मार्दवादयो निष्पद्यन्ते, तद्यदाधिश्रयणादिषु प्रत्यस्तरूपं भवति तदा आख्यातेनाभिधीयते ।

(४) तत्र यदुपलभ्यतेऽधिश्रयणं तदशब्दवाच्यं, कारकनिराकाङ्क्षं यच्छब्देनाभिधीयते तदनिष्पन्नसाधनतन्त्रमप्रत्यक्षम्, निष्पन्नानिष्पन्नयोश्चैकात्म्यापत्तौ पचत्यादिशब्दप्रयोगः । स चायमेवंरूपो अर्थात्मा गुणक्रियाणां पौर्वापर्यात्मनां न पूर्वो न परश्च पूर्वापरीभूतो व्यपदिश्यते ।

(५) अन्ये तु विचटनमेवाधिश्रयणादिरूपं प्रतिपन्नाः, न रूपशून्यानधिश्रयणादीन् अप्रत्यस्त-विचटनरूपान् । आहुश्च कः पुनः पचेः प्रधानार्थः यासौ तण्डुलानां विक्लित्तिः ।[1]

The above may be compared with Helārāja's commentary on *VP*. III, *Kriyāsamuddeśa*, *Kārikā-s* 3, 10, 15, 22, particularly 15 :

(१) ततश्चाधिश्रयणादीनां व्यापाराणां यः समुदायः बुद्ध्यैकत्वेन गृहीतः स पचत्यादीनां वाच्यः ।

(२) समुदायबुद्ध्यैकत्वेन नाप्यवयवबुद्ध्या अयं चायं चेति समुच्चयेन प्रत्येकं समुदायस्यावय-वेष्वारोपोऽत्र, किं तर्हि पूर्वापरीभूतावयवत्वेनैव ।

सिद्धस्वभावस्यार्थस्य धातुवाच्यत्वाभावात् अधिश्रयणं सिद्धेन रूपेण न पचिः, अपि तु साध्येन विचटनरूपेण धातुवाच्यम् ।

शब्दाच्च क्षणमात्रस्वभावापि विप्रकीर्णावयवा समूहात्मनैव सर्वा क्रिया प्रतीयत इति सिद्धं शब्दवाच्यतया क्रियायाः सक्रमत्वमतीन्द्रियत्वं च । क्रमरूपानध्यासे तु प्रत्यस्तक्रमो नाख्याताभिधेयः ।

(३) यद् तद् विचटनं तण्डुलावयवानामवयवान्तरेभ्यो विभागो यदनन्तरं मार्दवादयो निष्पद्यन्ते, तद् यदाधिश्रयणादिषु प्रत्यस्तरूपं भवति, तदा पचतीत्याख्यातशब्दाभिधेयं क्रियारूपमिति ।

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1. The passage given above is now edited by me with the help of the mss. and external testimonia; its meaningfulness and the great difference it makes from the text as given in the Mysore publication (I. p. 139) will be apparent to scholars.

(४) सिद्धसाध्ययोर्हि निष्पन्नानिष्पन्नयोरधिश्रयणविचटनयोरैकात्म्यापत्तौ पचत्यादिशब्दप्रयोगः। विचटनस्य तर्हि नियतकालत्वात् पूर्वापरीभावः कथम्। उच्यते। विचटनं पाकशब्द-वाच्य भेदाभावात् यद्यपि न पूर्वं न परं, तथापि गुणक्रियासु तद्रूपारोपाद् गुणक्रियाणां पौर्वापर्यात् पूर्वापरीभूतमित्युच्यते।

(५) अन्ये तु विचटनस्यैव रूपमधिश्रयणादिरूप प्रतिपन्नाः, न रूपशून्यानधिश्रयणादीनप्रत्यस्त-विचटनरूपानिति।

Earlier also, in the discussion of the question of the correctness of the plural '*Kārakāṇām*' in the definition of *Kriyā* as the particular activity of the *Kārakas*, on the view of *Bhāvanā* as the meaning of the *Dhātu*, (pp. 167-8 of my edition)[1], we have one more passage in the *Śṛ. Pra*. which is almost a reproduction from Helārāja By *Kāraka*, what is meant is *Kartā* and as they are plural, '*Kārakāṇām*' in *bahuvacana* is justified. The question is then asked that the word *Kartā* might as well have been used straight instead of *Kāraka*. The reply given and the related sentences are almost the same in the *Śṛ. Pra*. and *Helārājīya*.

Śṛ. Pra. : "यदापि सकलकारकव्यापारः क्रियेति पक्षः, तदापि प्रधानत्वात् कर्तैव कारक-शब्देनोच्यते, तस्य च सर्वक्रियाविशेषविषयत्वेन अनपायात् प्रयोगप्रवृत्ति-हेतुत्वाच्च। कर्म पुनर्यद्यपि तदर्थकत्वात् प्रवृत्तेः प्रधानं, तथापि तस्य असर्वविषयत्वात न कारकाणामिति (मिव ?) बहुवचनेन संग्रहः। यद्येवं कर्तृशब्द एव कस्मान्न कृतः ? कर्मणि लकाराणां तस्य व्युदासो मा भूद् (इति)। × × × ×

ननु च संरम्भादिप्रदर्शनाद् अचेतनव्यापारस्य क्रियात्वं न प्राप्नोति। नैवम्–॥"

Helārāja on *V.P.* III *Kriyā, Kārikā* 1 (p. 16, *JSS.*) :

'कर्तृग्रहणमेव न कृतं कर्मणि लकारदर्शनात्तस्य व्युदासो मा भूत् इति × × × चेतनस्यैवैवं प्रवृत्तिसंभवादचेतनः कर्ता न ग्रहीतः स्यादिति तत्प्रवृत्तिः क्रियेति नोक्तं स्यात्।' etc.

This proves that Helārāja was definitely earlier than Bhoja (C. 1010-62 A.D.)

I have noted also some passages which show that Puṇyarāja too was earlier than Bhoja.

1. See p. 99, Mysore publication.

As for the date of Kaiyaṭa: In a note on this question, in the *JOR*, Madras, XIX. p. 223, I pointed one first terminus in Ruyyaka's quotation of Kaiyaṭa in his *Alaṅkāra Sarvasva*, i.e. *C.* 1150. In the course of the examination of the same section in Ch. IV of the *Śṛ. Pra.*, and the search for the sources which Bhoja was drawing upon, I came across passages which have their parallel in Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa*; and more specifically one passage which is a verbatim reproduction from the *Pradīpa* with just a few insignificant differences :

ननु प्रत्यक्षाप्रवृत्तौ संवन्धग्रहणाभावात् कथं क्रियाविषयेऽनुमानं प्रवर्तते ? नैष दोषः, धातुवाच्यस्य समूहस्य युगपदसन्निधानादप्रत्यक्षत्वम् । एकैकस्य तु क्षणस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वे बुद्ध्या संकलय्य पचतीति प्रयुज्यते, यदाप्येकस्मिन् क्षणे पचतीति प्रयोगस्तदा तत्र समूहारोपणम् ।

With the above may be compared the following from Kaiyaṭa's commentary on the *Bhāṣya* on I. 3.1.

ननु प्रत्यक्षाप्रवृत्तौ संबन्धग्रहणाभावात् कथं क्रियाविषयमनुमानं प्रवर्तते । नैष दोषः । धातुवाच्यस्य समूहस्य युगपदसन्निधानादप्रत्यक्षत्वे ऽ प्येकैकस्य तु क्षणस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वे बुद्ध्या तान् क्षणान् संकलय्य 'पचती'ति प्रयुज्यते । यदाप्येकस्मिन् क्षणे पचतीति प्रयोगस्तदा तत्र समूहरूपारोपणम् ॥

This, like the evidence previously adduced by me, takes Kaiyaṭa to a time before Bhoja, i.e. before the former half of the 11th century.

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1. Here again the great improvement of my edition over the Mysore publication (*see*. I, P. 138, bottom) may be seen.

A NOTE ON JUNCTURE IN HINDI

Dr. Shyam Prakash

AGRA

(1) *Mādhurī* *Śarmā+gaī*/ 'Madhuri Sharma went'

(2) *Mādhurī* + *Śarmā gaī*/ 'Madhuri blushed'

Here, in speech, the above two sentences are equally distinct and create no confusion. The position of the boundary is signalled by elements in the sound system, which we represent in writing by punctuation marks. These boundary signals have been called as Junctures by Archibald A. Hill, and are represented by the mark /+/. The *Ī* of *Mādhurī* of the second example is longer than the *Ī* of the first example owing to the presence of following juncture. Similarly, the *ā* af *Śarmā* in the first example is longer than the *ā* of the second example.

There are two different ways of getting from one sound to the next; or, in other words, there are two different kinds of transitions between successive vowel and consonant phonemes, namely (1) Open, and (2) Close. In the sentence,/ ²*tū* ⁴*khā* ↑ ³*jā* ↓ / 'you go and seat' if a speaker clearly finishes one macrosegment with the word /*khā*/ and then starts the next with /*jā*/, the way of getting from one vowel or consonant to the next may be called as sharp or distinct or open transition (Juncture). But, in the sentence,

/³*āo* ²*rāma*/ 'Come on, Rama'

it has close transition between the *ā* and the /*o*/ of /*āo*/. This type of transition also goes by the name of Muddy or Smooth. Within a single macrosegment, one may trace out both, the open transition, as well as the close. If one says,

/*tum+hāre+ho*/ 'You are defeated'

it has open transition between the /*m*/ of /*tum*/ and the /*h*/ of /*hāre*/. But, in the sentence,

/*tumhāre+haĩ*/ 'Yours'

the transition between the /*m*/and the/*h*/of /*tumhāre*/ is close. Thus, by the above description a macrosegment may be broken into two or more successive smaller portions by occurrences of the juncture. Each such smaller portion has been called a microsegment. If a macrosegment bears no occurrence of juncture, as in /*tumhāre*/ it consists only of a single microsegment.

Juncture is phonemic in Hindi. To establish open juncture within a macrosegment as a phoneme, we may take the following minimal pairs, involving variant position of juncture.

/*hasī+nā+āī*/ : *hasīnā+āī* 'he did not laugh : the charming lady (*Hasīnā*) came;'

/*kul+le+kar* : *kulle+kar*/ 'taking the whole : gargle'

/*āj+ā* : *ā+jā*/ 'Come today : Come on'

Here, juncture occurs within a word or phrase but never at the end of a sentence or phrase. Hence, it is called internal juncture and also goes by the name of Plus, because it is represented by the mark/+/. Hill has called the sounds without juncture in close transition, like those in the above example of /*tumhāre*/, as absence of juncture or Zero.

Juncture in Hindi can determine word boundaries as well as syllable boundaries. In the sequence,

/*tum+kaun+ho*/ 'Who are you ?

junctures act as syllable closures. But, we should not take juncture and syllable division as one and the same thing; as there are so many instances where the syllable division appears without the presence of juncture, e.g.,

/*ka-ma-lā*/ '*Kamalā* (a name)'
/*jha-me-lā*/ 'intricacy'

Juncture has important effects on its preceeding and following sounds. It converts the middle sound into a final or initial position; or, in other words, into a coda or an onset. For example,

/*soḍā+lo*/ 'Take Soda'
/*So+ḍālo*/ 'Sleep, please'

Juncture results in the prolongation of preceding sound, e.g. */Sun+to/* 'listen, please'. Contrast this with :

/Suntā+haĩ/ '(He) listens'

Here, due to juncture, there is length in the */n/* of the first example. Phonemically juncture explains the vowel length, e.g.

/Sāt+hī+gae/ 'only seven went'

/Sāthī+gae/ 'Companions went'

The */ā/* of the first example is longer than the */ā/* of the second example. Lack of release is another result of juncture. In the following sentences,

/vakt+ā+gayā/ 'time has come'

/vaktā+gayā/ 'the speaker went'

the */t/* of the first sentence is unreleased owing to the presence of the juncture following. Before juncture we see a weak force and after juncture a strong one, e.g.

/kalam+dān/ 'pen-stand'

There must be a juncture between the sequence of a voiced consonant followed by voiceless */h/*, e.g.,

/sāj+hī/ 'the very tuning'

/sājhī/ 'partner'

Similarly, a juncture always occurs between the two */h/* sequence. For example, in the following sentences,

/vah+mere sāth+haĩ/ 'he is with me'

/yah+sāph+haĩ/ 'it is clear'

One can define, by putting juncture, the first */h/* as coda of the preceding vowel peak and the second as an onset of the following syllabic peak.

When the juncture occurs between the two morphemes, it is called Morphemic Juncture, e.g.

/mūrkha+tā 'foolishness'/

/sun+nā : sunnā/ 'to hear : Zero'

/vah+gintī+hai : vah+gin+tī+haĩ/ 'that is number-table : she counts'

In Hindi, there is quite a large number of patterns, where juncture occurs. Some of them are being given here to illustrate the point:—

1. Noun+Verb

bal+lā	'Get strength'
ballā	'Bat'
dil+lī	'Wins the heart'
dilli	'Delhi'

2. Noun+Adverb

Śāh+jahān+baiṭhā	'Where the emperor sat'
Śāhjahān+baiṭhā	'Shahjahan sat'

3. Pronoun+Verb

tum+hāre	'You are defeated'
tumhāre	'yours'

4. Verb+Noun

ā+rām	'Ram ,come here'
ārām	'Comfort'

5. Verb+Auxiliary verb

khā+lī	'Ate'
khālı	'Empty'
pī+lī	'Drank'
pīlī	'Yellow'
gā+lī	'Sung'
gālī	'Abuse'

6. Verb+Adverb

kar+tab+dekhen'	Do, then we will see'
kartab+dekhen	'Let us see your achievements'

7. Verb+Conjunction

gā+yā+jā	'Either Sing or go'
gāyā+jā (—saknā)	'That can be sung'

8. Verb+Interjection

khā+re	'Eat'
khāre	'Salty'

9. Verb+Negator /*nā*/

do+nā	'Don't give'
donā	'A cup made of leaves'
So+nā	'Don't sleep'
Sonā	'Gold'

10. Adjective+Particle

Sāt+hī	'only seven'
Sāthī	'Companion'

11. Conjunction+Noun

yā+canā	'or gram'
yācanā	'petition'

12. Interjection+Interjection

hā+rī	'hā ! rī ! '
hārī	'Defeat'

13. Negator /*na*/+Verb

na+dī	'Did not give'
nadī	'River'

14. Juncture after Prefixes

be+gam	'without grief'
begam	'Queen'
kam+zor	'Less strength'
kamzor	'Weak'

EPIGRAPHIC NOTE

Dr. H A. Phadke

KURUKSHETRA

The undated Sāgaratāl inscription of Mihira Bhoja (836-890 A.D.), although specifically describing the Pratihāra-Pāla struggle, makes no direct mention of the conflict between the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, which is an equally important feature of the political history of India of the 9th century A.D. Verse 16 of the said epigraph, however, gives the following details of Bhoja's achievements :—

"The Lord (Bhoja) shone more gloriously than Agastya who (merely) checked the rise of (a single mountain) Vindhya through favour (and not by his own powers), ruled over many kings after having overcome them and (being therefore) known as Bhoja[1]".

The reference to the Vindhyas in the above passage in connection with the achievements of the sage Agastya as well as Bhoja appears to be very interesting. The purpose of the poet does not seem to suggest Bhoja's pilgrimage to the south like that of the mythological Agastya but to hint at former's expedition to that region. That the use of such similes was not uncommon with the royal *praśastikāra*-s while describing the conquests of their patrons can be shown from the Alinā Copper Plate Inscription of

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1. Epigraphia Indica, XVII, pp. 99 ff.

उपरोधैकसंरुद्धविन्ध्यवृद्धेरगस्त्यतः ।
आक्रम्य भूभृतां भोक्ता स प्रभुर्भोज इत्यभात् ।।

The reference is obviously to the mythological story of the mountain Vindhya gradually rising so as to obstruct the daily course of the Sun. After being requested by the gods, the sage Agastya approached the mountain and urged him to bow down to give him way to the south and keep in that position till his return. Vindhya complied and as the sage never returned, it had to remain in the same position. For details see *Vālmīkīya Rāmāyaṇa*, 3.11.81-83; *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, 103.16; 104. 1-.5 for *Vindhyaparābhava*. Dr. V. G. Rahurkar's paper वेदोत्तरवाङ्मये अगस्त्यर्षि: in the ऋषिकल्पन्यासः, Bhāratī Parishad, Prayāga. 1972. The learned scholar has shown that in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* of *the Rāmaāyṇa* the word Agastya has been used in the sense of 'one who brought mountain under his control' (*Ibid*, pp. 77-80).

Śīlāditya of Valabhi wherein Derabhaṭa is compared with Agastya and styled as the Lord of Sahya and Vindhya mountains[1].

The question now arises as to when did Bhoja send this expedition to the Vindhyas and beyond? Absence of any direct reference in the inscription under study need not present any difficulty. Verse 8 of the same inscription while describing the achievements of Bhoja's grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II states that "the kings of Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga succumbed to his youthful energy as moths do unto fire".[2] It shows that Nāgabhaṭa had already established contacts with states beyond Vindhyas and as rightly suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar "it appears to be quite likely that they formed a confederacy against two great powers (i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and the Pālas of Bengal) that pressed them from two sides, although, as so often happens, the most powerful member of the confederacy ultimately reduced the others to a state of absolute dependence".[3]

Nāgbhaṭa's successor and Bhoja's father Rāmabhadra was a week ruler during whose short reign of about 3 years distant parts of the empire began to fall apart. Bhoja, who succeeded him in about 836 A.D., naturally had to work for the consolidation of the Pratihāra empire in the early years of his reign. This becomes clear from his two inscriptions dated 836 and 843 A.D.[4] Bhoja, who had also to meet the challenge of his formidable rival Devapāla of Bengal, had no time to wage a decisive battle with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. He, therefore, decided to send an expedition with a view to establish his superiority over the southern power. It was

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1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III., p. 184 No. 39, lines 33-34.
   अगस्त्यस्येव राजर्षेः दाक्षिण्यमातन्वानस्य.........
   पयोदश्यामशिखरचुचुकरुचिरसह्यविन्ध्यस्तनयुगायाः क्षितेः पत्युः श्रीदेरभटस्य ।।

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, 95ff, verse 8.
   यत्रान्ध्रसैन्धवविदर्भकलिंगभूपैः ।
   कौमारधामनि पतंगसमैरपाति ।।

3. *The Gurjara-Pratihāras*, Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. X, p. 30.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, p. 17 ff, V, p. 211.ff.

achieved possibly during the first half of the reign of Amoghavarsha[1] (814-880), particularly when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch was busy meeting the internal revolts and fighting a prolonged war with the Chālukyas of Veṅgi.[2]

This success of Bhoja against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, whose empire lay beyond the Vindhyas, finds a veiled reference in the verse under question suggesting that unlike Agastya Bhoja, by the prowess of his arms, conquered kings in the south and, therefore, became known by that name.

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1. There is evidence to show that in the later half of his reign Amoghavarsha had to face severe Pratihāra attacks on Lāṭa and Mālava fronts. While Rāṣṭrakūṭa records of 867, 888 and 914 A.D. describe the brave feats of their monarchs against the Gurjaras, (*Indian Antiquary*. XII, p. 179 ff, vv 38, 41; XIII, p. 66, *Epigraphia Indica*, IX p. 24) the Pratihāra records refer to an expedition to Lāṭa and the defeat of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas on the bank of Narmadā. (*Epigraphia Indica*, IX, p. 210 ff; XIX, pp. 174-177). Since victory is claimed on both sides it appears that the results of the struggle were indecisive.

2. Dr. A.S. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, 1934, pp. 73-76.

THE CONCEPT OF SĀDHĀRAṆĪKARAṆA

(A REASSESSMENT)

Dr. R. S. Jaitly.

RAJASTHAN

The concept of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* is one of the main contributions of Indian aesthetics. At the level of aesthetic experience the individual is universalized. *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* (universalization) is thus a state of self-identification with the imagined situation. At this stage the *Vibhāva*-s, *sthāyi bhāva*-s etc. all are stripped off their individual and personal aspect and are universalized in the minds of spectators endowed with power of imagination. Here the lower self bows down in deference to the wishes of the higher Self. The spectator attains the state of universal experience, who, while understanding the subject matter, mentally rises above his personality with the result that the '*svatā*' and '*paratā*' of the *sāmājika* transcend their particularity, thus his duality of experience ceases altogether. Consequently, the portrayed emotions become sharable by all, as they cease to be the particular emotions of particular men, they are universalized. What we have before us is not Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, but universal Man and universal Woman. This universalized and impersonal state of consciousness is freed from all elements of individuality, time and place. It is an apprehension of an idea which transcends the forms of empirical knowledge, the forms of sensibility and understanding. In this aesthetic state of consciousness the things of ordinary life, after shedding off all worldly and personal associations, appear in completely different form and the literary enjoyment becomes a meeting of the universals.

The concept of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* is very wide in nature. It is a thing of universal application. It can safely be applied to the literature in general, whether oriental or occidental. Its cardinal points of disinterestedness and universality have also been discussed in detail by the western Aestheticians. The principles formulated by Kant and Schopenhauer in this connection bear close resemblance to Indian thinking.

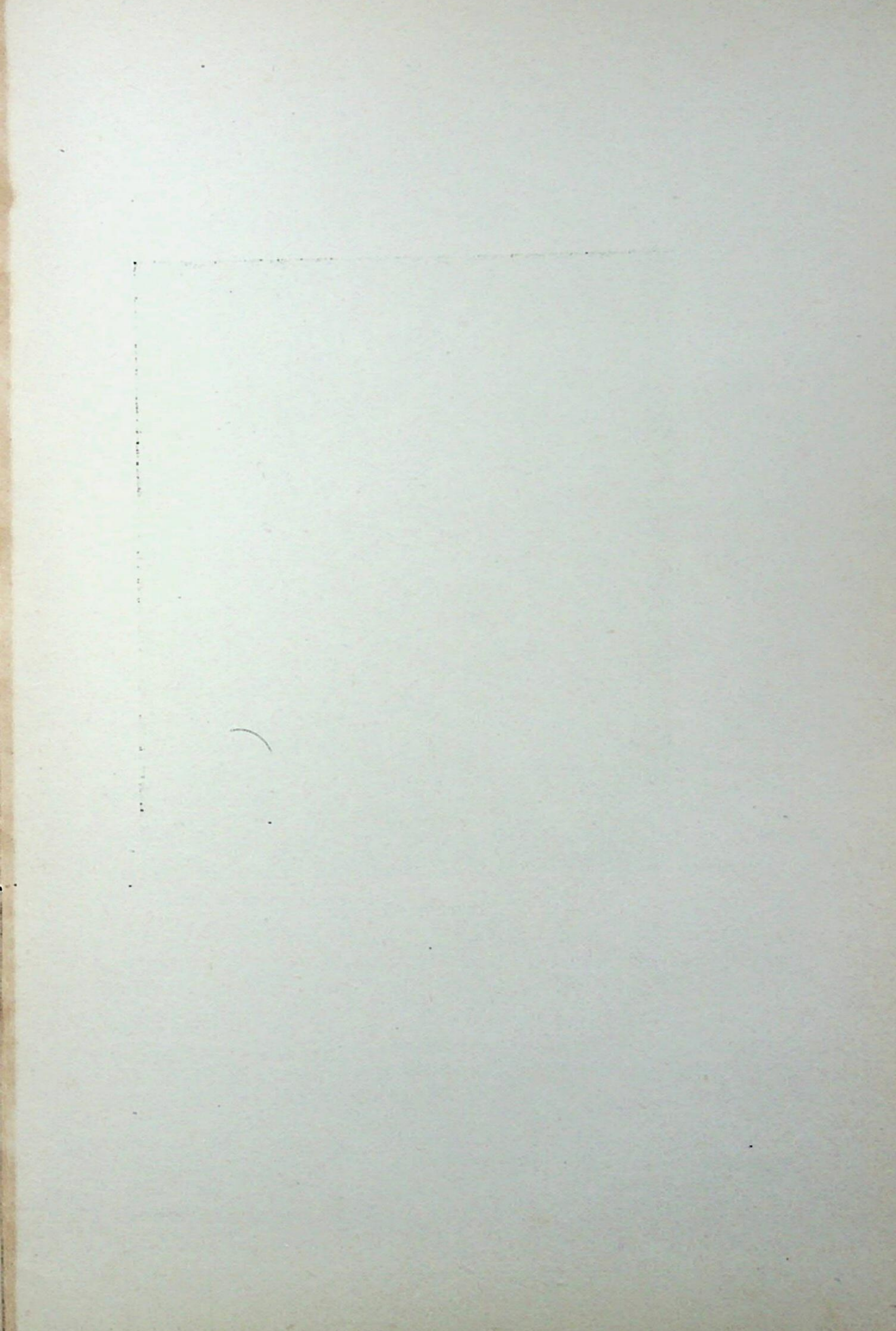
As far as its application goes, this concept presents before us a difficult problem. At the time of witnessing a play or reading a poem we come face to face with certain characters, but we do not expect to meet in them mere

abstractions or bloodless creatures. This was not the intention of our *ācārya*-s also. But accepting the process of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* as it stands, we in our literary enjoyment are virtually forced to contemplate abstractions. Through every piece of aesthetic experience, we would attain the very identical universalized emotions. Its disastrous consequence would be that our innate interest in reading the different varieties of a particular type of literature will certainly be lost. As every variety will convey the very identical universal, we would feel satisfied with just one tragedy or one love poem. But we find the matter just the reverse. Man is a peculiar universal. Its members are not indentical like specimens of water or air. Water or air everywhere is the same as water or air, but man everywhere is not the same as man. There is no monolithic entity called the universal man, nor is there anything like the universal love—*Śṛṅgāra*, universal suffering—*Kāruṇya* and so on. There are types of men, types of love and types of suffering. If we apply this concept of *Sādhāraṇīkarana*, as generally understood today, we would certainly nullify the aforesaid hard realities. This would, indeed, be an instance of putting the cart before the horse.

Not only the metaphysics of the said concept is somewhat vague, but the experience of *hṛdayasamvādabhāk sahṛdaya*-s also challenges the concept. Take the classic instance of 'Hamlet'. It is a fact that some of the poets and critics of repute saw Hamlet either in their own image or in the image of their dreamself. Coleridge and Göethe saw Hamlet in their own image. The great Russian rebel Belensky saw him as a great Russian rebel. Salvador de Madariaga sees him as Machiavellian Prince. This would seem to be a proof of the fact that Hamlet is not *sādhāraṇīkṛta*—universalized in all its totality, as it ought to be. No doubt the process of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* does take place, but it is only the half way of it. If we put a full stop here the concept of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* is sure to break down. It is a mistake to accept that in the poetic experience, there is only one way process viz. from the particular to the universal. Actually there is a two way process viz. from the particular to the universal and again from the universal to another particular. This is a hard reality that can not be challenged.

The other important fact in this respect is that we should invariably be prepared to bear it in our mind that everything of the character is never universalized. The similar points are only the points of contact. They are only universalized by the universalizing power of poetry called '*bhāvakatva*', not the dissimilar ones. Thus it can safely be concluded that there are only degrees of *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*. Complete *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* is a myth.

In this concept the impersonality advocated by the Sanskrit aestheticians should also be understood in its proper perspective. Even here the personal element is not lacking. Impersonality does not mean the total lack of personal element. It only means the extension of the personal touch. The impersonality of the *Kāvyadharmī* and the *Nāṭyadharmī* elements is altogether different from the one found in the *lokadharmī* elements. The difference lies not only in degree but in quality. The *lokadharmī* elements have their base on the physical and the sensuous plane, while the resting place for the other is *manas*, *buddhi* and *ātman*. The journey of a poet and a connoisseur starts from *manas* and ends with *ātman*. With the help of this impersonal attitude an aesthetic distance is maintained and the propei atmosphere for aesthetic experience is created.





Three-headed Śiva

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THREE-HEADED ŚIVA

Dr. M P. Joshi

PITHAURAGARH

Among the anthropomorphic forms of Śiva, *Trimūrti* has been a favourite subject of Indian Sculpture and is found depicted throughout the length and breadth of India, the most famous and oft illustrated being the famous relief at Elephanta.[1] It is rather surprising that despite such a wide popularity and circulation its identification still remains a controversial issue.

Aiyar interpreted it as representing the composite form of Brahmā Viṣṇu and Śiva.[2] Rao, challenging this interpretation, identified it as one of the aspects of Śiva known to the *Āgamas* by the name Maheśa-"The fully manifested supreme Śiva—the cause of creation, protection and destruction".[3]

Kramrisch expounded that "the great sculpture of Mahādeva is an image of the fully manifest supreme Śiva. In the middle is the face of Tatpuruṣa, the faces of Aghora and Vāmadeva are collateral". In support of her identification she has quoted several literary texts.[4]

Rejecting these views, Banerjea says : "None of these scholars appears to have understood the real nature of the face on the right, which is undoubtedly feminine in character" and represents his Śakti Umā togather with his *saumya* and *ghora* aspects. Finally calling these faces as "the primaeval divine parents of the Universe" he substantiates his theory by quoting *Raghuvaṁśa 1. 1.*[5]

It is obvious that Maheśa of Rao and Mahādeva of Kramrisch are identical. Rao quotes an abstract from *Suprabhedāgama*, according to which 'Maheśa should have five heads, the faces of four of which alone

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1. For illustration see *A I.* (*Ancient India*) 2, pls. I-VII.
2. Aiyar was not sure about this identification for he himself says that the sculpture may represent either the three aspects of Śiva or Sun. *ASI* (*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*) 1913-14, p. 276 ff.
3. Rao, *EHI* (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*) Vol. II, pp. 379-386.
4. *AI.*, 2, pp. 4 ff.
5. Banerjea, J.N., *DHI* (*Development of Hindu Iconography*) pp. 476-77.
6. Rao, *EHI*, Vol. II, p. 379.

should be visible'.[1] It is followed by a description of the number of different parts of the body, the attributes, the expression, complexion and colour of the faces. It also lays down that by his side should be the figure of his Śakti with three eyes and four arms, wearing a *karaṇḍa* and ornaments appropriate to women and adds that she must stand on the same seat and under the same halo as Maheśa.[2]

Kramrisch has quoted several literary works but her identification is based mainly on *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which also describes Mahādeva as having five faces.[3] The text further describes the names and forms of all the five faces in detail, three of which, according to Kramrisch, are represented in the sculpture under scrutiny.[4]

As regards Banerjea's that the nature of the feminine character of the right face has not been understood properly, it may be submitted that this feature was already noticed by Havell[5] and Aiyar,[6] and discussed at length (with the help of literary texts) by Kramrisch.[7] Further, the interpretation of Banerjea is also untenable, because the verse he has quoted in his support[8] describes the *ardhanārīśvara* (half man and half woman) form of Śiva. Moreover, representation of three-headed Śiva is also found along with Umā[9] which would be difficult to explain if we follow Banerjea's interpretation

Representation of Śiva with three faces has a remote antiquity. The earliest specimen available to us is the famous Harrappan seal aptly described as prototype of Śiva-Paśupati.[10] For the historical period the earliest representation of this kind is noticed in the Ujjayanī coins[11] belonging to

1. *Ibid*, pp. 379-10, Appendix B, pp. 191-192.
2. *Ibid*
3. *AI.*, 2, p. 6.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 6 ff. Nautiyal has also followed Kramrisch, See *EW* (*East & West*) xv, p. 227.
5. Havell, E.B., *The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India : A study of Indo-Aryan Civilization*, p. 163; Havell comments that the face of Brahmā has heen replaced by that of Pārvatī.
6. *ASI*, *AR*, 1913-14, p. 278 f. n. 2.
7. *AI*, 2, pp. 7-8.
8. *Jagataḥ Pitarau-Pārvatī-Parameśvarau*, Banerjea, J. N.; *DHI*, p. 477.
9. Panigrahi, K. C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubanesvar*, fig. 135; Nautiyal, K.P., *The Archaeology of Kumaon—Including Dehradun*, pl. xviii. b.
10. Marshall, J., *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, vol. I, pp. 52 ff. pl., xii, 17.
11. Allan, J., *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in British Museum* pl. xxviii, figs. 18-22. *Museum*.

c. second century B.C. followed by the coins of Kushān kings.[1] Stone sculptures depicting three-faced Śiva are found in Gandhara[2], Kashmir[3], Himanchal Pradesh[4], Padhvli[5], Anadra[6], Baro[7] in central India, Mukhalingam[8] and Bhubaneshvar[9] in eastern India. In Kumaon Himalayas these sculptures are very popular and may be seen depicted in the trefoil pediment of the majority of the temples. Its wide popularity is further apparent from the fact that even outside India we find it represented in Turkistan, China and Japan.[10]

In view of the antiquity, wide popularity and the perpetuity of the theme of the sculpture, identifying it with the help of later literary works, such as those quoted by Rao and Kramrisch, is not justified. However, the description of 'Maheśa' or 'Mahādeva' *mūrti* of the texts cited by scholars does not correspond to the image in question. Rao himself admits that "no Agamic or Pauranic" text contains description answering to the sculpture.[11] Therefore, let us try to see whether we can find any litrary text that may give a clue to its correct identification.

The *Ṛgveda* refers to Agni as a three-headed god[12] and the *Atharvaveda* describes him as having three forms in one.[13] The *Ṛgveda*[14], the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*,[15] the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*,[16] the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*[17] and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[18] maintain that Agni and Rudra are identical. The last mentioned text says. "Agni is a god. These are his names: Śarva

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1. Whitehead, R.B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Mnseum, Lahore*, vol. I, pl. XX, fig. xi: Cunninghum, A., *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, pt. III, p. 104, pl. xxiii.
2. *ASI*, *AR.*, 1913-14, pl, LXXII, a.
3. Kak, R.C., *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Museum*, Srinagar, pls., on pp 55, 56.
4. *ASI*, *AR*, 1909-10, pl. vi, a, b.
5. Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, pl. xxxix, 3.
6. *ASI*, *AR.*, 1913-14, pl. LXXII, b.
7. *Ibid*, pl. LXXII, d.
8. *JIH*. vol 40, i, pl. IX, fig. XXII.
9. Panigrahi, K.C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubanesvara*, fig. 39.
10. Coomarswamy, A.K, *Histony of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 149.
11. Rao, *EHI*, Vol. II, p. 382.
12. *Trimūrdhānaṁ Saptaraśmiṁ gṛṇīṣe 'nūnamagniṁ pitrorupasthe. RV*, 1, 146.1.
13. *Ekas tredhā vihito Jātavedaḥ samyagenaṁ dhehi sukṛtāmu loke, AV..* 18.4.11.
14 *Tvamagne Rudro Asuro . . . , RV*, 2.1.6.
15. *Rudro vā eṣa yad Agniḥ, TS.*, 5.4.3.1.
16. *Rudro vā eṣaḥ yad Agniḥ, TB*, 1.1.8.4; cf. 1.4.3,6; 1.1.5.8.
17. *Agnirvai rudro Rudro 'gniḥ, TMB.* 12.4.24.
18. *Yo vai Rudro so 'gnih 'SB*, 5.2.4.13.

Śarva as the eastern people call him, Bhava as the Bāhīkas call him, Paśupati, Rudra and Agni. The names other than Agni are ungentle (*aśānta*); Agni is his gentlest designation (*śāntatama*)".[1] Thus we see that the earliest literary sources indirectly refer to Rudra as a three-headed god. A direct reference to Rudra, however, is found in the *Mahābhārata* in which he is described as appearing before Arjuna with three heads, nine eyes, three faces, six arms etc. It is significant to note here that, besides Rudra, he is also addressed as Śarva and Trinetra.[2] A comparative study of *Śatarudrīya* of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] and *Śivasahasranāmastotra*[4] makes it clear that Rudra, Śarva, Trinetra etc. are the names applied to Śiva. Thus it may be concluded that the early strata of Hindu literature does contain references to a three-headed god named Agni who is the same as Rudra, and in this light it may be advanced that the relief in question represents the Rudra aspect of Śiva and not Maheśa or Mahādeva. It is to be noted here that in the aspect *Śivasahasranāmastotra* Śiva is also mentioned as *Trijaṭa* (i.e., one with three *jaṭās*) and *Triśīrṣa* (i.e., one with three heads).[5]

The faithful sculptural rendering of the Rudra aspect of Śiva as described in the *Mahābhārata* may be seen in the tiny Gandhara, Padhvli, Anadra, Baro, Kashmir and Elephanta images showing three heads, three faces and six or four arms.[6] In the reliefs showing four arms the front figure is represented as having two arms, the side figures

1. Rao, *EHI*, vol. II, p. 40.
2. *Tato'ham devadevāya Rudrāya praṇato raṇe,*
Svasti Bhūtebhya ityuktvā mahāstraṁ samayojayam
Yattad Rudram iti khyātaṁ sarvāmitravināśanam.
Tato'paśyaṁ triśirasaṁ puruṣaṁ navalocanam
Trimukhaṁ ṣaḍbhujaṁ dīptam arkajvalanamūrdhajam
Lelihānair mahānāgaiḥ kṛtaśīrṣamamitrahan,
Vibhīs tatas tadastraṁ tu ghoraṁ raudraṁ sanātanam
Dṛṣṭvā gāṇḍīvasamyogam āniya Bharatarṣabha.
Namaskṛtvā Trinetrāya sarvāyāmitatejase
Muktavān dānavendrāṇāṁ parābhāvāya Bhārata.
Mhb. 3.170.38-41 (Critical edition).
I owe this reference to Sri S.P. Shukla.
3. *SB.*, 9.1.1.1 ff.
4. *Mbh.*, *Anu.*, *P.* 17. 30-150; *ibid*, *Śānti P.* Appeandix I no 28, vv. 160 ff.; *Vāmana P.*, 47, 62-162; *Liṅga P.* 65, 54-168; 98, 27-159; *Vāyu P.*, 30, 181-280; *Śiva P.*, *Koṭirudra-Saṁhitā*, 35.
5. *Mbh.*, *Anu. P.* 17, 46; *Vāyu P.*, 30,188.
6. The only deviation to be noticed is the number of the eyes which in most of the sculptures are eight; for the references see above f.ns. 9 and 10 on p. 126 and 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7 on p. 127.

show only one arm each, the other one of both the side figures being simply implied rather than executed.

The Rudra images in Himanchal Pradesh, Mukhalingam, Bhubaneshvar, and Kumaon are represented only upto a little above the breast and, therefore, we cannot make out the number of the arms. However, these figures are invariably shown with three heads, three faces and nine eyes. As regards the expression of the faces, one of the side figures has a terrific look and the other two serene (Plate).

It is extremely difficult to read the expression of the faces in the Harappan seal as also in the Ujjayanī and Kushān coins. However, the earliest known relief in stone, datable to the beginning of the third century A.D., found at Gandhār, does contain the terrific aspect, as may be seen in the left face having a "grisly beard".[1] The other two undoubtedly express a benign look. It may be suggested that these three faces represent three aspects of Śiva, viz. destroyer (terrific face), creator and preserver (serene faces).[2] It may also be suggested that in the course of time the representation of these faces was systematised and a particular name was given to a particular aspect.[3]

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1. Aiyar has identified this face as that of Brahmā. The fact that the figure of Rudra is shown as leaning against bull clearly proves the Śaivite character of the sculpture which may further be ascertained from the coins of Vāsudeva showing Śiva with three heads and four arms before Nandī; see Cunningham, A., *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, pt. III, p. 101; the Turkistan painting of C. 8th century also compares well in this connection, see Coomaraswamy, A. K., *HIIA.*, pl. XCIV, 285. It may also be noted here that in early sculptures Brahmā is a youthful god. Moreover. his beard is always proportionate and not grisly such as described by Aiyar, *ASI., AR.*, 1913-14, p. 276.
2. Cf. *ASI., AR.*, 1913- 4, p 278 f. n.; Havell, E.B., *The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, pp. 160 ff.
3. Cf. *AI*, 2; pp. 6, ff.

THE DEVĪ UPANIṢAD AS A SYNTHESIS

Dr. Carl Gustav Hartman

HELSINKI

Most of the modern works on the *Upaniṣad*-s are restricted to those few but important treatises embodying the mystical and esoteric doctrines of ancient Hindu philosophy and styled "old", "basic", "principal" or "classical" (in English, e.g. the well-known editions of Max Muller, Hume, Radhakrishnan, Nikhilananda). Many of the later *Upaniṣad*-s, on the contrary, are regarded as sectarian. A.B. Keith classified them as follows : four classes according as they "(1) merely develop doctrines already found in the older *Upaniṣad*-s; (2) devote themselves to the glorification of the Yoga practices, by which religious ecstasy was produced; (3) deal with the condition of the *Sannyāsin* or (4) finally give themselves up to the glorification of Rudra-Civa"[1]. Surendranath Dasgupta says that "while some of them are busy laying great stress upon the monistic doctrine of the self as the only reality, there are others which lay stress upon the practice of Yoga, asceticism, the cult of Śiva, of Viṣṇu and the philosophy or anatomy of the body, and may thus be respectively called the *Yoga*, *Śaiva*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śārīra Upaniṣad*-s."[2]

One group is omitted by these learned authors : the *Śākta Upaniṣad*-s. The following eight treatises are included in the Adyar edition as well as in the English translation by Dr. A. G. Krishna Warrier : *Tripuropaniṣad, Tripuratāpinyopaniṣad, Devyupaniṣad, Bahvṛcopaniṣad, Bhāvanopaniṣad, Sarasvatīrahasyopaniṣad, Sītopaniṣad, Saubhāgyalakṣmyupaniṣad.* The name of the group might be somewhat misleading and pointing to certain one-sided ideas. The truth is, however, quite the contrary. In his Introduction the translator gives the following characterization: "As regards the contents of the *Śākta Upaniṣad*-s, it may be observed that they set forth the main doctrines of *Advaita Vedānta* in the colourful garb of the *Śākta* worship of the Vaidika type with accent on practice or *anuṣṭhāna*. The most decisive proof of the contention that the *Śākta Upaniṣad*-s are only Advaitic texts in disguise is furnished by their prevailing concept of *Śakti*. Differences are purely terminological : in place of the word

1. A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, pp. 500-501.
2. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 39.

'*Brahman*' are used words denoting *Śakti* or its divine embodiments like *Mahātripurasundarī*, *Sarasvatī*, *Lakṣmī*, *Sītā*, *Durgā*, etc."[1]

One of the shortest but perhaps the most comprehensive of these eight treatises is the *Devī Upaniṣad*. Its thirty-two paragraphs in verse and prose seem to contain elements representing different religious genres and periods. A short analysis of the following six elements will show the synthetical character of this particular Upaniṣad.[2]

1. Vedic. A large number of Vedic gods and goddesses are mentioned, e. g. *Rudra*, *Vasu*, *Āditya*, *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra*, *Agni*, the two *Aśvins* (4), *Soma*, *Tvaṣṭā*, *Pūṣan*, *Bhaga* (5), *Aditi*, *Sarasvatī* (11) etc. The *Devī* is said to be prior to all gods: "Through you, *Dākṣāyaṇi*, was *Aditi* born; She is your daughter; after her were born the gods auspicious, Friends of deathlessness." (13)

2. Upaniṣadic: Speculations reminding us of the older *Upaniṣad*-s are found in many passages, especially 26, where *Devī* is called the Unknowable, the Endless, the Incomprehensible, the Unborn, the One and the Many: "*yasyāḥ svarūpam brahmādayo na jānanti tasmāducyate 'jñeyā/yasyā anto na vidyate tasmāducyate 'nantā/yasyā grahaṇam nopalabhyate tasmāducyate 'lakṣyā/yasyā jananam nopalabhyate tasmāducyate 'jā/ekaiva sarvatra vartate tasmāducyata ekā/ekaiva viśvarūpiṇī tasmāducyate naikā.*" *Devī* is also declared to be essentially Brahman, *brahmasvarūpiṇī*(1)

3. *Sāṅkhya*. *Devī* is identified with the three *guṇas* : *saiṣā sattvarajastamāṁsi* (18). *Prakṛti* is mentioned twice, in 2 together with *Puruṣa* constituting the world proceeded from *Devī* : *mattaḥ prakṛtipuruṣātmakaṁ jagacchūnyam cāśūnyam ca*. On the other hand, she is saluted as "the blessed *Prakṛti*." *namaḥ prakṛtyai bhadrāyai* (8). The speculations regarding the divine attributes lead to the fourth element, devotion.

4. *Bhakti*. The *Upaniṣad* opens with the question of all the gods : "Great goddess, who art thou? (1) After having received the answer (2.7), the gods saluted her like this: *namo devyai mahādevyai*, *śivāyai satataṁ namaḥ* (8). Cf. 17 : "*namaste astu bhagavati bhavati mātar asmān pātu*

1. A. G. Krishna Warrier, *The Śākta Upaniṣads*, Introduction, pp. X-XI. Pandit A Mahadeva Sastri, *The Śākta Upaniṣads* with the Commentary of Sri Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin, Adyar, 1950.
2. About *Devī* in the older *Upaniṣad*-s, cf. C. G. Hartman, *Different Interpretations of Devī and Kālī in Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 1. 2. 4., *Ṛtam, Journal of Akhila Bhāratīya Sanskrit Parishad*, July 1969

sarvataḥ," and 24-25 "*bhaktakāmadughāṁ bhaje|namāmi tvāṁ ahaṁ devīṁ mahābhayavināśinīṁ mahādurgapraśamanīṁ mahākāruṇyarūpiṇīm*," "granting devotees their hearts' desires, Thee I adore, I bow to Thee." Such passages remind us of similar expressions in the *Gītā* and particularly in the *Purāṇa*-s (*Devī-Māhātmyam*), e. g. *Bhagavad-Gītā* XI. 39-40 "*Namo namaste'stu sahasrakṛtvaḥ punaśca bhūyo'pi namo namaste. Namaḥ purastādatha pṛṣṭhataste namo'stu te sarvata eva sarva*;" Especially in the *Devī-Māhātmyam*, Chapter V we find the adoration repeated : "*namo devyai mahādevyai śivāyai satataṁ namaḥ|namaḥ prakṛtyai bhadrāyai niyatāḥ praṇatāḥ sma tām*" (7). Verses 12-32 all have the same concluding words: "*namastasyai namastasyai namastasyai namo namaḥ.*"[1]

5. Tantric. In a *Śākta Upaniṣad* some kind of Tantric element might be expected. There are typical passages from 20 onwards : "Seed all-powerful of Goddess' *mantra*, is sky, conjoined with *i* and fire, with crescent moon adornes." Towards the end we find *phala* portions, like the following in 32: "Reading it in the morning one destroys the sins of the night; reading it in the evening one destroys the sins committed by day. Thus, reading both in the evening and morning, the sinner becomes sinless."[2]

6. Synthesis of contrasts or conjunction of Opposites. The Tantric symbolism regarding sexual polarity is replaced by a more general union of opposites. In the *Devī Upaniṣad* different periods are represented and summed up in a few pages. The most remarkable synthesis is, however, that of all contradictions. The Goddess herself declares: "I am (all forms of) bliss and non-bliss. Knowledge and ignorance are Myself. Brahman and non-Brahman are to be known (2). I am the five elements as also what is different from them. I am the entire world. I am the Veda as well as what is different from it. I am the unborn; I am the born. Below and above and around am I." (3)

Similar expressions are found in the *Lalitā-Sahasranāman* containing one thousand names or attributes, many of which are apparently

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1. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *Devī Māhātmyam, The Glorification of the Great Goddess.* Varanasi, 1963.
2. Cf. Arthur and Ellen Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess*, 3rd ed., Madras, 1964, e. g. pp. 39, 55, 67, 73, 82.

contradictory. An all-embracing name is 637 *Viśvagārbhā*, "whose womb contains the Universe."[1]

Everything is explained by its opposite: affirmation and negation, what is and what is not, even life and death. Modern science is a later development of the synthetical attitude expressed in the short but lofty *Devī-Upaniṣad*.

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1. R. Ananthakrishna Sastry, *Lalitā-Sahasranāman* with Bhaskararaya's Commentary, 3rd ed., Adyar, 1951.

ON THE PĀṆINIAN VIEW REGARDING AGENCY AND ANIMATION

George Cardona

PENNSYLVANIA

§1. Professor K. A. Subramania Iyer, who has contributed so much to the field of Indian grammatical studies, dealt in his paper "The Point of View of the Vaiyākaraṇas"[1] with a subject of major interest. The essential point is that grammarians treat of things as they are spoken about, not as they necessarily are ontologically. In this short paper[2] I shall take up some aspects of this question. The principal points are the following. Nowhere in his grammar does Pāṇini specify that an agent (*kartṛ*, see note 5) is necessarily an animate, sentient being (*cetanāvat*). Nevertheless, it is patent that he does indeed distinguish between true agents, which are animate sentient beings, and things merely treated as agents. This has not, to my knowledge, received the proper emphasis. Connected with this is another point. Pāṇini's grammar bears, at first sight, a resemblance to a recent western grammatical system known as case grammar. There are, however, fundamental differences between the two which should be made clear. Especially is this necessary, since the similarities have been noted recently.[3] Finally, the concept of *vivakṣā* (the speaker's desire to express something) has been considered by some scholars in the guise of a scholastic device resorted to by Kātyāyana and later Pāṇinīyas (see note 37). It warrants

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1. Originally published in *JOR*, Madras, 18-84-96. Reprined in *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians* (edited by J. F. Staal, Cambridge, Mass., 1972) pp. 393-400. The following abbreviations are used here, *Bh.* : *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's edition). *LM* : *Laghumañjūṣā* (Chowkhamba), *PLM* : *Parama-laghu-nañjūṣā* (Chowkhamba), *Pr.* : *Pradīpa* (Rohtak edition), *TC* : *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* (Calcutta edition, vol. IV. 2), *VBh.* : *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa* (Bombay edtion), *VBhS* : *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra* (Ādarśa granthamālā edition), *VP* : *Vākya-Padīya* (Poona edition), *VV-L* : *Vyutpatti-vāda-Lakārārthavicāra* (with the *Vivaraṇa* of Pt.V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Annamalai, 1948). Three numerals separated by full stop (e. g., 1. 1. 1) refer to a rule of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.
2. This is a shortened version of a paper written in 1971-1972. The original paper (entitled "*Pāṇini's kārakas : Agency, Animation, and Identity*") was written while I was a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, to the Direetor of which, O. Meredith Wilson, I wish to extend my sincere thanks.
3. H. S. Ananthanarayana, "*The Kāraka Theory and Case Grammar,*" *Indian Linguistics* 31-14-27 (1970).

emphasizing that *vivakṣā* is, in the context of Pāṇini's derivational system, necessary and justified.

§2. It is well known that the derivation of a sentence in Pāṇini's system involves introducing affixes after bases to denote, among other things, participants in the accomplishment of an action; these are termed *kārakas*. An object (*karman*) is that *kāraka* which an agent most wishes to reach through his action.[1] And an agent is that *kāraka* which, relative to all other participants in a given action, is independent.[2] For example, in deriving

(1) *devadatto grāmaṁ rathena gacchati* 'Devadatta is on the way to the village by chariot.'

the endings *-ti*[3] and *-am* are introduced to denote respectively an agent and an object.[4]

Consider now rule 1.4.49 (note 1, p. 140) and the analysis of this rule provided by commentators. Any verb of the type *gam* 'go'[5] is said to denote an action (*vyāpāra*) and its result (*phala*).[6] *Gam* denotes going and its result, conjunction (*saṁyoga*) with a goal. The agent is directly the locus (*āśraya*) of the activity, the object the locus of the result.[7] An object as defined by 1. 4. 49 is thus the intended goal of an action, viewed as the potential locus of the result of that action.[8] This interpretation is compatible with Pāṇini's

1. 1. 4. 49 : *kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma.*

2. 1. 4. 54 ; *svatantraḥ kartā.*

3. Which itself is a replacement of the L-member (*la-kāra*) *laṭ*.

4. 3. 4. 69 : *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ, 2. 3. 2 : karmaṇi dvitīyā.* The chariot is classed as instrument (*karaṇa*), 1. 4. 42 : *sādhakatamaṁ karaṇam.* The third triplet of nominal endings is introduced to denote a *karaṇa*, 2. 3. 18 : *kartṛ-karaṇayos tṛtīyā.*

5. That is, transitive verbs. I exclude from consideration here verbs of the type *as* 'be'.

6. Pāṇinīyas differ on details, for example, whether *vyāpāra* and *phala* are both independent meanings of a verb or stand in a qualifier-qualificand relation with each other. This is not discussed here.

7. Of course, the person who reaches a goal is also conjoined with that goal. I do not discuss here how one avoids deriving a sentence like **devadattaṁ grāmaṁ gacchati.*

8. *LM* 1301 . *tatra kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma* (1. 4. 49) *iti sūtra-bodhitaṁ karmatvaṁ kartṛ-gata-prakṛta-dhātv-artha-vyāpāra-prayojya-vyāpāra-vyadhikaraṇa-phalāśrayatvena kartur uddeśyatvam.* See also *PLM* 95, *VBh.* 99, *VBhS* 169. The *karman* is an intended goal (*uddeśya*), so that the city of Kāsī is classed as object for deriving *kāsīṁ gacchan mṛtaḥ* ('...died on the way to *Kāsī*), although the person going there does not actually reach it. I omit other details.

rule, the definiens in which is *kartur īpsitatamam* 'which the agent most seeks to reach.' [1]

Now consider sentence

(2) *ratho grāmaṁ gacchati* 'The chariot is on the way to the village.' If this is to be derived by Pāṇini's rules, the village has to be classed as object of going performed by the chariot. The village must thus be that which the chariot—the agent of going—seeks to reach. But, of course, a chariot is not capable of wishing to do anything. How, then, is one to account for (2) ?

§3. One possible solution consists in saying simply that (2) is metaphoric.[2] This is the solution accepted by Naiyāyikas. Although the analysis of sentences such as (1) and (2) adopted by Naiyāyikas is well known in its general outlines,[3] a brief summary is in order here. The principal qualificand in the sentential meaning of (1) is the person named by the nominative *devadattaḥ*. The ending-*ti* denotes a qualifier of Devadatta, namely a conscious effort (*yatna, kṛti*) conducive to going.[4] This analysis is of course impossible for (2), since a chariot cannot be qualified as possessed of conscious effort. Therefore,-*ti* in (2) is assigned a secondary meaning. It denotes the property of being the locus of an action.[5] The chariot is characterized by its movement. The meaning thus assigned to-*ti* in (2) is, to be sure, considered metaphoric (*lākṣaṇika*). But this is a frozen metaphoric usage (*nirūḍhā-lakṣaṇā*), so that the Nyāya analysis amounts to assigning two distinct meanings to the ending-*ti* in (1) and (2).

The Nyāya procedure gives (1) (and) (2) separate and unrelated analyses. It also involves a proliferation of semantic entities for an ending which occurs in sentences of the same grammatical type. This prolixity is attacked

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1. Cf. *LM* 1301 : *uddeśyatvaṁ ca sanā garbhitam.*
2. *LM* 1302 : *ratho grāmam gacchatīty ādau tūddeśyatvāropeṇa nirvāhaḥ.* Cf the commentary Kalā on this ; *nanv evaṁ ratho grāmam ity ādau kartur acetanatvena tatrecchāyā asambhavāt karmaṇaḥ kārtṛ-gatecchā-viṣayābhāvenanuddeśyatvāt karmatvaṁ na syād ata āha...*
3. See most recently, B. K. Matilal, "*Indian theorists on the nature of the sentence (vākya)*," *Foundations of Language* 2. 377-393 (1966).
4. *TC* 819 *pacatīty ādāv ākhyātasya yatno vācyaḥ*; *TC* 867 (Raghunāth's *Ākhyāta-śakti-vāda) : ākhyātasya yatna-vācakatvam*...I omlt from discussion the reasons given by Naiyāyikaṣ for adopting this view.
5. *TC* 875-881 : *acetano ratho gacchatīty ādau ca...āśrayatve...nirūḍhi-lakṣaṇā.* I do not discuss an earlier view, wherein -*ti* in (2) is assigned the meaning 'action'.

by grammarians.[1] The main thrust of the Naiyāyika argument is nevertheless valid, as a grammarian himself has to admit (see note 2, p. 141). The grammarian has then to suggest a satisfactory alternative.

§4. Let us now look at two other possible solutions.

§4. 1. One could operate with a hierarchical system involving the following levels:[2] (a) syntactico-semantic entities like Pāṇini's *kārakas* (Agent, Instrument, Object, etc.); (b) syntactic entities such as Subject of a sentence, Object of a sentence, etc.; (c) linguistic items which express the latter. Further, one could set up a rule regulating which syntactico-semantic entity is assigned to what particular syntactic category under various circumstances. For example : if there is an Agent, it is Subject; in the absence of an Agent, the Instrument is Subject; and if there is no Instrument the Object is Subject.[3] This would do nicely for (1) and (2). In the latter no Agent is expressed, so that the Instrument is Subject. However, such a system is foreign to Pāṇini. He operates only with (a) and (c), and there is no intermediate level corresponding to (b) in his grammar.[4]

§4. 2. A second solution, somewhat more in keeping with Pāṇini's approach, consists in formulating two rules instead of 1.4.54 (note 2, p. 140): [1] That *kāraka* which seeks to gain an end is agent; [2] A *kāraka* is also classed as agent if it is related to an action in the way of a true agent.[5] This is clearly not what Pāṇini says. We have, however, come somewhat closer to the Pāṇinian system. For Pāṇinīyas do recognize a distinction

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1. *PLM* 51: *kiñca kṛti-vācyatve ratho gacchatīty ādāv āśrayatve laksaṇā-svīkāre gauravāpattiḥ*. I omit other arguments givem by Pāṇinīyas against the Nyāya analysis. Note that Naiyāyikas attack grammarians for the same fault or prolixity (see *TC* 846, *VV*-L 3). Here again I omit a discussion of details.

2 I use the term 'level' here loosely.

3. See C. J. Fillmore, "The case for Case" (in *Universals in Linguistie Theory*, edited by E. Bach and R. F. Harms, New York, 1968, pp. 1-88), pp. 24-25, 33. Subsequent developments in case grammar do not affeet the present discussion.

4. There are good reasons based on the structure of Sanskrit, for Pāṇini's not operating with a category Subject-of-sentence. However, these cannot be discussed here.

5. Helārāja, ad *VP* 3. 7. 103 (edited by K. A. Subramania Iyer). p. 313, lines 16-19:... *vyākaraṇāntare arthī kartā tathā-yuktaś ca iti lakśaṇa-dvayaṁ cetanācetana-viṣayatayā... praṇītam*...Cf. *Vāraruca-saṁgraha* (ed. T. Gaṇapati Sastri, TSS 33)4 *Vyākaraṇāntare tv arthī kartā tathā-yuktaṁ ca iti lakṣaṇaṁ cetanācetana-viṣayaṁ praṇītam*), where the editor wrongly says that the second rule is Pāṇini's 1.4.50.

between principal and subsidiary agents.[1] Further, the classifications effected by (1) and (2) take at the *kāraka* level [(§4. 1 (a)]. However, this solution is not accepted. Rules (1) and (2) would allow deriving a sentence such as (4a); see §§5, 5.3.

Let us, then, turn to Pāṇini's solution.

§5. In addition to (1) and (2), consider the following stock examples.

(3) *devadattaḥ sthālyāṁ odanaṁ pacati* 'D. is cooking rice in a pot.'

(4) *sthāly odanaṁ pacati* 'The pot is cooking the rice.' For one to derive (4), a pot (*sthālī*)—an inanimate object which serves as a locus for food cooked[2]—has to be classed as agent (notes 1-3, p. 140). However, a pot cannot function simply as agent of cooking; it must simultaneously play the role of locus in which the food is placed. Moreover, the grammar must avoid deriving a sentence.

(4a) **sthālī sthālyāṁ odanaṁ pacati*
which would result if the pot were classed both as agent and locus.

Pāṇini accomplishes this by stating the *kāraka* classification rules in a particular order: *apādāna* (note 1, p. 144), *sampradāna* (note 1,3; p. 145), *karaṇa* (note 4, p. 140), *adhikaraṇa* (note 21, p. 140), *karman* (note 2, p. 140), *kartṛ* (note 5). Further, these rules are placed under the heading of two other rules: 1.4.1. (*ā kaḍārād ekā sañjñā*), 1.4.2. (*vipratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam*). One class name *sañjñā* alone applies to a given entity; that is, in the present context, no one thing can be assigned to more than one *kāraka* class simultaneously. In case of conflicting assignments, that rule applies which is stated later in the grammar. Thereby, the pot which must function as a locus in order to be classed as agent of cooking is classed uniquely as agent for the derivation of (4).[3] The relation between (3) and (4) can be stated as follows. In the derivation of (3) a true agent is denoted and the pot functions as locus. In (4) the true agent is not brought in and the pot is considered to function as agent.[4]

1, Cf. *VP* 3.7.20 : *guṇa-kriyāṇām kartāraḥ kartrā nyakkṛta-śaktayaḥ* This belongs in the context of the claim that all *kārakas* are agents, a view the details of which cannot be treated here.

2. 1.4.45 : *ādhāro 'dhikaraṇam.* Members of the seventh triplet of nominal endings are introduced to denote loci, 2.3.36 : *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca.*

3. 1.4. I *vārttika* 34: *adhikaraṇam kartā sthālī pacati. Bh.* I.303.6 : *adhikaraṇa-sañjñām kartṛ-sañjñā bādhate [kva] sthālī pacatīti.*

4. *Not as Subject.*

§5. 1. Note that nowhere in Pāṇini's grammar is a provision made that, in the absence of a true agent, an instrument, locus, etc. is agent (cf. §4.1). The only provisions made are those given in §5. It is useful here to consider some examples additional to (1)-(4).

(5) *devadatto dhanuṣo nirgataiḥ śarair lakṣyaṁ vidhyati* 'D. pierces the target with arrows shot from his bow'

(6) *devadatto dhanuṣā lakṣyaṁ vidhyati* 'D. pierces (from afar) the target with his bow.'

(7) *devadattaḥ kāṁsa-pātryā uddhṛtam annaṁ bhuṅkte* 'D. is eating food taken from a brass vessel.'

(8) *devadattaḥ kāṁsa-pātryām annaṁ bhuṅkte* 'D. is eating food in a brass vessel.'

(9) *devadatto' sinā chinatti* 'D. is cutting with a sword (axe).'

(10) *asiś chinatti* 'The sword (axe) is cutting.'

(5) : A bow functions as point of departure[1] relative to the movement of arrows which leave (*nirgam*) it and with which the agent Devadatta pierces a target. (6): The bow is instrument relative to the action denoted by *vyadh*.[2] (7) A vessel is a point of departure for the removal (*uddhṛ*) of food which Devadatta eats. (8) The vessel is the locus of the action denoted by *bhuj*.[3] (9)-(10) : An axe or sword which serves as instrument of cutting is considered to function also as agent of this action.[4]

In all such cases 1.4.1-1.4.2 (§5) provide for a unique classification.

§5.2. It is clear from the order of Pāṇini's rules 1.4.24 ff. and the

1. It is classed as *apādāna* by 1.4.24: *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*. The ablative endings are introduced when an *apādāna* is to be denoted, 2.3.28 : *apādāne pañcamī*.

2. 1.4.1 vt. 30 : *apādānam uttarāṇi dhanuṣā vidhyati... Bh.* I.302.13: *apādāna-saññām uttarāṇi kārakāṇi bādhante| kva| dhanuṣā vidhyati... VP* 3.7.145 : *dhanuṣā vidhyatīty atra vinăpāya-vivakṣayā* (see §5.2)| *karaṇatvaṁ yato nāsti tasmāt tad-ubhayaṁ saha*. In (6), the verb *vyadh* is used to denote piercing preceded by the release of arrows; *Ud.* II.315: *nirgamana-pūrvake vedhe vidhyatiṁ vartayitvā...*

3. 1.4.1 vt. 30 (see note 2): *kāṁsa-pātryāṁ bhuṅkte. Bh.* I.302.13-14. Here *bhuj*, like *vyadh* in (6) (see note 2), is used to denote two actions; *Ud.* II. 315: *kāṁsa-pātryām ity āder api kāṁsa-pātrīto nirgatam annam bhuṅkte ity ādy arthaḥ* ('The meaning of...is "eats food which has come out of a..." ').

4. 1.4.1 vt. 32. *karaṇaṁ parāṇi sādhv asiś chinatti. Bh.* I.303.2.

purpose this order is made to serve[1] that sentences are to be derived in which a thing functions as any other *kāraka* is considered to play the role of agent.[2] Further, an *apādāna* (note 1, p. 140) is spoken of as an instrument [see (5)-(6)] or locus [see (7)-(8)]. These are some stock examples cited by Kātyāyana, Patañjali and later Pāṇinīyas.

It is noteworthy that a pair of sentences such as

(11) *devadattaḥ upādhyāyāya gāṁ dadāti* 'D. gives a cow to his teacher'

(12) *upādhāyo gāṁ dadāti* 'The teacher gives a cow.'

is not thought of in this context. This is to be expected. For it is in the nature of things that one who gives something cannot necessarily be the recipient[3] of that object at the same time. Similarly, one may reason, Pāṇini did not find it necessary to state directly that a locus or instrument of an action is classed as agent in the absence of the true agent (cf. §4.1.). His task was to formulate rules to account for correct Sanskrit usage, the usage of the *śiṣṭa* (educated, elite)) as Pāṇinīyas put it. And in such usage loci and instruments of actions are spoken of as agents only when a true agent is not expressed.

A sentence such as

(13) *edhair odanaṁ pacanti* '...are cooking rice with fire wood' is necessarily interpreted as denoting several unspecified agents and is used only with this meaning. And no Sanskrit speaker would use (13) to express the meaning of

(14) *edhā odanaṁ pacanti* 'The firewood is cooking the rice.' or use (14) to express the meaning of (13). Pāṇini's grammar reflects this. The rules of

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1. This order also serves to let one classification cancel another in order to account for certain co-occurrence restrictions. For example, *krudh* 'be angry' occurs with a dative form denoting the person towards whom anger is felt (*devadattāya kruddhyati*), but *abhikrudh* 'by angry' co-occurs with an accusative (*devadattam abhikruddhyati*). In the first case, he towards whom anger is felt is classed as *sampradāna* (1.4.37 : *krudha-druherṣyāsūyārthānām yaṁ prati kopaḥ*); the same person is classed as *karman* in the second case (1.4.38: *krudha-druhor upasṛṣṭayoḥ karma*).

2. A sentence such as *odanaḥ pacyate* 'The rice is cooking' illustrates cases where an object functions as age .. Details of how Pāṇini treats these cannot be considered here.

3. That *kāraka* which an agent intends as recipient of the object of the action he performs is termed *sampradānā* by 1.4.32 (*karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam*).

this grammar are stated from the point of view of a speaker. Starting with syntactico-semantic entities (*kārakas* etc.), one derives sentences which express the meanings intended. It is within this context—a grammar where the adjustments necessary to account for sentences such as (2), (4), (6), (8), (10), (14) are made at the level of *kāraka* classifications—that the concept of *vivakṣā* (§1) finds its place. *Vivakṣā* amounts essentially to this that the grammar's purpose is to account for what people say. And speakers do indeed speak of chariots, pots, bows, etc. as agents of actions. One can say, then, that for the grammarian the only reality is that reflected in what is said[1].

§ 5. 3. The grammarian cannot, however, merely posit *vivakṣā* and leave it at that. Consider again sentences (3), (4), (13), (14). A speaker may wish to convey that cooking is being done by a pot or by firewood. In order to do this, however, he must simultaneously consider the pot and firewood to function as locus and instrument, not merely as agent. In the absence of any regulating mechanism the grammar would allow the derivation of sentences such as (4a) or

(14a) **edhā edhair odanaṁ pacanti*

Such incorrect derivations are avoided by stating the *kāraka* classifications in a particular order and under the heading of 1. 4. 1-1. 4. 2 (§5). This is absolutely necessary in order to account for the relation between pairs of sentences such as (3) and (4) without allowing incorrect sentences to result from application of the rules.

1. Cf. *VP* 3.7.103 : *dharmair abhyuditaiḥ śabde niyamo na tu vastuni | kartur dharma-vivakṣāyāṁ śabdāt kartā pratīyate.* The properties (*dharma*) of an agent are stated in the previous two verses; see also K. A. Subramania Iyer, *Bhartṛhari* (Poona, 1969), p. 312. Helārāja ad *VP* 3.7.103 states *vyākaraṇe hi śabdārtho 'rthaḥ na vastv-arthaḥ*, then notes that in another grammar separate definitions are given for animate and inanimate agents (see note 5, p. 183), a view unacceptable to *a Pāṇinīya (tan na kauśalam ity uktaṁ bhavati)*. In *vārttika* 15 on 3.1.7 Kātyāyana notes that everything is to be treated as animate and sentient (*sarvasya vā cetanāvattvāt*, the other alternatives and the question at issue cannot be treated here). One of the examples cited by Patañjali to illustrate this is the Vedic utterance *śṛṇota grāvāṇaḥ* 'listen, you stones' (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 1.3.13.1). Such utterances as this and *oṣadhe trāyasvainam* 'protect this one, plant' (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 1.2.1.1) were considered by some to be meaningless, since inanimate and insentient objects could not be addressed in the way of animate beings or perform these actions; see *Nirukta* 1.15, Sāyaṇa's introduction to his *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya* (Poona edition) p. 4.

§ 5. 4. It would be a mistake to conclude from the above that *vivakṣā* is a useless concept. Consider the sentences

(15) *devadattaḥ sthālyā pacati* 'D. cooks with a *sthālī*.'

(16) *devadattaḥ kumbhenodakam āharati* 'D. fetches water in a pot'

It is of course impossible to cook food with a pot without putting the food in the pot or to fetch water with a water pot without putting the water in that pot. Now, if things classed as instrument (note 4, p. 136) for deriving (15) and (16) havenecessarily to be classed simultaneously as loci (note 2, p. 139), these sentences cannot be derived. Instead, only sentences with the locatives *sthālyam, kumbhe* can be derived. For the rule which assigns a locus of an action to the *adhikaraṇa* category is subsequent to the rule which classes means as *karaṇa* (15). The same rule arrangement which allows one to account for (3), (4), (13), (14) without deriving the incorrect sentences (4a), (14a) would seem, then, to preclude deriving (15) and (16). Yet those are perfectly correct sentences. The only solution available in the context of Pāṇini's grammar is to consider that the derivation of (15), (16) does not involve a conflict of classifications. The pots in question are considered merely as instrumentas.[1] In other words, there is in the situation conveyed by (15) and (16), an ontological conflict which the grammar has to overlook.

Conversely, there are cases where the grammarian has to posit a conflict where there is none in reality. Consider again sentences (5) and (6). In the latter, *vyadh* is used to denote a nexus of actions (see note 2, p. 140); and the bow functions as point of departure for the movement of arrows but as instrument in the act of piercing Yet a conflict in classification is set up so as to derive (6) and not also

(6a) **devadatto dhanuṣo dhanuṣā vidhyati*

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1. Commenting on *VP* 3.7.91, *Helārāja* (ed. K. A. S. Iyer, p. 307.9-10) notes the following explanation of this situation. The normal role of a pot as locus of food cooked is recognized. Nevertheless, the pot is viewed as an instrument by the speaker. This because, by virtue of its being thin, so that one cooks in it very fast, the pot serves as the means par excellence *(sādhakatama)* for cooking: *prajñātādhikatanutarakapālattvācca Śīghratara-pāka-kārya-Sādhanatayānubhavaty eva vaivakṣitaṁ karaṇa-bhāvam.*

with the ablative, as in (5).[1]

Finally, consider the following sentences

(17) *vandhyā-sutaḥ śaśa-śṛṅge kha-puṣpa-rajaḥ pacati* 'A son of a barren woman is cooking sky-flower-pollen in a rabbit's horn.' Obviously, there exists no barren woman's son, sky-flower, or rabbit's horn. Nevertheless, a Pāṇinīya considers this a correct sentence, not a grammatical aberration.[2] Although terms such as *śaśa-śṛṅga* do not refer to anything real in the world, (17) is grammatically as unexceptionable as (3). Nor is there any statement in Pāṇini's grammar to prevent deriving (17) as a correct sentence. Similarly,

(8) *śaśa-śṛṅgam kha-puṣpa-rajaḥ pacati*

related to (17), is grammatically as correct as (4). Yet it is impossible here to speak of a participant in an action which cannot play a given role without simultaneously filling another role. There exists no such real participant in the first place. However, the receptacle for the object of an action is spoken of as agent of that action in sentences like (4).

§5.5. It is clear from the above that *vivakṣā* cannot be judged a useless concept in the Pāṇinian context.[3] The grammar has to account

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1. Helārāja ad *VP* 3.7.145 (ed. K. A. S. Iyer, p. 34 .1-5) : *yugapad ubhaya-vivakṣāyām bhinna- viṣayor api śaktyor nimitta-nimittibhāvenāvasthānād ekatra dravye samāveśat sva-nimitta-saṁjñā-dvaya-hetutve yugpad ekasmāt prātipadikāt tat-kārya-vibhakti-dvayotpatty-ayogād eka-saṁjñādhikāropajanite virodhe paratvāt karaṇa-saṁjñā-nimittā vibhaktir bhavati |śaktyor hi nastyatra virodhaḥ bhinna-viṣayatvāt| śara-niḥsaraṇe hy-apādānam vyadhane tu karaṇam dhanuḥ.*

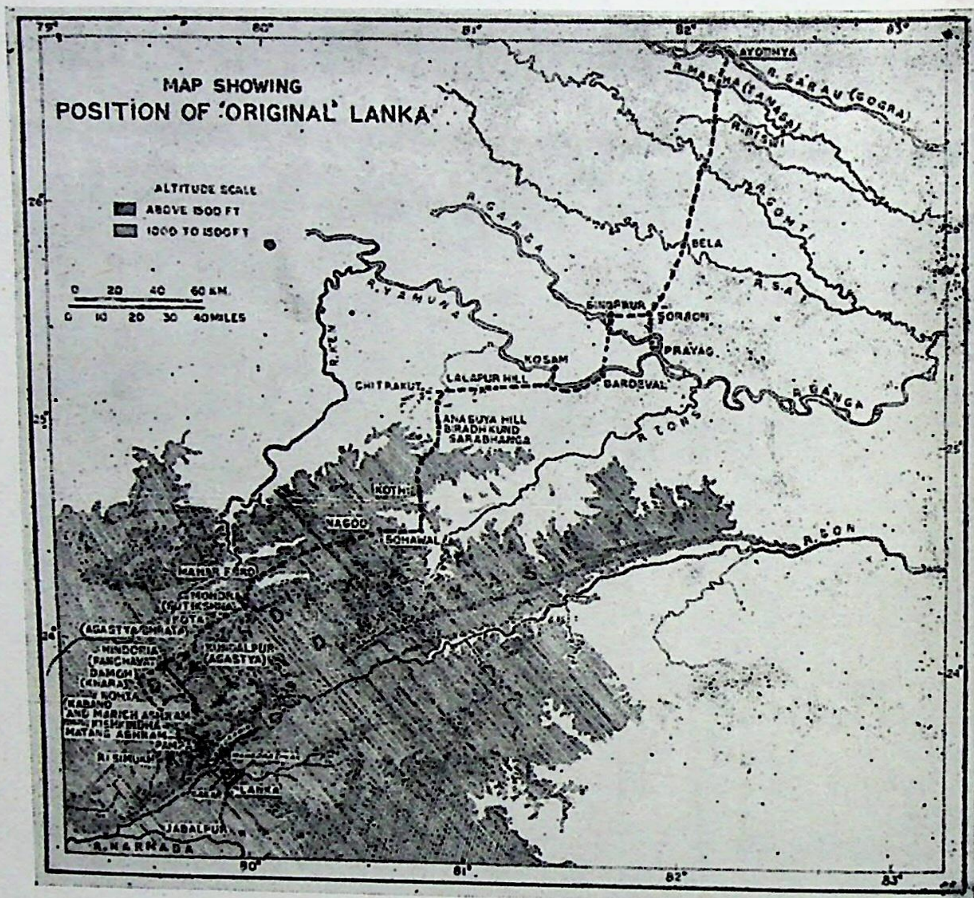
2. A Naiyāyika does consider a term such as *śaśa-śṛṅga* improper (though not necessarily meaningless), because it does not refer to a real object; see for example, *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā* (Chowkhamba) p. 30-31. A Pāṇinīya, on the other hand, ascribes existence to the meanings of such terms, though not a true external existence (see, for example, *VP* 3.3.39, the *Vṛtti* on *VP* 1.121); the meanings of all words are considered mental (*bauddha*) instead of external (*bāhya*) realities (see *PLM* 11-12, *Pr.* IV. 149 [ad *Bh.* on 5.2.94]). Details cannot be discussed here.

3. It is not possible here to consider all the instances where Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and later Pāṇinīyas have recourse to *vivakṣā*. For references see Kielhorn, *Kleine Schriften* I.235, note 10, Renou, *Durghaṭavṛtti*, I.a, p. (§52). Suffice it to say I do not think it justified simply to say this principle is liable to objection (as did Kielhorn), although *vivakṣā*, like other originally valid concepts in grammar, was used at later times in contexts where it served only a minimally valid purpose. A full rethinking of *vivakṣā* and the allied principle of *anabhidhāna* as used by Pāṇinīyas is in order.

for sentences which are used and also for all possible sentences which are grammatically correct, though they be semantically aberrant. It does this by deriving sentences, starting with semantico-syntactic categories and introducing linguistic elements to express these. In this context *vivakṣā* is straightforward and valid.

§6. We can now return to the original question (§§2-3). Sentences such as (2) *ratho grāmaṁ gacchati,* (4) *sthāly odanaṁ pacati* need not be considered metaphoric. In terms of Pāṇini's grammar, they are accounted for straightforwardly and with considerable insight (§§5-5.5). Pāṇini does not operate with a special rule for classing as agent inanimate beings (§4.2). Nor does he operate with a level intermediate between syntactico-semantic categorics (Agent etc.) and utterances, at which level categories such as Subject-of-sentence are recognized and adjustments made (§4.1). The adjustments necessary to account for the relation between sentences such as (3) and (4) are made at the level of *kāraka* classifications. In this context, the concept of *vivakṣā* is necessary and valid.

Thus a question with which Naiyāyikas and others have been concerned up to the present was answered with elegance and insight by Pāṇini.



Position of original Laṅkā

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE *RĀMĀYAṆA*
OR
A HYPERCRITICAL STUDY OF THE *RĀMĀYAṆA*

H. D. Sankalia.

POONA

CRITICAL EDITIONS :

Critical studies of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other Sanskrit classics began over a hundred yeare ago. Now we have the critical edition of the *Māhābhārata* and that of the *Rāmāyana* is about to be completed at Baroda. These comparative studies of the various extant recensions have undoubtedly shown that there have been considerable accretions or interpolations in the original compositions. Of the four *Rāmāyaṇa* recensions, viz the Sourthern, Western, North-Western and North-Eastern, it was found that the Southern recension was the least interpolate. Even this recension contains such incidents as the offering of a thousand 'pots of wine to the River *Kālindī* (Yamunā) by Sītā to assure her safe return to Ayodhyā after the 14 years' banishment.

ARCHAEOLOGY :

How to account for such obvious—and there are several—inconsitent, irreligious or scandalous incidents in our classics ? One of the ways to understand these later growths, and getting to the original story, as far as it was possible, was to study them against a space-time context. For such a study archaeology alone is useful, provided it is well developed and able to deliver the goods. Its limitations are many. Archaeology only tells us of some scrap of information. and that too about material things, not about things of the spirit. Inspite of these limitations, during the last 25 years, an outline of the timetable of cultures, spanning over a lakh of years (c. 100,000 before prsent to 1400 A. D.) is now available.

CARBON-14 DATES :

It is no longer a guess work, but is backed by over 500 C-14 dates determined by the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, from numerous excavations all over India (Agrawal, D. P. *et al.* 1971). And be it said that these dates are in perfect harmony or conformity with hundreds of others from all over the Old World. Little scope is now left

for emotional outbursts, as seen in some comments, and to say we Indians knew everything in the past, but because of our sins have been reduced to this sorry state !! Even if such an omniscient knowledge were there, it is not reflected in our history. Among other reasons for our material backwardness, poor metal technology was one. Not only the knowledge of iron, but even the art of making socketed tools and weapons of copper/bronze India developed two thousand years after it was known in Sumer or Mesopotamia. Until about the 4th century B. C. we continued to make arrows, spears, swords and axes with a sample tang !! We can now say with some confidence when iron came into common use, and so also silk and wine, and what the practices of disposing the dead in India were before 500 B. C. and how and when various secular and religious buildings came into existence. When this stray information on these and several topics, mentioned quite incidentally, in our epics is carefully collected from the critical editions, then very interesting results follow. These might startle the laymen or persons who have an implicit faith in the inviolability of our religious literature, but should not shock the educated. For numerous instances of additions and alterations in theories, regarded as sacrosant, are taking place before our very eyes in religious institutions grown up during the last 50 years !!

THE BRIDGE (*SETU*) :

Moreover, few persons have cared to read the original epics, and also to compare the descriptions given in them either of Laṅkā or Daṇḍakāraṇya as the author has done. Besides Rāmeśvaram, Kanyākumārī as well as other parts of India were visited. What is believed to be the bridge built by Rāma at Land's end (Rāmeśvaram) is nothing but the remnants of the geological formations which extended far to the south, and a vivid proof of which was obtained a few years ago during the geophysical explorations by an international team of scientists

A hitherto unknown mountain range, 3000 miles long and upto 13,000 feet high, rises like a knife edge from the eastern ocean basin. It runs almost due north and south along the 90° east meridian of longitude from the Bay of Bengal across the Equator to the latitude of Southern Australia. (Mathews, 1967).

A living demonstration of this can be had while going to Kanyākumārī, where the hills, a few miles before reaching this place, all dip downwards and gradually disappear in the sea.



Fig. 1. Submerged Mountain-Ridges in the Indian Ocean.

ŚĀLA TREES :

Some readers have pointed out that the *Śāla* trees exist in parts of South India as well, and hence the Chota Nagpur area alone need not be regarded as the likely location of Laṅkā. This point had been considered by me before, but it is necessary to give a few more details. The *Śāla* occurs in very thin patches in the Eastern Ghats, e. g. in the Palkonda hills and Jepare Forests in Vizagapatnam; whereas in South the commonest variety is *Shorea Talura*, which is known as *Jalari* in Telugu and *Talura* in Tamil. Another variety is *Shorea Tumbuggia*, and known as *Thamba* in Telugu and *Thambgam* in Tamil.

Botanists, therefore, regarded Chota Nagpur region as the home of the true *Śāla* trees.

THE ABDUCTION OF SĪTĀ :

Rāmāyaṇa itself provides three different versions how Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā. Besides the well known view that he took her away by air (*Araṇyakāṇḍa* 3.50,12-42), we are also told that Rāvaṇa had gone to the Daṇḍaka forest in a chariot drawn by asses (*Araṇyakāṇḍa* 3.40.6; also 3.47.19, 3.48.20; 3.48.14). And this chariot is compared to a *Vimāna* (whatever it may connote). It is said that Rāvaṇa was an ordinary human being having a black or dark skin, that he was carrying Sītā in his arms and that as the passage through the Mahendra hill was very narrow and was also blocked by Sampāti's son, Supārśva, Rāvaṇa very politely requested the latter to allow him to pass. (*Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* 4.58.13-22).

LAṄKĀ :

The same is true of Laṅkā. A careful perusal of the original passages in the *Rāmāyaṇa* will convince anybody that the composer had the vaguest idea of this city, which was supposed to be on a *hill in the sea*, and that these vague descriptions correspond to some extent to the description of buildings or monuments like Bharhut and Sanchi.

GOLD :

One may say that much of the gold in post 2nd century A. D. cities was derived from a flourishing Roman trade. Gold *dīnars* were received in exchange for fine cotton fabrics, Chinese silk and spices. But these were soon melted, and turned into ornaments and other objects. Hence the legends about "Golden Dwārkā" and "Golden Laṅkā". For, otherwise

gold was scarce in India, then as today, and was obtained with difficulty from river sand and a few mines, at least from 2500 B. C.

However, inspite of this pruning and cutting, the picture of Rāma as an ideal hero and husband, and of Sītā as an ideal wife remains undiminished. Unscathed also remain Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān, though many of the latter's exploits, known to the popular mind, will certainly have no place in the *Ur* or original *Rāmāyaṇa* constructed with the help of archaeology.

Lastly, what happens to the oft-repeated claims about the knowledge of aeroplanes and aerial travel? "No archaeological or other evidence has come forward to substantiate these claims. What seems to the writer is given here for what it is worth. As I have said elsewhere (in a review of a book named *Not of this world*), a few persons did possess supernatural powers of various types. But the rank and file or the masses were as ignorant as they are today and believed in superstitions and miracles which even Aśoka condemned 2300 years ago. Had it been otherwise, it would have been reflected in our history, which is marred by many a defeat in international wars, caused by inferior technology as much as by internal dissensions.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE *RĀMĀYAṆA*

It is against this background that an attempt has been made

(i) to ascertain the nucleus of the original (*Ur*) *Rāmāyaṇa*—its locale, the persons who participated in it, and the time of the happening.

(ii) the subsequent stages of development.

(iii) the age of the present *Rāmāyaṇa,* particularly the Critical Edition, prepared at Baroda.

MAIN CONCLUSIONS :

The main conclusions are here summarised with the minimum discussion of the evidence, since all this is fully dealt with in the writer's forthcoming monograph and also in a shorter one in Gujarati in *Svādhyāya* published at Baroda.

IRON AGE :

The *Rāmāyṇa* as presented in the Critical Edition belongs to the Early Iron Age (Cf. also Soundara Rajan 1961). This is amply proved by the repeated references to weapons of *Kālāyasa, Kārṣṇāyasa* and *āyasa*. *Āyasa*

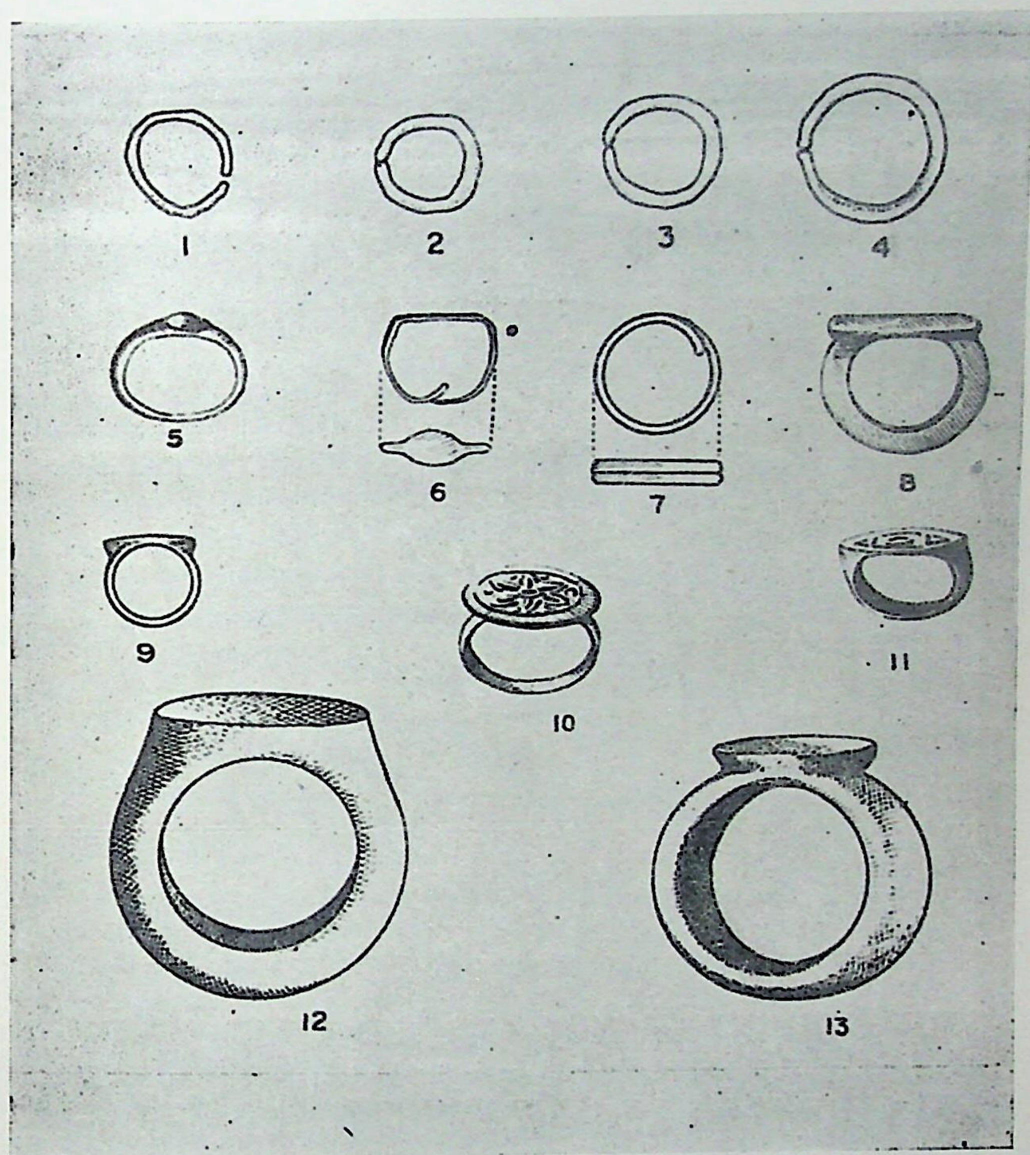


Fig. 2. Showing the development of finger-Rings from C. 2500 B.C.—100 B.C.—AD. No. 12 and 13 are Indo-Greek Signet rings. Nos. 1 to 7 are Harappan, No. 10 from Eran and Nos. 11 to 13 from Taxila.

definitely means 'iron' and not copper. Many of these weapons—various types of arrows, swords, and other weapons, and even *astras* (weapons) having a magical effect can be shown to have emerged during the Indo-Greek and Kushano-Roman periods, that is, between the 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. The iron-chest with 8 wheels, in which the bow of Rudra was kept and which Rāma alone could wield and break and thus win Sītā, requires highly advanced iron technology. Smelting of iron was unknown not only in India but also elsewhere before 1000 B. C., The earliest well-documented use of iron is credited to the Hittites about 1200 B. C. who ruled much of Western Asia at that time.

SILK AND SIGNET RING :

This view is further corroborated by Sītā's garments, which are uniformly described as made of *Kauśeya* (silk), and by the signet ring of Rāma. *Kauśeya*—Chinese silk—and the *nāmāṅkita aṅgulīyaka* were unknown to India before this period. A new Brāhmī inscription written on a silk roll from Tunhuang supplies the earliest evidence of silk trade between India and China [*Mundus*, Vol. VII (1971), p. 10]. These two items not only help to date the *Rāmāyaṇa* archaeologically, but also point to a growth in the story; for, as in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala* the ring plays an important part in establishing the identity of Śakuntalā as Duṣyanta's wife so it was in the *Rāmāyana* in proving the bonafides of Hanumān as a messenger of Rāma.

Originally, Sītā, like all other persons in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, must have worn garments of *Kṣauma*, ie. linen or fine cotton, as interpreted by some scholars (See Agrawal, V. S. 1953.77), as these were the clothes which were given to her in marriage by her father, Janaka (as is the practice even today). But later on, for several reasons, for instance to arouse the reader's (listener's) sympathy and pity and to make Sītā's aerial kidnapping conspicuous, the later poets seem to have substituted *Kauśeya* for *Kṣauma*.

FINGER RINGS :

A study of the evolution to the finger-rings right from the earliest times (the Indus Civilization c. 2400 B. C.) upto the 4th-5th century A. D. shows unmistakably that the finger-rings bearing names, that is, signet rings, were introduced into India by the Indo-Greeks and became popular soon afterwards, though at Harappa we do get a finger ring with a small bezel (*Fig. 2, 5*). Thus, the ring episode could not have been introduced into the

Rāmāyaṇa before the 2nd century B. C. though the probability is that it was introduced later, about the 4th-5th century A. D.

LAKṢMĪ ON PUṢPAKA VIMĀNA

The occurrence of sculptural motifs like the Gaja-Lakṣmī bathed by two elephants (Jhala. 1066.5.6.14) and the *Vyomacara* (atlantes) on the *Puṣpaka Vimāna* have to be similarly dated. The standing or sitting Gaja-Lakṣmī appears at Sanchi (lst-2nd century B. C,) The earlier one is on a coin from Kauśāmbī but the atlantes shown on the pillars at Nasik, cave 3, are again of this date (Śātavāhana, c. 2nd-lst century B. C.), (Sivaramamurti, pp. 3-6, 1955).

LAṄKĀ

A careful study of the description of Laṅkā and Kiṣkindhā goes to show that the poets have created imaginary cities, though this imagination was, no doubt, helped either by a sight or description of the cities existing in India in the beginning of the Christian era or later. However, it must be said that the poet or poets had never seen South India or any part of it and, much less, Ceylon. Otherwise, they could never have given such fanciful descriptions of these two cities.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD :

That the poets were unfamiliar with the life in South India (Maharashtra, Mysore, Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Kerala) can also be inferred from the fact that only cremation and that too of a typically Aryan or Vedic type is vividly described (*Jaṭāyu*, Divanji, 1963.3.64.27 and *vāliā*, Mankad, 19654, 24.13-14), whereas we now definitely know that the prevalent custom of disposing of the dead in all these parts was burial—that too in a house in earthen pots or in a megalith. The later practice survived upto and during the Earlv Historic period in Tamil Nadu, but perhaps disappeared earlier further north. These megalithic monuments are so conspicuous an object and so widespread in South India that they could rarely by missed, though readers unacquainted with them would not appreciate this fact.

GOPURA-S :

There are frequent references to tall *gopura*-s, *śikhara*-s and *Vimana*-s in the descriptions of Ayodhyā and Laṅkā. If these refer to those of temples, then we have no extant remains of *gopura*-s and *śikhara*-s of a date earlier than the 4th-5th century A. D. and even these will be modest in size. Both

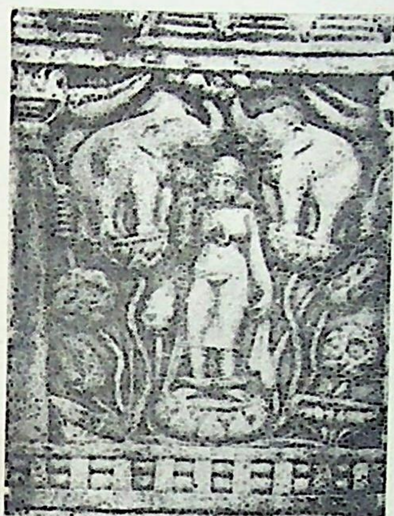


Fig. 3. Lakṣmī standing over a full blown lotus and bathed by two elephants. Scene depicted on the Sanchi and Bharhuta Stūpas C. 2nd century B.C. ←



Fig. 3.A Lakṣmī seated on a lotus, bathed by two elephants. Sanchi. C. 2nd-3rd century B.C. →

the *gopura*-s and *śikhara*-s begin to grow in size after this period and reach their first culmination in the 9th-10th century A, D. in South India, and the final culmination is reached in the 17th-18th century under the Nāyakas of Madura, when the latest *gopura*-s in India were built. The probability, therefore, is that the reference to *gopura*-s and *śikhara*-s in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is to Buddhist *stūpas* (though nowhere the *stūpas* are mentioned, but the *Caityas* are). This suggestion is made because the earliest well-dated reference to *gopura*-s and *śikhara*-s is in the Hathigumpha Cave Inscription of Kharavela (C.2nd-lst centurv B. C.—Sircar 1942. p. 209).

WINE AND WOMEN :

The Bacchanalian scene (Vaidya 1962, 2.85.11-77) in the Bhāradvāja Āśrama at the time of the reception of Bharata and his army[1] with the three widowed mothers could with a reasonableness be assigned to a period when Roman wine and women had entered Indlan life. This was so far known from references in the writings of Roman writers and Nakkirar, a Tamil poet, but now the Roman amphora has been found from several sites in India and even from the Buddhist monastery at Devnimori in Northern Gujarat (Mehta and Chaudhury, 1966). And it is to this lavish use of wine that one may ascribe the scenes of revelry depicted in the railings of Nagarjunakonda and Mathura and the descriptions of the harem of Rāvaṇa and other inhabitants (*Rākṣasa*-s) in Laṅkā (Jhala, 1966. 5.7.8.13.15).

PAÑCĀṄGA (INDIAN CALENDAR) :

Lastly, the details of the *Pañcāṅga* (Indian calendar) given so often in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and particularly those relating to the birth of Rāma and other sons of Daśaratha, which mention not only the *ṛtu* (season), *tithi* (lunar day) and the *nakṣatra* but also the name of the month and the day of the week, show that the existing editions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are not earlier than 484 A, D. when we get the First epigraphical reference to all these details (Sircar, 1942, p. 326), though it must be conceded that in the Critical Edition the verses giving all such details are omitted from the constituted text and given in the footnotes. Students of astronomy (*Jyotiṣa*) very well know that the present Indian Calendar has not grown in a day, nor was it used in the Vedic period. It has been considerably influenced by the

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1. Particularly notable are the sentiments of Bharata's soldiers who were so happy with wine, women and meat that they said "We shall not go to Ayodhyā, nor to the Daṇḍaka forest. Let Bharata be well and Rāma be happy". 2. 85. 55. All these 2000 years the army has not changed !!

Chaldean, Greek and Roman calendars and the stages in this growth can be demarcated.

Enough archaeological evidence is thus available to say that

(i) the present editions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, including the Critical Edition, are not earlier than the 5th century A. D. and in some cases they are considerably later.

(ii) the author/authors of these *Rāmāyaṇa*-s betray no true knowledge of South India.

(iii) the Laṅkā cannot be the island of Ceylon (though now renamed as Śri-Laṅkā) or any place in South-east Asia.

(iv) the picture of life given in these *Rāmāyaṇa*-s is true of North India between the lst-2nd centuries B. C.—and 5th century A. D.

What about the nucleus of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the original Laṅkā ?

There are clues in the *Rāmāyaṇa* which, if interpreted archaeologically, geographically and botanically, enable us to say that

(i) the story or the various incidents could have taken place in the present Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, the Chota Nagpur Plateau and the eastern Madhya Pradesh, as early as 1500 B. C. but not earlier, though the probability is between 1500 B, C. and 700 B. C. The reasons for this conclusion are very briefly as follows :

"The small but careful excavations at Kauśāmbī (Sharma 1960) Prahlādpur, Chirand (*IAR*, 1962-64 and Agrawal, 1971) Sonpur, Mahisdal, (*IAR* 1963-64.59, Agrawal, 1967) and Rajardhipi (Das Gupta, 1966) in U. P., Bihar and West Bengal respectively have revealed the existence about *circa* 200-1500 B. C. of a settled-way-of-life-people living in mud and bamboo/wooden huts, eating rice as well as mutton, beef, pork, venison and fish, manufacturing tools and weapons at first of stone and later on those of copper and bronze and burying the dead in houses.

(ii) there existed a culture in all these areas when more advanced tools and weapons of copper/bronze, such as swords, harpoons and axes, as well as fine wheel-made pottery, ordinarily red, but at times painted in black used to be manufactured. Unfortunately, the exact context neither of these tools/weapons nor of the pottery

is now available and so no fuller idea of the life of the people, who possessed these objects, can be had.

(iii) there is clear evidence at Mahisdal and Rajardhipi that these earlier cultures were destroyed/displaced by an iron-manufacturing people. The evidence from Chirand and Sonpur in Bihar is not conclusive but a change from the copper to iron technology is clear. Probably similar evidence can be had if sites iike Ayodhyā and Mithilā are dug. Here surface search has already yielded shreds of painted Grey Ware. And this characteristic pottery connects these sites with the chain of sites further westwards. If a speculation be permissible then one may visualise in these few archaeological remains the tribes and kings of various dynasties mentioned in the Vedic and Puranic literature and ruling in those days in Kośala, Videha and Aṅga. Though there are clues for a regular, chronological and technological development, yet these have to be substantiated by larger horizontal excavations, which alone will tell us definitely who the authors of these cultures were. Till then the inferences here made might hold good.

(iv) the so-called *Rākṣasa*-s and *Vānara*-s were the original innabitants-*ādivāsīs*—of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which is shared today by South Bihar, U. P., Orissa and Bengal. There are clear and unambiguous statements which call the *Vānara*-s and *Rākṣasa*-s as forest-dwellers (*Vanacaras*), the latter perhaps on a higher rung of the ladder of culture. Rāvaṇa tells Sītā that this (Daṇḍakāraṇya) is the home of the *Rāksasa*-s (*Rākṣasāṇām ayam nivāsaḥ*) (*Āraṇyakāṇḍa* 3.44 27.)

(v) Laṅkā was situated in the Vindhya forests and hills. In "Mundarī" the word Laṅkā means "distant", very far away; "any distant country beyond the seas." (Bhaduri, 1931, p. 102). Further, Dhur (ordinary) Gonds are known as Rāvaṇa-Vaṁśīs. And they attach no opprobrium to the name and fully accept it." (Iyer, 1940., p. 18). Careful and very intelligent reading of the *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa* had already led Paramasiva Iyer to Locate Laṅkā on Indrana Hill, about 8 miles east of Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. Similar were the views also of three or four other scholars who had critically studied the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. This evidence is briefly as follows : (Mankad, 1965,4.58.13-82).

Supārśva, Sampāti's son, was waiting on the edge of a hill overlooking a lake (*sāgara*). [It is interesting to note that a fifth century inscription from this region calls a similar lake "miniature sea" (*bālasamudra*)]. The place where Supārśva was sitting has been called as the entrance to Mahendra hill (*Mahendra-dvāra*). It was evening, when there came there a dark or black person (*bhinnañjanacayopama*)[1] carrying a very fair woman (*sūryodayasamaprabhā*) in his arms. He requestsd the former to give him way (as Supārśva was guarding the narrow passage). The request was so courteously made that Supārśva had to yield. He later learnt that the black man was Rāvaṇa and the woman in his arms was Sītā. Here then is the truth. Rāvaṇa is still held in esteem by the Mundas and other aboriginal tribes in Eastern Madhya Pradesh.

To this identification of Laṅkā by Paramasiva Iyer, (Iyer, 1940), I would add very important botanical data.

Rāma (and Lakṣmaṇa) invariably used the bow and the arrow, and occasionally the sword, but never any other weapons (except the *astras* with the help of *mantras*). But the *Rākṣasa*-s fought besides these weapons, with *Śāla* trees as well. These trees and stones were the main weapons of the *Vānara*-s. They never used the bow and the arrow or the sword, Their frequent use of the *Śāla* trees not only shows their normal way of life, but also their habitat. The *Śāla* (*Shorea robusta*) today grows on the Amarkantak plateau, Chota Nagpur and Assam, but not in Maharashtra, South India or Ceylon. In the South, as pointed out above, a different species of *Śāla* grows, but the *Śāla* itself is scarce. Thus, we can legitimately use this evidence for locating not only the habitat of the *Rākṣasa*-s and *Vānara*-s, but also the position of Laṅkā, whtch was even previously traced to this region.

One more evidence which would clinch the issue. After the rampage caused by Hanumān in Laṅkā, Indrajit (Rāvaṇa's eldest son) alone was able to subdue him with the help of *Brahmāstra*. This is an invisible weapon which works with the help of *mantra-s*. Poor *Rākṣasa*-s could not grasp its strength and efficacy, and tried to secure Hanumān more firmly with ropes of jute (*Śaṇa*) and strands of bark (*cīra* and *valkala*) *!!*

This is the only reference to *Śaṇa*. *Śaṇa* ordinarily means a kind of hemp *Cannabis Sativa* or *Cristolaria Juncea* MW. 1048) but it might also

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1. Variant readings are *Nīlāmbudacayopama* and *Nīlāñjancayopama*, 4. 58. 15 (p. 357).

stand for jute. If so, it would indicate in no uncertain way where we should search for the original Laṅkā. It will be no doubt in a region where *Śaṇa* grows. This again takes us to Easterm India—the Chota Nagpur plateau. I have seen the small and large, red and yellow jute fields. The use of strands of bark again point out unmistakably that the original Laṅkā was in a forest.

When the abode of the *Vānara*-s and *Rākṣasa*-s is thus located in the eastern Vindhya forests we can well understand the argument of Rāma (Mankad, 1965, 4.18.6.39) who, when accused by Vāli of wrongly or illegally killing him (Vāli) when he was not a combatant, says, "All this land belongs to the Ikṣvākus and it is my duty to punish the perpetrator of *adharma*" viz. the kidnapping of Sugrīva's wife Rūmā by Vāli.

This land, south of the Gaṅgā, now falling in Chota Nagpur plateau and Madhya Pradesh, must have formed a part of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. We can thus visuslize a compact geographical area where the scene/story of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* took place. This would be ancient Videha, and the entire Kośala, corresponding to the modern states of Bihar, southern U. P. and eastern M. P. Though we have no archaeological evidence about the identity of the rulers of these states, these should be the traditional dynasties which historically can be placed here about the time of Buddha, 64h century B. C. It is on this framework reconstructed with the help of archaeology and an objective interpretation of *Rāmāyaṇa* that a beginning can be made for determining the nucleus and locale of the original *Rāmāyaṇa*.

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NATURE OF RELGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

Dr. S. P. Singh

ALIGARH

Religious knowledge is fundamentally the inner psychic experience of solitary individuals. The Buddha attains his enlightenment after meditating within himself in complete seclusion for no less than six years. Christ's early life is one of retreat and seclusion at the end of which he enters the society with the irresistible vision of the kingdom of God. Muhammad is blessed with his revelation and listens to the words of God only after he visits the Hera hill secretly for several years. Occurrence of enlightenment, vision or revelation in seclusion and after long meditation, contemplation and even ecstatic experience suggest the psychic origin of religious knowledge. In this respect it is just in contrast with scientific knowledge which is based on sense impressions, conceptualized and systematized in the form of certain theories.

It is true that the authors of religious knowledge, prior to going to seclusion, were not completely immune to sense impressions and concepts. On the contrary, it is evidently true that almost all of them were fully aware of their times and the problems facing their people. They took to seclusion usually with a view to finding out solutions of those problems. In this respect their cases seem to be similar to that of the scientist undergoing the stage of incubation, after collecting his data, with a view to forming a definite hypothesis.

But apart from this apparent similarity, both the cases differ from each other in essentials. For, in the first place, whereas the scientist's hypothesis is a consciously or unconsciously worked out mental construct seeking to be corroborated by physical facts, the object of enlightenment, vision or revelation of the seeker of religious knowledge is a positive reality existing independently of his mind. Secondly, whereas the scientist's hypothesis is a working device always liable to be modified, changed and even discarded, the religious knowledge comes with a sense of finality. Moreover, it is expected to solve not only a particular problem of a particular individual or a social group but of all individuals whether separately or collectively. Thus, it is neighter a hypothesis nor a theory

but is supposed to be the original source of all theories as well as facts sought to be explained by them.

Dīrghatamas, a Ṛgvedic seer, puts the content of his realization in the most private and greatest moment of inquiry as an unspecified entity constituting the essence of all gods and spoken of variously by seers.[1] The Upaniṣadic seer describes it as something beyond the scope of conceptualization and description. The Buddha puts it as the supreme mystery different from existence, non-existence, both and neither, and expressible only through complete silence. Christ points out towards it as a unique reality known only to himself. Muhammad puts it as one God, unapproachable, inexpressible and unknowable.

These accounts, with all the diversity in their mode of presentation, almost unanimously suggest at least this much that the content of supreme realization of a religious aspirant is something unique, imperceptible, beyond conceptualization and yet most satisfying and fulfilling in its effect. But, why is it not conceivable and describable? In this respect what seems to be likely is this. Description always requires separateness of the object of description from the describer. Indescribability of the content of the supreme religious realization may, therefore, imply essential identity of the knower with the content of his knowedge. This idea is suggested in the *Upaniṣad* by the simile of the eye. The eye sees everything but cannot see itself, maintains the *Upaniṣad*; because here the seer and the object of seeing are identical. The content of the supreme religious realization cannot be known and much less be described in its essence; because, according to this logic, it is one with our knowledge and ourselves.

The doctrine of identity of the content of supreme realization with the self of the seer is put in the *Upaniṣad*-s in the form of what are called great sentences : "Thou are that," "I am Brahman," "This self is Brahman," "Supreme Knowledge is Brahman."

The Buddha's teaching also leads eventually to the same conclusion. The central teaching of the Buddha, according to Ānanda, is the doctrine of the three *Khandhas* : *Śīlakhandha*, *Samādhikhandha* and *Paññyānakhandha*. Through the practice of the fist *Khandha* the aspirant gets rid of wordly bonds and returns to himself. Practice of the *Samādhikhandha* results in complete purification of the inner organ of knowledge of all its wordly

1. *Ṛgveda*, I. 164 46.

impression. The final step leads to complete elimination of the sense of desire, the sense of being and the sense of ignorance with the result that the aspirant attains to *Nirvāṇa* within himself[1]. If *Nirvāṇa* is the ultimate reality, it is attained, according to the Buddha, by elimination of all foreign elements from the inner being and consequently by coming to its own.

The same seems to be fundamentally true of Christianity also. Christ, at one place, laments that he is not understood because he has come in the name of his Father; if another person were to come in his own name, he might be understood.[2] This suggests the difficulties involved in the appreciation of the knowledge by identity. Elsewhere he observes : "He, that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him."[3] In this and similar allegories Christ evidently refers to himself as the supreme knowledge of God which is zealously sought to be shared with others. It is probably in this sense that he observes : "The Father is in me, and I in him." Finally, he discloses his identity with the content of his supreme realization when he observes; "My Father and I are one."[4] The Christian doctrine of trinity of Father, Son and the Holy Spirit also points out to the same fact. According to this doctrine, all the three are essentially one, Christ representing the knowledge, and the Holy Spirit the Love of God. Christ is evidently a historical person. If in theology he is supposed to represent the knowledge-aspect of God, it is explicable rationally only on the suppositionn that he realized God by identifying himself with Him. In fact, inner realization of seers and prophets are given concrete shape in the form of theological entities and sometimes philosophical principles.

Knowledge consists in participation of the knower with the object of knowledge. In case of the external world, the participation takes place at the sensory, perceptual and conceptual levels. What we know about an object in the world is, in the final analysis, only our own sensation, percept and concept which are our own versions of the exterior divulgence of the object concerned reaching us through the atmospheric medium. The sense-impression, the percept and the concept become representations or symbols of objects. Objective knowledge, whether common sense or scientific, is thus, symbolic in its nature. It is, therefore, mediate, formal and incomplete.

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1. *Dighanikāya,, Subhasutta*, 23; 37.
2. *The Bible*, St. John, 5.43.
3. *Ibid.*, 6.56.
4. *Idid.*, 11.38.

But, when the participation culminates in identity, it results in immediate, essential and complete knowledge. This is what is called religious knowledge. It is the "*prajñānam Brahma*".of the *Upaniṣad*, "*adhyātma-vidyā*" of the *Bhagavadgīta*, final silence of the Buddha and the outcome of Socrates' "know thyself."

There may be discerned two steps in mediate knowledge : symbolic and actual. Mediate knowledge, such as the scientific, begins with symbols seeking to translate themselves into the actuality. It is originally mathematical symbols, which, for example, get translated into engines, machines and all technological developments. Over and above this, in immediate knowledge, such as the religious, we may discern three steps : essential, symbolic and actual. Essential knowledge is the knoweldge by identity. In this state the seeker is supposed to know not only a representation of the reality but the reality itself. Expression of this essential knowledge requires it to be rendered into symbols. These symbols are drawn from what is the reality to the scientist, i. e. the world. Thus, for example, time, space and universal causation are the most prominent and basic symbols utilized by men of religion for symbolizing the content of their most integral experience. It is why Brahman, God and Allah all alike are put as eternal and all-pervading universal creation.

It is due to the inevitable use of symbols at the intermediate stage that there come in all sorts of differences from religion to religion. Symbol, when materialized, becomes fixed in a particular meaning and leaves little scope for divergence of views. Conversely, when the reality is symbolized, it is likely to be viewed differently from different angles. The former applies to the scientific and the latter to the religious knowledge. In science, there may be some difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of a particular phenomenon on the theoretical level. But, as soon as a particular theory gets verified in actuality all differences vanish immediately at least for some time. But the case of religion is quite different. Almost all the great religious seekers seem to have reached unanimously a reality which lies beyond the phenomenal world, is ineffable and inexpressible and is realized as the ultimate substratum of the universe. But, when expressed through symbols, this common reality assumes considerably different forms from religion to religion. The same reality has been described as the supernal light in the *Upaniṣad*-s, the final silence and *Nirvāṇa* in Buddhism, the Father of Christ in Christianity, and the one God sitting in judgement on the doomsday in Islam. If Light, Silence,

Fatherhood, Judgeship and allied symbols were kept apart, the remainder is likely to be the same for all the religions. But the continuance of symbolic forms seems to be an inevitable necessity of the followers who normally cannot grasp the spiritual content without the aid of symbols. It is, however, imperative that symbols be treated as such and not as the reality itself.

It is at the third stage that religious knowledge tends to get its symbols rendered into actuality. The individual and the society are the actualities of the man of religion. He, therefore, proceeds to model each individual as well as the whole society available to him after the pattern of his divine symbols. And no less gusto is shown by him in this act of actualization than in the original effort in acquiring the knowledge. By way of this, greatest possible sacrifices have been made by seers, prophets and their followers. Buddha's moving from door to door throughout the major parts of India for no less than forty five years, Christs' making supreme sacrifice and Muhammad's undergoing tremendous hardships bear testimony to the indomitable urge, a religious teacher feels for making his vision an actuality.

Thus we see that religious knowledge has developed a certain method for its acquisition, undergoes a certain process of symbolization and seeks to actualize itself in the life of individual and the society in a certain manner. And yet, as a system of knowledge it suffers from incoherence, inconsistencies, frivolities and strife leading sometimes to mutual fightings and even wars. Why all this in religion? If our foregoing analysis has got any bearing on this question, we may attribute all evils of the religious knowledge to its middle stage of symbolic forms. Unlike mathematical symbols, which are precise due to the well defined nature of the value they represent, religious symbols, owing to the metaphysical character of the principles or entities they symbolize, lack in precision. Their lack of precision permits variability in their interpretation. Hence, all sorts of differences and quarrels. Since religion deals with the individual and the society most integrally, one's whole being is involved in a religious controversy. Hence, his endeavour to uphold his article of faith with all tooth and nail. If one were, therefore, made aware of the fact that the entire medium of expression of religious knowledge is out and out symbolic and that its whole symbolism, by its very nature, is variable in its connotation, one would overcome petty differences found from religion to religion and would naturally emphasise upon the core and not the outer crust which is the source of all the evil.

It is on this line that we can also identify the real cause behind the so-called confrontation between religion and science. As has already been pointed out, a successful seeker after religious knowledge puts his vision before the society in the garb of different worldly objects, principles and theories as are available and known to him. Thus, his symbolic form is constituted, on the one hand, by worldly objects and, on the other, by accepted truths of all the disciplines of knowledge available to him including science. For, with regard to these truths the religious teacher has to satisfy himself with the state of knowledge reached at in his age. If a certain religious teacher is found to have made a wrong statement about a certain historical or physical fact, judging by modern canons, it is to be taken that he has done so simply because of his following the historical or scientific views of his own time which must have been incomplete. His adopting a wrong historical or scientific theory fort he sake of a certain symbolic form does not, however, impair the validity of his spiritual knowledge in essentials. If the same man with the same spiritual knowledge were born in modern times, he would most probably have presented his same doctrine in the garb of contemporary scientific theories, provided he had been aware of them. But this also would not have helped him for ever. For, in course of time with invalidation of the theories utilized by him, he would again be subjected to the ridicule of the future generation. Thus, it is too much on our part to expect a single religious teacher to hold good for ever in matter of all sorts of knowledge. On the contrary, what is required is that the religious knowledge, in spite of its constancy in essentials, needs be formulated and reformulated in its symbolic form in the light of advancements in different branches of knowledge from time to time.

DHARMAKĪRTI AND ĪŚVARASIDDHI : A REVIEW

Karunesha Shukla

GORAKHPUR

I

1. In the domain of Indian Philosophical speculation, the Buddhist doctrine of universal flux[1] as governed by the principle of causation enunciated in the form of the relative theory of dependent origination or *Pratītya Samutpāda* is conceived as related to the Buddhist doctrines of non-eternalism (*anityatva*) and non-intrinsic character of the phenomenal objects.

As a corrolary to this doctrine of relative and dependent origination in relation to the *svabhāva-śūnyatā* and the *dharma-śūnyatā* doctrines expounded in the *Mahāyāna Sūtras* and the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, the Buddhist philosophers propound the momentary existence of objects and refute any conception of permanent entity (*sthira sattā*). Any permanent entity related to the worldly phenomenon is, therefore, an illusion from the Buddhist view-point.[2]

2. In the orthodox Brahmanic systems the existence of a permanent eternal entity is maintained which is conceived as *Īśvara*. Though its pragmatic existence is not denied in the form of immanent Reality, its all-pervasive character is neither questioned nor refuted. Taking the clue from the Upaniṣadic assertions where the grace and the effulgence of the Supreme Being is said to pervade the entire existence in the universe[3], it has also been regarded as the main source of worldly creation[4], as immanent in the world in the form of *antaryāmin*[5] and the prime source of the manifestation

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1. For a lucid elaboration of this doctrine vide, *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* of Ratnakīrti, *RKN*, pp. 62-88; *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* of Jñānaśrīmitra, *JMN*, p. 1Sq.; S. Mukherjee: *Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, (Calcutta University Publication).
2. Cp. एतासु पञ्चस्ववभासनीषु प्रत्यक्षबोधे स्फटमङ्गुलीषु ।
   साधारणं रूपमवेक्षते यः शृङ्गं शिरस्यात्मन ईक्षते सः ॥
   (quoted in the *SDS Comm.* of Mm.Pt. Vāsudeva Śāstrī Abhyaṅkara, p. 28).
3. Cp. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad, tasya bhāsā sarvam idaṁ vibhāti.*
4. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, III.1 : *yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante, yena jātāni jīvanti, yat prayanty abhisaṁviśanti. tad viddhi tad brahma.*
5. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad—yo apsu tiṣṭhan apo yamayati.*

of the Vedas[1], these systems whose view-point is apparently pragmatic[2], conceive *Īśvara* on exclusive patterns such as (a) the author of the Vedas[3], (b) Creator of the universe[4], (c) Omniscient, and (d) the *vyavasthāpaka* of the actions, their fruits and the *dharmādharma* in the form of the *adṛṣṭa* of the worldly beings.[5] Udayanācārya, the great exponent of the *Īsvaravāda* (in the 9th century A.D.) in the Nyāya system, puts this view-point while citing the proofs for the existence of *Īśvara* in the following verses :

सापेक्षत्वादनित्यत्वाद् वैचित्र्याद् विश्ववृत्तितः ।
प्रत्यात्मनियमाद् मुक्तेरस्ति हेतुरलौकिकः ।।
कार्यायोजनधृत्यादेः पदात् प्रत्ययतः श्रुतेः ।
वाक्यात् सङ्ख्याविशेषात् साध्यो विश्वविदव्ययः ।।

(*Nyāya-Kusumāñjali*, I. 4; V. 1.)

II

3. Before Dharmakīrti, we find several stray references in early Buddhist literature which point out towards the untenability of the *Īśvara*-doctrine. The *Pāli Tripiṭaka*-s at several places point out that this visible world (*loka*) is not a creation of the Supreme Godhead (*Īśvara*) and that there is no Supra-physical entity in the form of *Brahmā* etc.[6] Similar assertions are found in the *Mahāyāna Sūtras* also.[7] At the beginning of the *Akutobhayā*, the auto-commentary on his *Mādhyamika Kārikā*-s, Nāgārujna, also points out that the universe is neither created by *Īśvara*, constituted by atoms, nor manifested from the Primordial *Prakṛti*.[8] Buddhapālita, Bhavya and Candrakīrti along with Āryadeva elucidate and elaborate the same view-point. Āryadeva devotes one full chapter of the refutation of *nitya* or

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1. *Muṇḍaka Upa.* : वागिववृताश्च वेदाः, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upa.* : अरे वास्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितं यदेतदृग्वेद........।
2. These systems are *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* systems.
3. Cp. *V.S.* I. 1.2. : तद् वचनादाम्नायस्य प्रामाण्यम् ।
4. Cp. *N.S.* IV. 1.19-21 : ईश्वरः कारणं कर्माफल्यदर्शनात् ।
   न, पुरुषकर्माभावे फलानिष्पत्तेः । तत्कारितत्वादहेतुः ।
   Vide *N.B.* with *Khodyota*, Pp. 249-53; Intro. p.6: *Nyāya Vārttika*, p. 470; *NVTT*, p.601.
5. *N.B.* IV. 1.19 sq.
6. Vide *Dīgha Nikāya*, I. 198 sq; *MN*, III. 281 sq.
7. e. g. *Śālistamba Sūtra, Mahāyāna Sūtra Saṅgraha* Vol. I. p.101 sq.
8. *Akutobhayā*, (Sanskrit rendering by Smt. Indu Datar, Bombay University Unpub. thesis, 1948—*Nāgārjuna's Philosophy of Causality*), I. 1-2.

Eternal *padārtha*-s.[1] Likewise, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, their commentators and followers too share the same view and state that there is no *ātman* or *Īśvara*. Everything emerges as a result of conglomeration of causes and their conditioning factors. Causality with regard to Phenomenality rests with the twelve links of *Pratītya-Samutpāda* or their counterpart in the vast worldly phenomena.[2]

III

4. Though the idea of *Īśvara-aprāmāṇya* is found in its seed-form in the works of early Buddhist thinkers, Dharmakīrti, who presented it in a logical way, was the first exponent of the Buddhists' viewpoint. Though he does not discuss this point at length in his *Pramāṇa Vārttikam*, the discussion that he has provided in this work clarifies the whole problem in a succinct way. We shall examine here the main arguments put forth by Dharmakīrti to establish the (i) non-authoritativeness (*aprāmāṇya*,[3] and (ii) the elimination of divine causality as conceived by the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* system.[4]

5. Dharmakīrti first puts forth the view that anything that is held to be eternal or non-eternal cannot be valid or be considered to be an authority.[5] He consequently refers to the Middle Path preached by the Buddha and

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1. *CŚ*, Ch. IX.
2. Cp. *AK* with *Bhāṣya* and *Sphuṭārthā*,

   नात्मास्ति स्कन्धमात्रन्तु क्लेशकर्माभिसंस्कृतम् ।
   अन्तराभवसन्तत्या कुक्षिमेति प्रदीपवत् ॥ III. 18 ॥

   Vide also *AK*, III. 19-20; *AKB*, pp. 129-30.
3. *Pramāṇa Vārattikaṁ*, I. 3.1, p.32 sq.
4. *Ibid.* pp.35-39, I. 3.2; the *Nyāya Vaiṣeṣika* viewpoint has been summarised by Udyotakara, *Nyāya-Vārtt ikaṁ*, p.470; बुद्धिमत्कारणाधिष्ठितानि स्वासु स्वासु धारणादिक्रियासु महाभूतानि वाय्वन्तानि प्रवर्तन्ते अचेतनत्वाद् वास्यादिवत् ।

   Vācaspati also remarks, *NVTT*, p.601 :

   सन्निवेशादिमत्सर्वं बुद्धिमद्धेतुषं यद्यपि ।
   प्रसिध्येत्सन्निवेशविशेषादेरेककारणता कुतः ॥
5. नित्यं प्रमाणन्नैवास्ति प्रामाण्याद् वस्तुसङ्गतेः ।
   ज्ञेया नित्यतया तस्या अध्रौव्यात् क्रमजन्मनः ॥ *PV*, II.8 (p.32)

accepted by the later Buddhist tradition which holds[1] that nothing of the kind of *Śāśvata* and *uccheda* can be taken to be useful and valid.

Accordihg to Dharmakīrti, a thing capable of production of some sort (*arthakriyāsamartha*) is transcendentally real (*paramārthasat*).[2] The *Paramārthasat* is self-discriminatory (*Sva-lakṣaṇa*), discrete and unique, momentary and in the state of flux, while the *saṁvṛti sat* is *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*. The *Sāmānya lakṣaṇa*, according to Buddhists, is not capable of producing any thing. Everything consists of moments, is in the state of flux (*Santāna*) is *Svalakṣaṇa* and *arthakriyāsamartha*.[3]

An eternal thing cannot be defined in terms of flux and *arthakriyāsāmarthya*. Dharmakīrti clearly states that no eternal object can be regarded as valid, as everything met with in our experience is in the state of flux and anything held to be valid should be in consonance with the things known through it.[4] Therefore, eternal entities in any form cannot be taken to be *pramāṇa*.[5] The eternal cannot produce anything like *Ākāśa*. If it produces things in one form, it should always produce effects as it remains unchanged. Even the *Sahakārin* cannot be held as the causal factor of produced effects. A *nitya padārtha*, which remains unchanged, cannot meet our requirements. Anything having some utility for the people can be

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1. Cp. *MK*, XV. 10 :
अस्तीति शाश्वतग्राहो नास्तीत्युच्छेददर्शनम् ।
तस्मादस्तित्वनास्तित्वे नाश्रीयेत लिचक्षणः ।।

2. *PV*, III.3 (p.175) :
अर्थक्रियासमर्थं यत्तदत्र परमार्थसत् ।
अन्यत्संवृतिसत्प्रोक्तन्ते स्वसमान्यलक्षणे ।।
Cp. also, *JMN*. p.1.
यत्सत्तत्क्षणिकं यथा जलधरः सन्तश्च भावा अमी
सत्ता शक्तिरिहार्थकर्मणि मितेः सिद्धेषु सिद्धा न सा ।
नाप्येकैव विधान्यथा परकृतेनापि क्रियादिर्भवेद्
द्वेधापि क्षणभङ्गसङ्गतिरतः साध्ये च विश्राम्यति ।।
(also quoted in *SDS*, II, p.26).

3. Cp. अर्थक्रियाकारित्वं सत्त्वम् ।

4. Cp. *PV*, II.9-ab : नित्यादुत्पत्तिविश्लेषादपेक्षाया अयोगत : ।

5. Cp. *PVB*, p.33 : यद्यपि ज्ञानं ज्ञेयनित्यतया न नित्यं यस्तु ज्ञाता स नित्यः । न चान्यस्यानित्यत्वेऽन्यस्यापि तदिति युक्तमुच्यते । क्रमजन्मनो ज्ञानस्य ज्ञेयानित्यत्वेन—नित्यादुत्पत्तिविश्लेषात्, नित्यादुत्पत्तेरयोगात् ।

regarded as *pramāṇa*.[1] Nothing becomes valid on account of its very existence.[2]

The *anitya padārtha*-s too cannot be *pramāṇa* as these cannot be *upakārya*.[3]

Therefore, whether *Īśvara* is conceived as *nitya* or as *anitya*, it cannot be *pramāṇa* for pragmatic experiences.

6. If activity with pause (*sthitvā pravṛttiḥ*), its system (*saṁsthāna*), the particular *arthakriyā* and the like are taken as the factors leading to the manifestation of effects, then too the same cannot be regarded as *samyag-hetus*. But even if these are regarded as *samyag-hetu*, then by this *hetu* only the *iṣṭasiddhi* is achieved, only the thing already proved is proved and not the *sādhya*. *Siddha* cannot be *pakṣa*. *Pakṣa* is always *asiddha*. Logical arguments are always meant for proving the *sādhya*.[4]

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1. नित्यं व्यापि चाकाशकल्पं न कस्यचित् कारणमिति प्रतिपादितम् । तेनैव स्वरूपेण यदि जनयेद् विशेषाभावात् । विशेषे चानित्यत्वम् ।

अथाविशेषेऽपि सहकारिभावाभ्यां कार्यस्य क्रम इति चेत् । न । अपेक्षाया उपयोगात् । यदि सहकारिणामेवान्वयव्यतिरेकित्वं तेषामेव कारणत्वमिति न युक्तम् । अपेक्षमाणस्य तदितरावस्थयोर्विशेषाभावात् । अपेक्षकत्वं न प्रतीयते स्वयमपरेण वेति वचनमात्राद्यदि परमेतत् प्रत्येयम् । अत एवाह । अपेक्षाया अयोगतः । नित्यं हि सदैकरूपमपेक्षमाणेनोपकर्त्तुं न शक्यम् । न हि तत्रानुपकारिणस्तेनापेक्ष्यताम् *PVB*, pp.33-34.

Cp. यथा यत्कारणं वस्तु तथैव तदकारणम् ।
यदा तत् कारणं मतं केन मतं नेष्टमकारणम् ॥
PV, II.22: vide *PVB*, p.48.

2. Cp. सत्त्वस्नेहेन करुणया च देशनासम्भवात् प्रमाणन्तद् भवति लोकस्य ।
न स्वरूपसत्तामात्रात् । (Prima facie view, *ibid.*, loc. cit.)
PV, II. 9.

3. कथञ्चिन्नोपकार्यत्वादनित्येऽप्यप्रमाणता ।
PVB, p·34—अनित्येऽपीश्वरे नास्ति प्रमाणता । न तत् प्रमाणं । कुतटतत् । कथञ्चिन्नोपकार्यत्वात् । यो हि कथञ्चित् केनचिदुपक्रियते उपहन्यते वा तस्य रागाद्यनुभवे रागदिप्रतिपक्षावबोधादिसम्भवे तद्देशना ।

4. स्थित्वा प्रवृत्तिसंस्थानविशेषार्थक्रियादिषु ।
इष्टसिद्धिरसिद्धिर्वा दृष्टान्ते संशयोऽथवा ॥
PV, II. 10.
य एते कार्यहेतुत्वेनाभिमताः स्थित्वा प्रवृत्यादयो नैते सम्यग्हेतवः । यत एषु सत्स्वपीष्टस्यैव सिद्धिः सिद्धसाधनम् । न च सिद्धः पक्षो भवतीति । असिद्धस्य पक्षत्वात् यत्र हि विवादस्तत्साधनाय साधनोपन्यासो युक्तः ।........................ *PVB*, p. 35.

In this context, those who maintain that actions are impelled by an omniscient and omnipresent conscious being, employ the said logic only to prove the *karma* which is regarded also to be of the nature of *cetanā*.[1] Going into the depth of this question, it seems probable that *Īśvara* cannot be taken as the inspiring force through which worldly beings are impelled to work. We can infer *Īśvara* as the impelling force for actions for their being not directed against the desired end. But the Buddhist viewpoint is that actions are either in the nature of *cetanā* or in that of *cetayitvā*[2] and that they in their performance need no impeller or source of inspiration.[3]

Moreover, if *Īśvara* be regarded as the impeller of human beings, then some other conscious force should have to be conceived from which *Īśvara* should get inspiration and that too, in its turn, should get inspiration from some other force. This will lead to the fallacy of infinite regress (*anavasthā doṣa*).[4] Therefore, this argument of the Realist too cannot be held as reasonable and valid.

7. As to the argument that being compassionate towards them, *Īśvara* impells all human beings to activity and imparts them the fruits of their good and bad deeds, Dharmakīrti's view has been elucidated by his commentator Prajñākara. He states that if it is said that *Īśvava* is the main factor leading to the experience of the fruits of various actions of human beings, then being compassionate, he should give them the fruits of only good deeds and not those of bad ones. If *Īśvara* is supposed not to impart the fruits of bad actions, then who else should be held responsible for the fruition of bad deeds ?[5]

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1. Vide, *PVB*, p.36; *AK* with *Bhāṣya* and *Sphuṭārthā*, IV. 1 .
कर्म्मजं लोकवैचित्र्यं चेतनातत्कृतञ्च तत् ।
2. चेतना चेतयित्वा च द्विविधं कर्मोक्तं परमर्षिणा ।
MK, XVII. 1. ab.
3. Vide, *PVB*, Vārttika. 251-258 :
यदि हि सर्व्वस्य कर्त्तासाविति प्रसिध्यति परमेश्वरस्तदास्य स्यात् सर्वज्ञता नान्यथा । सर्वज्ञतायाञ्च प्रेरकत्वमन्यथा तस्याप्यपरः प्रेरक इति सैवानवस्था । किञ्च । यद्यसौ सर्व्वज्ञः किमज्ञं जनमसद्व्यवहारे प्रवर्त्तयति । विवेकवन्तो हि सदुपदेशदायिनो दृष्टाः । स तु विपर्ययप्रवृत्तमपि जनं जनयति । तत्कथं प्रमाणम् ।
4. *PVB*, p. 37.
5. *PVB*, 256 sq : नेश्वरेण कृतं सर्व्वमिति वक्तव्यमुच्चकैः ।
पापवत्स्वार्थकारित्वाद्धर्मादिरपि किन्ततः ।। २५८ ।।
अधर्मस्य फलं भुङ्क्ते लोकः किं नेश्वरादिना ।
विनापि यदि कस्तस्य कारणत्वं प्रकल्पयेत् ।।
अथ तस्माद्विना धर्मफलं भुङ्क्ते न कश्चन ।
प्रेक्षावान् कथमेतस्मिन् प्रवर्त्तेत निरर्थके ।। २६० ।।
क्रीडार्थी तस्य वृत्तिश्चेत् प्रेक्षापर्वक्रिया कुतः ।
एकस्य क्षणिका तृप्तिरन्यः प्राणैर्वियुज्यते ।। २६१ ।।

8. If *Īśvara* is conceived as the efficient cause (*nimitta kāraṇa*) of this phenomenal world, then too, if the material cause in the form of seed and the like does not have potentiality of producing the effect in the form of sprout and the like, how can that potentiality be introduced into the effect if it is not present in it antecedently. If *Īśvara* is the creator of the effect, then the latter should come out also of nothing; because if it can be produced by an ommipresent, omniscient and omnipotent *Īśvara*, it can come out of void also. But it does not. Therefore, *Īśvara* cannot be regarded as the creator and the efficient cause of worldly objects produced out of their material causes and the respective conditioning factors.[1]

9. Moreover, if some worldly being in the form of potter etc. is regarded as the efficient cause of effects, then too, *Īśvara* cannot be held responsible for the production of effects. Because, if the potter is not engaged in activity, the jar cannot come into existence. From the Buddhists' view-point it would be very absurd to maintain that *Īśvara* imparts intelligence to the potter and other worldly beings in the production of effects.[2] It is only the *kriyā* of the potter etc. which is responsible for the production of effects, such as jar and the like. If *Īśvara* is responsible for the inspiration and the intelligence imparted to the potter, then, as pointed out earlier, some other inspiring force will have to be conceived from which *Īśvara* would get inspiration and so forth.[3] In the end, it would again lead to the fallacy of *infinitum ad absurdum* (*anavasthā*).

Dharmakīrti openly condemns and refutes at length the Brahmanic conception of the authority of the Vedas and *Īśvara*'s authorship of the Vedas. He particularly criticises the *Mīmāṁsaka* view of the impersonal origin (*apauruṣeyatva*) of the Vedas on the ground that if *apauruṣeyatva* is maintained on account of *asmṛti* regarding the authors then the ground is entirely untenable.[4] If *Śruti* enjoins or forbids any thing wihich is

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1. *PVB*, pp. 37-38.
2. *PVB*. pp. 37-38 verses 268-70 and elsewhere.
3. जानानोऽपि कुलालादिः प्रेर्यमाणो यदि क्षमः ।
   ईश्वरोऽपि तथान्येन प्रेर्यः स्यादविशेषतः ॥ *PVB*, verse 271, p. 37!

   Dharmakīrti concludes :
   तस्मात पृथगशक्तेषु येषु सम्भाव्यते गुणः ।
   संहतौ हेतुता तेषां नेश्वरादेरभेदतः ॥ *PV*, II. 2911.

4. Cp. अपौरुषेयतापीष्टा कर्तॄणामस्मृतेः किल ।
   सन्त्यस्याप्यनुवक्तार इति धिग् व्यापकं तमः ॥
   (*PV*, quoted by Rāhulaji, Intro. to PV, p.'*ja*'.)
   also, वेदबाधा, *PV*, p. 532 sq. (शब्दाप्रामाण्यचिन्ता)

pramāṇasiddha, it should not be taken as an authority[1]. A detailed elucidation of this point was later on presented by Prajñākara[2], Śāntarakṣita[3] and others[4] who establish the *pauruṣeyatva*, the *śabdānityatva*, the *vākyānityatva* and refute the *svataḥ-prāmāṇya-vāda* doctrine of the Mīmāṁsakas. In the present context, when *Īśvra*'s vèry existence is questioned, the divine origin of the Vedas stands itself refuted.

11. In the similar way, after refuting the omniscience of the Supreme Being (*Īśvara*)[5], Dharmakīrti speaks of the compassion and the *sarvajñatva* of the Buddha or the Enlightened One whose omniscience is universally accepted in the Buddhist tradition and who has been referred to therein as *tāyin*, i.e. one who establishes the Four Noble Truths.[6] Later on, Ratnakīrti[7] and other authorities detailed this Buddhistic conception of omniscience and refuted the Brahmanic concept of omniscient *Īśvara*.

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1. उक्तञ्च नागमापेक्षमनुमानं स्वगोचरे ।
   सिद्धं तेन सुसिद्धन्तन्न तदा शास्त्रमीक्ष्यते ।।
   रिक्तस्य जन्तोर्जातस्य गुणदोषमपश्यतः ।
   विलब्धा वत केनामी सिद्धान्तविषमग्रहाः ।।
   PV, IV. 49,54. pp. 504,506.
   Cp. *PVB*, p. 529 (IV. 173).
   प्रमाणसिद्धं शास्त्रेण नापनेतुं हि शक्यते ।
   बाधितत्वात् प्रमाणेन प्रामाण्यविनिवृत्तितः ।।
2. *PVB* ad *PV* cited above.
3. *Tattva-Saṅgraha*, *Śruti-Parīkṣā*, 2084-2809.
4. e. g. Kalyāṇarakṣita. श्रुतिपरीक्षा, This work is not extant in its Sanskrit origina but it is preserved in Tibetan Translations.
5. Vide, Supra, fn. 30-31.
6. शास्त्रत्वाद् भगवान् प्रमाणम् ।
   Cp. निष्पन्नकरुणोत्कर्षः परदुःखाक्षमेरितः ।। *PV*, II. 132 cd.
   दयावान् दुःखहानार्थमुपायेष्वभियुज्यते ।। II. 133 ab.
   तायः स्वदृष्टमार्गोक्तिर्वैफल्याद्वक्तिनानृतम् । 146 cd.
   दयालुत्वात् परार्थञ्च सर्वारम्भाभियोगतः ।
   ततः प्रमाणं तायो वा चतुःसत्यप्रकाशनम् ।। १४७ ::
   तायात् तत्त्वस्थिराशेषविशेषज्ञानसाधनम् । 281 cd. ।।
   बोधार्थत्वाद् गमेर्बाह्यशैक्षाशैक्षाधिकस्ततः ।
   परार्थज्ञानघटनं तस्मात्तच्छासनं दया ।। 282 ।।
   ततः परार्थतन्त्रत्वं सिद्धार्थस्याविरामतः ।
   दयया श्रेय आचष्टे ज्ञानाद्भूतं ससाधनम् ।। 283
   तच्चाभियोगवान् वक्तुं यतस्तस्मात् प्रमाणता । 284 ab.
7. *Sarvajñasiddhi*, *RKN*, pp. 1-28. On this point vide the learned paper of Dr. S. Mukherjee in the Navanālandā Mahāvihāra Research Publication, Vol. II.

12. Thus Dharmakīrti, after refuting *Īśvarakāraṇavāda* and establishing the untenability of the omniscience of *Īśvara* and *Śruti-prāmāṇya*, concludes that the worldly creation is neither caused by *Īśvara* nor is manifested from the Primordial Prakṛti.

He along with other Buddhist authorities maintains that this phenomenal creation is a resultant of the conglomeration of various causes and conditioning factors as enumerated in the twelve links of *Pratītya Samutpāda* or relative causality and exemplified in the vast universe.[1] *Īśvara* or any other source cannot be said to be the cause of this worldy creation. He is neither omniscient nor can he be regarded as the creator of the Vedas.

13. This standpoint was later on elaborated by Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Kalyāṇarakṣita, Prajñākara and other logicians and philosophers who examined this problem in much detail and presented a polemic against Brahmanic concepts of causality and *Īśvaravāda*. A unique feature of this style and logical argumentation was that the whole problem was dealt with in the light of the doctrine of momentary flux and *Pratītya Samutpāda* in its relative character, which requires no conscious, enduring, and permanent entity to explain the various phases of phenomenal creation. This problem gained so much familiarity in the Buddhist logical circles that almost every Buddhist logician in the medieval times made it a point to present a tract on *Sthira-dūṣaṇa*, *Īśvara-dūṣaṇa* and *kṣaṇabhaṅga siddhi*. The works of Kalyāṇarakṣita, Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti may be cited as examples of this tradition of presenting a polemic against the orthodox Hindu logical assumptions.[2]

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1. *PV*. II. 29 : तस्मात् पृथगशक्तेषु येषु सम्भाव्यते गुणः ।
संहतौ हेतुता तेषां नेश्वरादेरभेदतः ॥
III. 535 : न किञ्चिदेकमेकस्मात् सामग्र्याः सर्वसम्भवः ।
एकं स्यादपि सामग्र्या इत्युक्तं तदनेककृत् ॥

2. The following abbreviations have been used in this paper :
AK = *Abhidharmakośa*. (ed. P. Pradhāna).
N.S. = *Nyāya Sutras*.
N.B. = *Nyāya Bhāṣya* (Ed. G. Jha, Poona).
NVTT = *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*. (Calcutta Ld).
PV = *Pramāṇavārttikaṁ*. ed. Rāhula Sārkṛtyāyana.
PVB = *Pramāṇavārttikabhāṣyam*
RKN = *Ratnakīrtinibandhāavālī*.
JMN = *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvalī*.
V.S. = *Vaiśeṣika Sutras*.

ŚAMBŪKA EPISODE IN THE UTTARARĀMACARITAM

Dr. S. G. Kantawala

BARODA

"By common consent Bhavabhūti is ranked next to Kālidāsa among Sanskrit poets and dramatists".[1] He is the author of three important plays, *viz. Mahāvīracaritam*, *Mālatīmādhavam* and *Uttararāmacaritam*, the last one being his masterpiece.[2] Its second act contains the famous Śambūka episode, which may be briefly summarized as follows :

Ātreyī, the ascetic student, informs Vāsantī, the sylvan deity and the common companion of Rāma and Sītā, about the sad event of the premature demise of a Brahmin lad whose father placed his corpse at the royal gate beating his chest in sorrow. While Rāma brooded over this unusual event and found fault with himself, an incorporeal voice declared that Śambūka, a *Śūdra tāpasa*, practised penance and that by beheading him the life of the Brahmin lad could be restored. In response to this incorporeal declaration and thereby in discharge of his faithful royal duty he wandered in his aerial car *Puṣpaka* in search of Śambūka and came at last to Janasthāna, where he practised penance. Finding him out, he chopped off his head and lo ! instantly he stood transformed into a celestial person before him (*i.e. Rāma*), who blessed him with his stay in the Vairāja regions. Being deeply impressed by the grace of Rāma he guided him enthusiastically through the Daṇḍaka forest and waxed eloquent in its description.

Note:—The unspecified rererences in this paper are to the *Uttararāmacarita* edited by G. K. Bhat (1953 editon).

1. Jhala, G. C., *Bhavabhūti and his contemporary Detractors*, JOI (Baroda), Vol. XIV, Nos. 3-4,. p. 448.
2. "*The Mahāvīracarita* is often taken to be Bhavabhūti's earliest work, but it is difficult to dogmatise on the question of its priority to the *Mālatīmādhava*. The *Uttararāmacarita* is unquestionably the most mature work as the poet himself indicates". Dasgupta, S, N. and De, S. K., *A History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Period*, Vol. I, p. 284, fn. 1.

"The second act is mainly intended as a preparation to the psychological reconciliation accomplished in the third act".[1] The characters in the main scene of Act II are Rāma and Śambūka. The latter appears only in the main scene of Act II [of course he is referred to also in Act III, (p. 68) and Act VI. (p. 168], while the former figures directly or indirectly in all acts of the drama. The problem of characterization is discussed by all writers on Bhavabhūti. It is the character of Śambūka which has not received the treatment which it deserves. Hence, it is proposed to discuss in this paper some traits of the character of Śambūka as depicted in the *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti.

Śambūka is a minor figure in the drama and still he has his own importance. It is due to his *tapaścaryā* and the consequential tragic event that forces Rāma, the duty-bounden king, to revisit Janasthāna, the site of his (*i.e.* Śambūka's) penance. He is deeply grateful to Rāma, as the latter has granted emancipation (*cf.* II. 11) and blessed him with his abode in the Vairāja regions (II. 12). According to him, Rāma's coming to him is not the result of his severe penance, but his *prasāda*. In his touching grateful recognition of the *prasāda* bestowed on him he addresses Rāma as *bhūtanātha*[2] (II. 13). He is enthusiastic in pointing out the various sites of the Daṇḍaka forest to him and this affords him a chance to give a graphic description of it which has its aweful beauty and grandeur[3], showing thereby his keen eye towards terrific, grand and unusual sights of wood-land beauty and his long familiarity with them. In this connection, the description of the outlying regions of the Janasthāna may be referred to here. The said description includes a sight of the perspiration of the pythons being drunk by the thirsty lizards (II. 16). The picture is indeed grotesque, disgusting and apathetic. One more such sight may be mentioned here and it is of the growls of the young bears with splutterings. Needless to say that it is also a distasteful picture. Viewed from the point of view of Śambūka's character, it gains in significance. From another point of view, on the contrary, it ceases to be disgusting and apathetic, but it goes well with the

1. Bhat, G K., *Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita*. 1953, p. 7. On the significane of, the Śambūka-episode, *vide*, *op. cit*, Introduction, pp. 9-10, 31; *vide* also Sinha, Ayodhya Prasad, *Bhavabhūti aur Unkī Nāṭyakalā* (Hindi), 1969, pp. 112-113, 117, 145, 166, 177. 246, 269-271, 282. For an account of the Śambūka-episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other works *vide* Chitrav, Siddheshvar Shastri, *Bhāratavarṣiya Prācina Caritrakoṣa* (Hindi), pp. 946-947. On the Śambūka-episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *vide*, the *Śumbūka Episode* by M. K. Venkatarama Iyer, *Kalyāṇa Kalpataru*, Vol. 26, No. 11, Novermber, 1962, pp. 344-350; Pusalker, A. D., *Prabuddha-Bhārata*, October, 1961. For other references to Śambūka-episode *vide* Pusalker, A. D., *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, 1955, p. 153.
2. This is anachronism. (Kane, P. V., *Uttararāmacaritam*, 1929, Notes, p. 66). *Vide* also G. K. Bhat's remarks on *Bhūtanātha* (*op. cit.*, Notes, p. 44) and also Sinha, Ayodhya Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
3. *Cf.* Kane, P. V., *Uttararāmacaritam*, 1929, Introduction, p. XXIII.

character of Śambūka—a *Śūdra tāpasa*, who has practised severe penance for a long time in the jungle of Daṇḍaka[1]. Over and above the depiction of the *bhayānaka* and *bībhatsa rasa*-s,[2] this brings out Bhavabhūti's deft art of characterization. Such a description in the mouth of any other character might have probably appeared incongruous. *En passant* it may be mentioned that Vāsantī does not indulge in the description of the aweful sylvan beauty of Daṇḍaka and this is quite in consonance with her character.

Śambūka has a distinct way of practising penance and it is by "inhaling smoke".[3] Note that he is described as *dhūmapa*[4]. P. V. Kane remarks that "for taking in smoke he must have hung his head downwards",[5] and it is a sort of penance"[6]. It may be noted that Ghanaśyāma, the commentator on the *Uttararāmacarita*, does not comment on the vocable *dhūmapa*.

It may be mentioned that in the dialogue between the *jambūka* and the *gṛdhra* over the dead child in the *Mahābhārata*[7] there is a reference to Śambūka on whose being beheaded by Rāma the Brahmin lad was resuscitated, but it does not mention him as practising penance. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[8] refers to Śambūka as practising penance headlong with his face downwards[9] but it does not refer to a detail, *viz.* the inhalation of smoke with his face hanging downwards but an insertion mentions the drinking of the flames.[10]

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1. For the dramatic significance *vide* Bhat, G. K. *op. cit.*, Notes, p. 47.
2. Bhat, G. K., *op. cit.*, p. 45. *vide* also Sinha, Ayodha Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273.
3. Bhat, G. K., *op. cit.*; Text p. 47.
4. *Śambūkanām dhūmapaḥ Śudro 'sminneva Janasthāne tapaś carati.* (Bhat, G. K., *op. cit.*, Act II, Text. p. 46).
5. Kane, P. V., *op. cit.*, Notes, p. 63.
6. Kane, P. V., *op. cit.*, Notes, p. 63.
7. *Mahābhārata* (Cr. ed.), *Śāntiparvan*, *Āpaddharmaparvan*, 149.62.
8. Vālmīki, *Rāmāyaṇa* (Nirṇay Sagar Press edition, 1929), *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 75.13 ff.
9. *Cf. lambamānam adhomukham*| *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 75.14; *avākśirāḥ*|*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 75.19; 76.1.
10. *Jvālāṁ pibantam raktena lelihānaṁ vibhavasum*|*rudhireṇāvasiktaṁ taṁ srotaḥprāptena pāvakam*|| *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarkaṇḍ*, insertion in *Sarga* 66 after Stanza 13 in N_2, V_2, B_{2-4}. I am highly thankful to Dr. U. P. Shah, Editor, *Uttarākaṇḍa*, General Editor and Head, *Rāmāyaṇa* Department and Deputy Director, Orential Institute, M. S. University, for this reference.

The *Padma-Purāṇa*[1] mentions Śambūka as practising penance headlong with his face downwards on a lake.[2] There is also a reference to *agni* in the context of his *tapas*.[3] But the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story in the *Padma-Purāṇa* is later than Bhavabhūti according to V.V. Mirashi[4].

The *Matsya-Purāṇa* (Anandashram Sanskrit Series edition), which "is among the best preserved and the earliest of the 18 Purāṇas"[5], describes Śukra as practising severe penance as directed by Śiva to obtain the *mantra*-s. With his head downwards (*avākśirāḥ*) he inhales the smoke from a *Kuṇḍa* for a period of one thousand years (47.18 ff). In the opinion of R.C. Hazra, the 47th chapter, in which the above story of Śukra occurs, can be placed in the last quarter of the third century or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.[6]

The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (*Uttarārdha*, 35.115 ff, edited by Rajendralal Mitra) also mentions that for a period of one thousand years Śukra practised severe penance with his head hung downwards inhaling the smoke emerging from a *Kuṇḍa* to obtain the *mantras*.[7]

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that these stanzas are common in both the Purāṇas *i.e.* the *Matsya-Purāṇa* and the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* with a few *variae lectiones*,

It may be noted that Vālmīki, whose influence is obvious on Bhavabhūti,[8] does not mention Śambūka as practising penance by inhaling

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1. *Padma-Purāṇa* (Anandashram Sanskrit Series edition), *Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa*, 32.17. ff.
2. *Cf. lambamānam adhomukham| Padma-Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, 32. 77. *avākśirāḥ| Padma-Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, 32.77.
3. *Padma-Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, 32.77.
4. Mirashi, V. V., *Bhavabhūti* (Marathi), 1968, pp. 250-252.
5. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 899.
6. Hazra, R. C., *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hiudu Rites and Customs* pp. 50 f. P. V. Kane dates the *Matsaya-Purāṇa* "between 200 A. D. and 400 A. D." (*op. cit.*, pp. 899-900), He "does not wish to deny that a few verses here and there might have been interpolated at a later date". *op. cit.*, p. 900.
   On the date of the *Matsya-Purāṇa vide* Kantawala, S. G. *Cultural History from the Marsya-Purāṇa* pp. 5 ff
7. Kane places the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* between 350 A. D. and 550 A. D. *op. cit.*, p. 907. Baladeva Upadhyaya assigns it between 350 A. D. and 500 A. D. *Purāṇa-Virmarśa* (Hindi), p. 545).
8. *Vide* Bhat, G. K. *op cit.*, Introduction, p. 30.

smoke. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and the *Matsya-Purāṇa* mention Śukra as practising penance by inhaling smoke from a *kuṇḍa* as noted above. In view of the anteriority of the said two Purāṇas to Bhavabhūti who flourished in the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.[1] it may be surmised that Bhavabhūti might have been inspird by these Purāṇas to add a minor detail to Śambūka's penance, *viz.* the *dhūmapa*-aspect.

It would be interesting to note that the type of penance with the inhalation of smoke with the face hanging downwards is also referred to by the poet-philosopher Śrīharaṣa (1020-1180 A.D.)[2] in his *magnum opus Naiṣadhīyacaritam* (I.82) wherein he describes the fruits on the pomegranate trees inhaling smoke with their faces downwards and Nārāyaṇa, the commentator (1400-1637 A.D.)[3] remarks thereon : *"anyo'py uccapada-prāptaye 'dhomukho dhūmapānādinā tapaś carati"*.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that while commenting on *Rv.* 1.27.11, wherein Agni, the smoke-bannered one (*dhūmaketu*), is requested to incite thoughts and strength, J. Gonda observes that it is also to achieve the purpose[4] and he further observes that "the inhalation of smoke is a mode of producing temporary inspiration."[5] In support of this observation he quotes from J.G. Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, A. br. ed., London, 1957, p.125) who notes that Dainyal or Sibyl inhales the thick pungent smoke with a cloth over head and has its effect.[6]

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1. *Vide* Bhat, G. K., *op. cit.* Introduction, p. 67; Kane P. V., op. cit. Introduction, p. XVII; *vide* also Dixit, S. V., *Bhavabhūti, His Life and Literature*, 1958, pp. 19 ff; Sinha, Ayodhya Prasad, *op cit.*, pp. 12 ff; Mirashi, V. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff. According to him Bhavabhūti's period of literary career falls between 700 A. D. and 730 A. D. (*op. cit.*, p. 11).
2. Jani, A. N., *A Critical Study of Śrīharṣa's Naiaṣdhīyacaritam*, p 129; for details *vide ibid.*, pp. 123 ff.
3. Handiqui, K. K., *The Naiṣadhīyacaritam of Śrīharṣa*, (1934) Introduction, p. XX; Jani, A. N., *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
4. Gonda, J., *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, p. 98.
5. Gonda, J., *op, cit.*, p. 98, fn. 118.
6. Gonda, J., *op, cit,*, p. 98, fn. 118.

STYLISTICS IN THE FOMULARIZATION OF CARAKA

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma

CHARDIGARH

I INTRODUCTORY

Of the three topmost makers of ancient Indian intellectuality, viz. Pāṇini, Bharata and Caraka, the expositional achievements of the last-named one, Caraka, have been already pointed by the present author in his paper on "*Caraka as a terminologist*"[1] It was shown in that paper how Caraka has adopted terms like *uddeśa*—for "nuance" from the intellectual "climate" of his age.

In this article another specimen of this feature of Caraka is being discussed, viz. the peculiar presentation of the titles of the chapters of his book the "*Caraka Saṁhitā.*"[2]

II "FORMULARIZATION" AND "STYLISTICS"

Formularization, as explained by Webster, is "putting something in a systematized expression". Now the titles of various books in ancient India had sometimes a set formularization, e. g. the title of the first Chapter of the *Bhagvadgītā*, was "The despondency of Arjuna" (*Arjuna-viṣāda*), of the second chapter was *Sāṅkhya-yoga* and so on. But most of the titles of the chapters of the *Caraka-Saṁhitā* had a literary flavour, the scientific study of which, based on patternization, is now being undertaken by Stylistics, a subject considerably evolved in France. We shall handle the titles of these chapters from the stylistic point of view.

III THE FORMAL MECHANISM OF THE TITLES OF CHAPTERS:

Stylistics, at the outset, handles the usage of formal aspects of expressions. Now the overwhelming majority of the titles of Caraka's chapters end in the suffix-'*īya*', as we shall presently see. But the positional feature of this-'*īya*' in these chapters is that it can occur after any quantity, long or short, in the preceding stem, in the teeth of Pāṇini's prescription 4.2.114 *vṛddhāchaḥ*, according to which this suffix-'*īya*' could be affixed to those stems which ended in a long vowel, as in *mālīya* "pertaining to a garland", *śālīya* "pertaining to a room". This occurrence of '*īya*-,'

1. *Emene Volume* pp. 360-4
2. Atri DevaGupta's Edition (Benares. 1948)

irrespective of quantity of the preceding stem, is evidently pre-Pāṇinīyan, although our context here does not permit us to say even a word more on this item.

IV PATTERNS OF THE TITLES:

The titles of these chapters may be patternized as follows :—

(1) Enumerative pattern :

This pattern is the classificatory type, enumerating some related items, e. g. the simplest pattern would be the chapter entitled:—

ātreya-bhadrakāpyīya, being the chapter in which a dialogue between Ātreya and Bhadrakāpya has been given.

The chapter on *laṅghana-bṛṁhaṇīya* describes omissions and excesses respectively.

sadyo-maraṇīya deals with symptoms of immediate death.

āsikta-kṣīrīya deals with the juices and essences of certain objects.

pañca-karmīya describes five types of patients whom the physician is permitted to treat and another five whom he has been forbidden to treat, one of them being a person who loses his temper.

Now the question arises: where is stylistics here ? The reply evidently is that this pattern illustrates only the formal aspect of stylistics, the titles ending in a single compact form ending in the suffix '*īya*', with the sense of something connected with, pertaining to.

(2) Symbological :

(a) Based on some imagery—

avākśirasīya chapter dealing with reverse symptoms; *avākśiras*, according to Monier Williams, means "headlong", occurring in this sense in Manu.

śyāva-nimittīya treating of un-favourable symptoms, *śyāva* literally meaning dark.

gomaya-cūrṇīya, a chapter dealing with a disease in which the patient has a sensation of something like a powder of cow-dung passing on his head.

(b) Based on some concept :

abhayāmalakīya. It deals with a tonic prepared from *āmalaka*-(Emblic myrobalan) characterized as "Security" (*abhayā*).

prāṇakāmīya. It deals with a tonic which holds out a hope to those who desire to live.

āyurveda-samutthānīya. This chapter is associated with the Vedic traditions—original sources (*samutthāna*) of Āyurveda, like those of the Aśvins being held as divine physicians.

(3) Prescriptive (hortative and dissuasive) :

dīrghajīvitīya devoted to longevity.

aṣṭau ninditīya deals with eight things to be avoided.

na vegāndhāraṇīya. It forbids the restraint of natural effusions.

The agglutinative structure of this title, in which *na vegān dhārayet* has been transformed into a single nominal form, overstepping the bounds of grammatical restrictions, gives a glimpse of Caraka's sense for stylistics.

(4) Miscellaneous items :

This section deals with medical phenomena, either of miscellaneous or of indeterminate nature.

cikitsāprābhṛtīya deals with miscellaneous pathological phenomena.

kiyantaḥ śirasīya deals with some indeterminate medical topics.

katamāni śārīrīya treats of symptoms of forth-coming disease.

The basic use of the interrogative pronoun for implying something indeterminate reveals the linguistic genius of Caraka, who may have utilized some colloquial usages of the pronoun in such contexts.

In the first place, Caraka, by using symbols, given in the titles of his chapters, has intuitively felt the very pulse of stylistics.

Moreover, though the above patterns are too meagre to reveal to us the principles of Sanskrit stylistics which could be gathered therefrom, they impress us with Caraka's urge for a stylistics which had the tendency to a

synthetic formularization, the characteristic feature of which was a synthetic structure.

The above data, it may be presumed, will give us the following points :—

(1) Although studies in Sanskrit stylistics have not yet even started on an organized scale, Caraka's formularization is challenging enough to urge us to a synthetic clue in this stylistics.

(2) The mechanisms of integration, like the suffix '*īya*' in Caraka's chapters, have ever to be appreciated in the study of Sanskrit stylistics.

(3) The symbologies used by Caraka give a literary flavour to his formularization and constitute the life and soul of his stylistics.

वेदभाष्यकारः शौनकः

डा० गोपालचन्द्र मिश्र

वाराणसी

भाष्यस्वरूपम्—आचार्यशौनकेन माध्यन्दिनीयसंहितायाः पूर्णं भाष्यं न कृतमस्ति। केवलं एकत्रिंशाध्यायस्यैव भाष्यमेतेन कृतमिति अस्य भाष्यं शौनको नाम ऋपिरकरोत् (उ० भा० ३१ । १ व्याख्या) इत्युव्वटलेखेन ज्ञायते। यदि हि एतेन पूर्णो माध्यन्दिनीयो मन्त्रभागो व्याख्यातः स्यात् तर्हि अस्य इत्यध्यायमात्रबोधकं पदमुव्वटाचार्यो नाददीत। तस्मात् केवलं पौरुषाध्याय (३१ अ०) एव शौनकेन व्याख्यात इति सिद्ध्यति। अत एव माध्यन्दिनीयभाष्यकृतः कुत्रापि शौनकस्यास्य स्मरणं न विदधति।

भाष्यशैली—यद्यपि शौनककृतं भाष्यं केवलं द्वाविंशतिमन्त्रेष्वेवोपलभ्यत इति शैलीविशेषो न विशेषतः परिचाययितुं शक्यते तथापि तदीयशैलीपरिचायनमुव्वटाचर्येणैवं प्रतिपाद्यते।

प्रथमं विच्छेदः,[१] मन्त्रक्रिया-कारकसम्बन्धः, समासः, प्रमेयार्थव्याख्येति। भाष्येऽस्मिन् याज्ञिकदृशा विनियोगः, श्रुतिसमुल्लेखः, व्याकरणनियमपरिचिन्तनमित्यादयो न सन्ति। किन्तु मन्त्रस्य पदविभाजनं निर्दिश्य अन्वयमुखेन व्याख्यानं तत्रापेक्षितसमासोल्लेखश्चेति शौनकव्याख्यासरणिः। भाष्यस्यास्य प्रारम्भे 'परमात्मविज्ञानानन्दादि' इत्यारभ्य 'मोक्षार्थं कथयामास' इत्यन्तो लेखो न शौनकस्य वर्तते किन्तु उव्वटाचार्यस्यैव शौनकीयत्वे 'भाष्यमकरोत्', 'जनकाय कथयामास' इति लेखानुपपत्तेः।

भाष्यप्रयोजनम्—शौनकः कुतः पौरुषाध्यायमात्रव्याख्याने प्रावर्तिष्टेति विचारे उव्वट एव प्रयोजनं विलिखति—सर्वमेतज्जनकाय मोक्षार्थं कथयामासेति। एतेनेदं ज्ञायते यत् शौनकस्य पिता वेदे श्रद्धावानपि स्वपुत्रे अधिकं स्निह्यति स्म। योगाभ्यासे प्रवर्तमानं स्वपुत्रं विरक्तोऽयं भविष्यतीति मनसि सन्दधानः स्नेहाधिक्याच्च वार्धक्ये निदिध्यासनीयं तत्वं न ध्यायति स्मेति। यथा भागवतमाहात्म्ये गोकर्णेन स्वपिता तत्वदर्शनाय बोधितः (भा० मा० ३) एवमेवायं स्वपितुस्तत्वनिदिध्यासनप्रवृत्तिजागरणाय तदीयश्रद्धाभाजनात् वेदमन्त्रसमुदायादेव तं विबोधयिषुः पौरुषं सूक्तं व्याख्याय श्रावयित्वा मोक्षार्थं प्रैरयत्। अत एव पञ्चममन्त्रे 'पुरः अजायन्त' इति व्याख्याने पुत्रादीनि तेनैवोत्पादितानि इति तात्पर्यार्थः स्वाभिप्रेतार्थं विधित्सया स्वजनकमोहनिरसनाय उक्तः। ईशाध्यायस्य (४०) ज्ञानार्थत्वेऽपि पूर्वं जन्यजनक-

१. मन्त्रगतपदानां विभागः। पदपाठे हि सस्वरं पदानि अधीयन्ते। अत्र शौनकेन केवल पदविभाग एव दर्शितः। अत एव पदपाठवत् अवग्रहप्रदर्शनादिकमत्र नास्ति।

भावत्वेन मोहदार्ढ्यस्य सर्वत्रोपलम्भान्तान्निरासाय सृष्टितत्वस्य बोधनाय पौरुषाध्याय उपदिष्टः। यदि च केचन सर्वमेतज्जनकाय मोक्षार्थं कथयामासेति वाक्ये जनकं विदेहराजानमभिप्रेयुस्तदसङ्गतमेव। यो हि स्वयं तत्वज्ञस्तत्वप्रवक्ता चास्ति तस्मै मोक्षार्थकथनानुपपत्तेः। शौनकजनकयोरेतादृशसंवादाख्यायिकाया अनुपलम्भाच्च। तस्माज्जनक इति शौनकस्य पितैव मन्तव्यः।

ननु तर्हि शौनको नाम ऋषिरकरोत् इत्याचार्यलेखे ऋषिपदमसङ्गतं स्यादिति चेदुच्यते उव्वटाचार्यो हि ऋषित्वं कुत्राभिप्रैतीति स्वयमेवादौ कथयति—

गुरुतस्तर्कतश्चैव तथा शातपथश्रुतेः।
ऋषीन् वक्ष्यामि............। इति भू०

अत्र तर्कतश्चैवेत्यस्योदाहरणचिन्तने एतदेवोदाहरणं मनसि भवति। यद्यपि नायं शौनको नाम प्राचीनः ऋषिः। परमनूचानत्वान्मन्त्रव्याख्यातृत्वाच्च तर्कत एव ऋषिः। यतो हि 'मनुष्या वा ऋषिषूत्क्रामत्सु देवानब्रुवन्, को न ऋषिर्भविष्यतीति, तेभ्य एतं तर्कमृषिं प्रायच्छन् मन्त्रार्थचिन्ताभ्यूढम्। तस्माद्यदेव किञ्चानूचानोऽभ्यूहत्यार्षं तद् भवति'। (निरु० १३।१२) इति निरुक्तसिद्धान्ते अनूचानस्य मन्त्रार्थचिन्तनमृषित्वापादकं तदर्थस्य चार्षत्वं दृष्टमेव।

भाष्यदृष्टिः—शौनकोऽयं पौराणिकसिद्धान्तानुगामी योगक्रियासु निष्ठावानासीदिति तदीयभाष्यदर्शनेन स्पष्टं ज्ञायते। एतेन हि पौरुषाध्यायस्य व्याख्याने आत्मयज्ञे योगः समाधिरूपः, प्रणवेन तस्य दीपनम्, बर्हिरिति प्राणायामः, पुरुषः इति ज्ञानम्, नमनमिति[1] ध्यानमित्यादयो योगविदां तत्वानि तत्र तत्र प्रदर्शितानि। एष हि योगस्य सनकादिस्थानप्राप्तिं नारायणसायुज्यात्मकं मोक्षं चाभिप्रैति।

भाष्यसमीक्षा—यद्यपि प्रौढमेतस्य भाष्यं नास्ति। शब्दार्थप्रदर्शनमात्रपरमेवास्ति तथापि केचन भाष्यमेनमुत्कृष्टं मन्यन्ते।[2] भाष्येऽस्मिन् वेदान्ततत्वानामाभास याज्ञिकाध्यात्मिकपद्धत्योः समन्वय चावलोकयन्ति। क्वचित् नैरुक्तपद्धत्यापि अर्थोऽनुसृत इति प्रशसन्ति। परं प्रारम्भे या मन्त्रार्थविवरणात्पूर्वं वेदान्तसिद्धान्तच्छटा प्रदर्शिता सा न शौनकभाष्यीयेति पूर्वं निरवोचम। याज्ञिकपद्धतियौगिकपद्धत्योरस्ति कश्चन मन्त्रार्थेषु विषयः। परं सोऽपि नातीव गभीरो वक्तुं शक्यते। भाषादार्ढ्यमपि तथा नानुभूयत इति भाष्यमिदं मध्यमतयैवास्तीति वयं मन्यामहे। पौराणिकसिद्धान्तानां भक्तिसम्प्रदायस्य वैष्णवोपासनायाश्च प्रभावस्तु यत्र तत्रावलोक्यते एव।

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१. वैं० वा० इ० पृ० १,२,८५
२. वैं० वा० इ० पृ० १,८५

कालनिर्णयः—यद्यपि शौनकस्यास्य कालनिर्णये तदीयो लेखः अन्ये च विचारका मूकत्वमेवावलम्बन्ते उव्वटादयं पर्याप्तप्राचीन इति तु मनसि न रोहति पूर्वाचार्याणामिव भाषासौष्ठवस्य सिद्धान्तप्रतिपादनशैल्याश्च तादृश्या अनुपलम्भात्। अस्माकं मते तु अयं किल शौनकः अवन्त्यामेव भोजराज्यशासने समुवास, योगाभ्यासकुशलश्चायमासीदिति। मन्ये योगाभ्यासप्रशिक्षणाय किल काश्मीराभिजन उव्वटाचार्यः अवन्त्यामाजगाम। तत्र च राज्याश्रयमनाप्त्वापि शौनकस्यास्य ऋषेः[१] सविधे अध्युवास, योगविद्यां चाधिजगे। योगविद्यावैभवेन श्रीगुरोरनुकम्पया चायमुव्वटो वैदिकं वाङ्मयं व्याख्यातवान्। प्रायशः गभीरायोगिनः स्वात्मनः प्रकाशन न कामयन्ते, निषेधन्ति च स्वप्रकाशनायेति तथैव योगिना शौनकेनापि स्वप्रकाशो गुरुतया स्पष्टं स्मरणं च निवारितं स्यादिति युज्यत एव। अत एवोव्वटाचार्यः स्वग्रन्थेषु स्मरणमकृत्वापि श्रद्धातिशयं गोपायितुमशक्नुवन्नुव्वटाचार्यः स्वभाष्यरचनायामाशीःस्वरूपेण योगविद्यागुरोर्भाष्यमेव स्वभाष्ये निवेशयामास। आदौ (मा० सं० १।१) तु 'गुरुत' इति पदेन मध्ये पौरुषाध्यायस्य भाष्यसंयोजनेन भाष्यान्ते च ऋष्यादिश्चे (मा० सं० ४०।१७) ति भङ्ग्या शौनकयोगिनमेव स्मरतीति निश्चिनुमः। यस्य हि सान्निध्येन शुभाशिषा च प्रतिभावानुव्वटो वेदभाष्यं ऋक्प्रातिशाख्यभाष्यं च प्रौढतया व्यरीरचदिति तस्य गुरोर्योगाभ्यासवैभवश्लथमिदं पौरुषाध्यायभाष्यं न तथा चेतः प्रसादयतीति तत्रेदं विचिन्तनीयं यदियं पौरुषाध्यायरचना न योगवैभवप्राप्त्यनन्तरमुद्भूता, अपि तु योगाभ्यासप्रारम्भकाल एव स्वीयपितुर्मोहनिरसनाय कृता। योगामृतरसास्वादकुशलावस्थायां च ग्रन्थादिरचनायामप्रवृत्तिः प्रायशो दृश्यत एव। तस्माच्च नाशैथिल्यं न तस्यापरभाविनं योगवैभवमन्यथयितुं प्रभवति।

अतः उव्वटाचार्यरचनातः सम्भवतः पञ्चविंशतिवर्षेभ्यः पूर्वं शौनकयोगिनो रचनेयमिति मन्यामहे। एवं चैकादशशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धे शौनकस्यास्य काल इति वक्तुं शक्यते।

शौनकयोगिनो विषयेऽन्यदैतिह्यं नोपलभ्यते इति शम्।

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१. यथा योगविद्यानिपुणानां साम्प्रतिकानां वेदमन्त्रदर्शिनामपि मानवानां श्रद्धातिशयेन तेषां केनचन लोकाकर्षणकारिणा वैशिष्ट्येन रमणमहर्षि-महर्षिदयानन्द-देवर्षि-ब्रह्मर्षि-प्रभृतयः शब्दाः दीयन्ते। एवमेवायं यौगिकचमत्कारानुकृष्टो योगविद्यागुरुं ऋषिपदेनैव व्यवहरति। द्र० मा० सं० ३१।१; ४०।१७।

THE HORSES OF THE SUN

Dr. M. T. Sahasrabuddhe

NAGPUR

"As one goes ahead with the interpretation of the Veda, a feeling often comes that, though one may try to give as authentic a meaning of the word of the Veda as is possible to do by linguistic, philological and other means, one is possibly far away from the meaning actually intended by the *Ṛṣi*-s, which is a sort of the Will 0' the wisp, the pursuit of which is so exciting and yet so exacting."[1]

This observation of Dr. Bhave is very true, not merely in connection with linguistic, philological and such interpretations, but also in connection with symbolic, mystic and traditional interpretations. In my case, however, symbolic interpretation has proved more exciting, and I feel that it does throw light, not only on the hidden significance of the Vedic *Mantra*, but also on the unbroken Vedic tradition that is revealed in later literature. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how this approach to the Vedas would be fruitful.

A couplet from the famous *Asya Vāmīya* hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (I. 164.2) :—

सप्त युञ्जन्ति रथमेकचक्रमेको अश्वो वहति सप्तनामा ।

is to be considered here. The *Ṛṣi* of this verse is Dīrghatamā Aucathya, and the subject matter is the chariot of the Sun and its horses. This chariot is said to have only one wheel (*Ekacakra*) and is drawn by one horse, whose name is *Sapti* or *Sapta*[2]. Yāska explains the significance of *Sapta* as 'moving'. The word *Ratha* too is etymologically explained as '*Ratho Aryate*' meaning that which is motioned or moved.

The couplet appears in the second stanza of the '*Asya Vāmīya*' hymn, the first stanza of which is the description of three brothers, the Sun ruling

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1. (*The Soma Hymns of the Ṛgveda* by Dr. S. S. Bhave. Baroda 1960 'Author's preface', p. VIII).
2. (हे अश्व !) त्वं सप्तिरसि । ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण I. 7. 1

   वायुः सप्तिः । तैत्ति० ब्रा० I. 3. 9. 4

the celestial region, the *Vāyu* pervading the intermediary space, and *Agni* informing the earth and its vegetation. It is also abundantly clear from the Vedic literature, that the Sun, *Vāyu* and *Agni* are essentially one in principle though different in names, positions and functions.[1] It is just the adumbration of the great principle so explicitly stated as "That one" (तदेकम्, X. 129. 1) or "The One Existent" (एकं सत्). The one root-principle from which the whole creation has sprung manifests differently in different phases of creation. The Veda and the Brāhmaṇa-s have amply described how one god the Sun or Fire has taken different forms.[2] This one God is at times identified with the Sun, who is considered to be at the root of this cosmic life, this orderly creation :—

सूर्यो आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च । ऋ. I. 115.1"[3]

This great life-principle has become three-fold as the Upaniṣad says : (स एष प्राणस्त्रेधा विहितः । बृह० I. 2.3.) Yāska too remarks similarly when he says :—

तिस्र एव देवताः । अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानः वायुर्वा इन्द्रो वा अन्तरिक्षस्थानः सूर्यो द्युस्थानः । निरुक्त VII. 2.5

That the Deities are essentially identical has already been recognised by Yāska, (एक एवात्मा बहुधा स्तूयते).

It has been pointed out that this great God Sun has a chariot with one wheel (*Rv*. VI. 56.3) and that it is drawn by seven horses, or by one horse whose name is *Sapta*. In the light of the above concept of the Sun and other deities, the significance of the chariot and the horses may be understood better. *Savitā*, the Creator Sun, is described as moving in a golden chariot[4] in the *Ṛgveda*. His horses are said to be auspicious[5] and they move round the heaven and the earth. The *Ṛgveda* speaks of these seven horses[6] as

1, *Ṛgveda* II..1.7; II. 5.9; VII. 39.2: *Yajurveda* XXXIII. 44
2. Cf. *Ṛv*. I. 89.10. III. 29.11; 1V. 40.5: 58.2 यजु० X. 24: अथर्व० VII, 6.1; शत० ब्रा० Eggling Vol. XII Oxford 1882. pp 340, 41; ऐत० ब्रा० I. 3.15; I. 1.I; III. 1.4 ताण्ड्यब्रा० XVI. 5.17.
3. Cf. यजु० VII, 42; ऋ० VII. 64·4; अथर्व० IX. 1.4. प्रश्नोप० I. 8.
4. Cf. ऋ० I. 35.2-4.
5. ऋ० I. 115.3.
6. Cf. ऋ० I. 50.8,9; VII. 60.3.

divine or immortal[1] and in one verse only one invisible horse is described[2]. The name of this horse is sometimes given in the singular, sometimes in plural. In *Rv.* V. 81.3 the horse *Etaśa* is identified with the Sun. That the Sun is the great life-principle or *Prāṇa*, has already been noted. Seven-fold division of this principle is, therefere, referred to as the seven horses; and because all are one *Prāṇa* element, we have the reference of one horse. This very horse is elsewhere referred to as *Dadhikrā*. The journey of the Sun round the heavens and the earth suggests another idea, which may be interesting. In fact, it is the earth that goes round the Sun, and this was known to the *Ṛgveda*.[3] But for our purpose it is the Sun that is seen going the ethereal way, around the earth. This orbit of the earth round the Sun is known as the *Krānti Vṛtta* in Indian Astronomy. The diametrical circle cutting this revolutionary eclipse of the Sun, is called *Bṛhatī* in the Vedic terminology, and hence it is stated :

सूर्यो ह वृहतीमध्यूढस्तपति.........स वा एष
संवत्सर: वृहतीमभिसंपन्न: । शतपथ. XII. 7.1

वृहद्‌ह तस्थौ भुवनेष्वन्त: । ऋ० VIII. 90.4

Bṛhatī, which is normally known as a Vedic metre, thus signifies the equator in a different context. In the north of the equator are three circles which may be termed as *Paṅkti, Triṣṭub* and *Jagatī*, and those on the south are *Anuṣṭub*, *Uṣṇik* and *Gāyatrī*. The Zodiac covers all these and is known as the *Saṁvatsara Cakra*. The Brāhmaṇas, Purāṇas and the Tantra amply illustrate this point.[4] It can be marked here, how the Purāṇa-s and later scriptural texts interpret and follow the Vedas

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1. Cf. I. 138.4
2. Cf. ऋ० I. 152.5; एतश mentioned in V. 81.3; VII. 62.2; VII. 63.2: VII 66.4
3. Cf ऋ० VIII. 14.5
4. Cf. छन्दांसि वै वाजिन: । तैत्ति० ब्रा० I. 6.3.9: Cf. ऐत० ब्रा० IV. 21; कौषी० ब्रा० XI. 5, XIV. 5; ताण्ड्य ब्रा० XIX. 5.11; शतपथ. IV. 4.3.1

विष्णुपुराण—हयाश्च सप्तच्छन्दांसि तेषां न्यभानि मे शृणु ।
गायत्री च बृहत्युष्णिक् जगती त्रिष्टुबेव च ।
अनुष्टुप्पङ्क्तिरित्युक्ताश्छन्दांसि हरयो रवे: ।।
अंश० II अध्याय 8 श्लो० 7

स्वच्छन्दतन्त्र—अमृतोद्भवो रथो दिव्य: सर्वदेवसमन्वित: ।
यज्ञश्चक्रं रथे तस्मिन् सर्वज्ञानमयी च धू: ।
सप्ताश्वाश्च स्वरा: सप्त वेदहुङ्कारनि:स्वना: ।
नागा योक्त्राणि तेषां वै अरुणश्चैव सारथि: ।
सत्यं तु मञ्चकं तस्य वायुर्वेगो रथस्य तु ।।

From the celestial region where the Sun was the ruling deity, we now come to the *Antarikṣa*, the field of *Vāyu* A clear statement to be found about *Vāyu* is that *Vāyu* is the thread in which manifested worlds are woven by the Sun. This original *Vāyu* or dynamic *Prāṇa* is the thread, pervading the creation, so says Śaṅkarācāārya.[1] This is called later as the *Sūtrātman*. From *Sūrya*, the Supreme *Prāṇa* or the *Ātmā* of the whole world, emanate the stars and planets, The *Śatapatha* says :—

सोऽकामयत भूय एव प्रजायेयेति । स आदित्येन दिवं मिथुनं समभवत् । तत आण्डं समवर्तत । तदभ्यमृशद् रेतो विबृहीति । ततश्चन्द्रमाऽसृज्यत । एष वै रेतः । अथ यद् अश्रु संक्षरितमासीत् तानि नक्षत्राण्यभवन् । शत० IV. 1.2.4 [2]

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* voices the same fact :

ऋक्षचन्द्रग्रहाः सर्वे विज्ञेयाः सूर्यसम्भवाः । 50.99

All these are woven in the thread of *Vāyu* by the Sun. So the *Ṛgveda* says :—आत्मा देवानां भुवनस्य गर्भः । ऋ० X. 16.8.4

Thus, *Vāyu* is inspired to action by the Sun, The *Yajurveda* in the very first verse states this :—देवो वः सविता प्रार्पयतु । "May Sun the Creator induce you to act." The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* informs that the wind moves because it is stimulated by the Sun :

सवितृप्रसूतो ह्येष एतत्पवते । ऐत० ब्रा० I. 7.[3]

The *Ṛgveda* speaks of *Vāta* as being originated from or as identical with *Agni* (III. 29.11): and *Agni* and *Sūrya* are essentially one is well-known :

समाने वै योजनावास्तां सूर्यश्चाग्निश्च । काठ० सं० VI. 3[4]

The original resplendant *Vāyu* is described as moving in a chariot drawn by horses known as *Niyut*.[5] The horses of the *Maruts* too are

1. प्राणः सर्वप्राणभृत् क्रियात्मकः सूत्रसंज्ञकं जगतो विधारयितृ.....................।
बृहदारण्यकोप० शाङ्करभाष्य अध्याय IV.
2. Cf. I. 164.14; शतपथब्रा० IV. 1.1.25; तैत्ति० ब्रा० I. 2.3
3. Cf. एते वै पवितारो यत्सूर्यस्य रश्मयः । शतपथब्रा० III. 1.3.22.
4. Cf. काठ०-संहित० VI. 3; तैत्ति० ब्रा० I. 1.6.2.
5. ऋ० I. 167.2; II. 41.1-2; VII. 90,91,92; V. 52.11.

called *Niyut*. In a glorified description of the Maruts, they are said to be as bright as Sun's rays.[1] This shows that they are the worthy sons of their shining father. Their father has got seven outstanding rays which are responsible for the creation of different luminaries.[2] The *Maruts* too are described as dynamic and having seven classes[3] each possessing a special characteristic सप्त मे सप्तशाकिन: । Thus, there are forty-nine *Maruts* in all, formed in seven groups. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says :—

सप्त सप्त हि मारुता गणा: । शत० IX. 3.1.25[4]

The seven *Skandhas* of *Vāyu* are elaborately described in the *Mahābhārata*. They are respectively known as *Āvaha, Pravaha, Udvaha, saṁvaha, Vivaha, Parivaha* and *Parāvaha*.[5] *Manusmṛti* and *Vāyu Purāṇa* also mention the seven varieties of *Vāyu*. The last *Skandha* known as *Parāvaha* reaches the heavens. It is interesting to note how this seventh *Skandha* is suggested in a Ṛgvedic verse:—

ये नाकस्याधि रोचने दिवि देवास आसते
मरुद्भिरग्न आगहि । ऋ० I. 19.6

Skandasvāmī explains thus :

ये आदित्यस्योपरि दीप्ते दिव एकादशस्थाने सप्तमे वायुस्कन्धे देवा अधिवसन्ति तै: मरुद्भि:…………।

Seven aspects of *Vāyu* when descend down to the plane of the earth in an individual soul manifest as the seven varieties of individual *Prāṇa*. The individual *Prāṇa* and its seven aspects are in fact rooted in the supreme *Prāṇa* as the *Upaniṣad* declares.[6] Human head is understood as the source

1. ऋ० V. 55·3; शत०ब्रा० IX. 3.1.25; ताण्ड्यब्रा० XIV, 12.9
2. ऋ० I. 105.9; II. 12.12 जैमि० उप० ब्रा० I. 28.2; I. 29.8
   रवे रश्मिसहस्त्रं यत्प्राङ्मया समुदाहृतम् । तेषां श्रेष्ठाः पुनः सप्त रश्मयो ग्रहयोनयः ॥
   वायुपुराण LIII.44
3. ऋ० I. 85.1; III. 26.4; VII. 52.17
4. Cf. यजु० XVII. 80-85; XXXIX. 7; शत० ब्रा० II. 5.1.13; V. 4.3.137; तैत्ति० ब्रा० I. 6.2.3; II. 7.2.2
5. महाभारत शान्तिपर्व अध्याय 328. श्लोका: 31-52;
   मनुस्मृ० I. 26; वायुपुराण XLIX.163;
   धीवृद्धितन्त्र by लल्ल, ग्रहभ्रमसंस्था ।
6. मुण्डकोप० II. 1.3

of the individual *Prāṇa*-s, the vital airs :

शिरो वै प्राणानां योनिः । शत० VII, 5.1.22 1

It may also be noted that *Āditya*, *Vāyu* and *Agni* are called men or *Nara*-s in the *Brāhmaṇa*-s and they are taken to be the centres of celestial, intermediary and terrestrial life-force .

इयमेव पृथ्वी विश्वम् अग्निर्नरः, अन्तरिक्षमेव विश्वं वायुर्नरः, द्यौरेव विश्वमादित्यो नरः । शत० IX. 3.1.3

These lines reveal the Vedic concept of similarity and inter-relatedness of the microcosm and the macrocosm. It is then evident that the rules governing these different manifestations in the Universe also would be the same. The seven aspects of the celestial or the atmospherical *Nara* should, therefore, be reflected in the mundane *Nara* as well. These notions are to be found in the following and the like :—

अथ यः पुरुषः सोऽग्निर्वैश्वानरः । मैत्र्युप० II, 6[2]

This inter-relationship and similarity between the microcosm and the macrocosm has induced the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* to declare :

एष वै मूर्धा य एष तपति । शत० XIII. 4.1.13[3]

and the author of the *Nirukta* to say :

अपि वा शिर आदित्यो भवति, इदमपि इतरत् शिरः एतस्माद् एव, समाश्रितानि एतदिन्द्रियाणि भवन्ति ।

"(The head is the *Āditya*; for it resides within every individual. Human head also is called *Śiraḥ* for this very reason; because all his senses take inspiration from it"). The seven rays of the Sun and the seven types of *Vāyu* thus manifest themselves in anindividual as seven vital airs, the principal one being in the centre and the remaining six as itsemanations. The *Ṛgveda* says that these seven, which were originally rooted in the *Pūṣan*, are linked to the *Pūṣan* through the Atmosphere (अन्तरिक्ष) and regulate the seven human senses (Five senses+mind+reason. पञ्चेन्द्रियाणि + मनस् + बुद्धिः).[4]

1. शतपथब्रा० IX. 3.1.6; ऐत० ब्रा० I. 17; तैत्ति० ब्रा० I. 2.3.3, ताण्ड्य ब्रा० II. 14.2
2. Cf. शतपथ०ब्रा० VI. 7.3.11; IX. 2.1.8; ऐत ब्रा० IV. 20; मुण्डकोप० II. 1.8
3. Cf. शतपथ ब्रा० VII. 5.1.22
4. ऋ०X. 5.5

The *Atharvaveda* has described Atharvan, the foremost promulgator of the sacrificial institution, as joining the heart with the head, carrying the vital life to the brain-centre.[1]

मूर्धानमस्य संसीव्य अथर्वा हृदय च यत् ।
मस्तिष्कादूर्ध्वं प्रैरयत् पवमानोऽधिशीर्षतः ।। अथर्ववेद X. 2.26

(The wise having restrained his powerful senses, has sublimated their capacities for the direct experience of joy, immortal. The soul which exists before body, resides in the heart and governs the life of the individual. He salvages the individual under the care of *Pūṣan*).

The *Atharvaveda* has described *Atharvan* as joining the heart with the head, carrying the vital airs to the brain centre, revealing to the soul a supernatural world beyond the grasp of reason (मस्तिष्कादूर्ध्वम्). Here is indicated the process by which an individual drops down his limits and soars towards the final Beatitude.

To dilate upon the nature of this final attainment is not the subject-matter for this brief dissertation. One thing can, however, be noted that this semblance in the cosmic and the individual world has been utilised as a clue to this attainment. This may sound mystical to modern mind, whieh is tutored to disregard things that are not explained by reason. This perhaps is due to a wrong notion, that super-sensuous experience must be anti-intellectual. It is supposed that sensual experience alone can be valid; experience through any other medium should never be acceptable to scientific mind. This attitude is certainly helpful in breaking down social inertia, emotional fatalism, shams and illusions, that pass under the guise of religious experience. But philosophic consideration of the self and the universe cannot afford to ignore the data furnished by experience. There may be persons to whom super-sensuous experience is not known,but that is no proof of the unreality of such an experience. There may be persons to whom life of automatic attractions and repulsions would be enough. Higher souls are not satisfied with that. They want to go deeper into the mysteries of life and satisfy the insistent fundamental urges of human beings. It is in such pursuit that the Vedas are said to be trustworthy guides, and hence Sāyaṇācarya proclaims :

प्रत्यक्षेणानुमित्या वा यस्तूपायो न बुध्यते ।
एनं विदन्ति वेदेन तस्माद् वेदस्य वेदता ।।

1. This indicates yogic discipline and practice.

According to the Veda-s the consummation of all such pursuit is the attainment of God, the root-cause of the whole creation. He is extremely pure, bright and untarnished. (निरञ्जन, मुण्डकोप० III. 1.3.).[1]

Yajña or sacrifice is a device by which an individual is carried to God. Before the attainment of God, however, the soul or *Jīva* has to become pure and bright (पुण्यपापे विधूय). We come across a graphic description in the *Upaniṣad*, where motley sacrificial fires beckon the sacrificer and carry him to Sun's rays and further on to the abode of Brahman :

एह्येहीति तमाहुतयः सुवर्चसः सूर्यस्य रश्मिभिर्यजमानं वहन्ति ।
प्रियं वाचमभिवदन्त्योऽर्चयन्त्य एष वः पुण्यः सुकृतो ब्रह्मलोकः ।।
मुण्डक I. 2.6

An individual travels through the Divine path illumined by various colours (which represent different propensities, cosmic as well as individual) finally reaching the unsoiled (विरजस्), unborn (अज) self :—

विरजः पर आकाशादज आत्मा महान्ध्रुवः । बृहद० IV. 4·20 [2]

This Brahman, *Ātman* or the Supreme *Puruṣa* is sometimes identified with *Pūṣan* or the Sun.[3] Here we also have the famous expression :— सोऽहम् । The *Chāndogyopaniṣad* says :

एष वा आदित्यः पिङ्गलः, एष शुक्लः, एष नील; एष लोहितः एता आदित्यस्य रश्मय उभौ लोकौ गच्छन्ति ....।

The universe is thus pervaded by several propensities manifested as the variegated rays of the Sun. When an individual gives up the ghost, he soars up with the help of these :—

एतस्माच्छरीरादुत्क्रामति, अथ एतैरेव रश्मिभिरूर्ध्वमाक्रमति । छान्दो० उप० VIII. 6

It will be interesting to see that this very concept is delineated in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Nārada Purāṇa*. The *Mahābhārata* says.

षड्जीववर्णाः परमं प्रमाणं कृष्णो धूमो नीलमथास्य मध्यम् ।
रक्तं पुनः सह्यतरं सुखं तु हारिद्रवर्णं सुसुखं च शुक्लम् ।।

1. Cf. मुण्डकोप० II. 2.9; कठोप० VI. 17
2. Cf. बृहदारण्यकोप० IV. 4.8.10
3. ईशोप० 16.

Jīva is thus pigmented according to the *Mahābhārata*, because of his tendencies, prompted by the mixture of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. The soul in course of his journey through several births has to dissolve these pigments and become pure and bright when he attains the desired end :—

गत्वा तु योनिप्रभवाणि दैत्यसहस्रशः सिध्दिमुपैति जीवः ।

महाभारत, शान्ति० २८०.३३-४४¹

Individual temperaments which are symbolised as pigments are just the reflections of different planets, to whom universal temperaments have been ascribed. The *Brhat-Pārāśara Horāśāstra* thus describes :

रक्तश्यामो दिवाधीशो गौरगात्रो निशाकरः ।
अत्युच्चाङ्गो रक्तभौमो दूर्वाश्यामो बुधस्तथा ।।
गौरगात्रो गुरुर्ज्ञेयः शुक्रः श्यामस्तथैव च ।
कृष्णदेहो रवेः पुत्रो ज्ञायते द्विजसत्तम ।। पूर्वखण्ड अ० २, श्लो० ६-७

It will be evident now how ideas expressed in the Vedas are worked out further in the later literature. The *Ṛgveda* suggests :

अचिकित्वाँश्चिकितुषश्चिदत्र कवीन्पृच्छामि विद्मने न विद्मन् ।
वि यस्तस्तम्भ षडिमा रजांस्यजस्य रूपे किमपि स्विदेकम् ।।[2]

"I am an ignoramus and hence know nothing. I approach the seers and ask—"The six soiled creations are sustained by the Lord. These are His manifestations. Is it true that they are pervaded by Him alone?"

The inexhaustible Brahman stands at the root of all, and hence every manifestation in the world would reveal His character. The *Ṛgveda* (I. 164.19) and the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (यदेवेह तदमुत्र II. 1.10) are unanimous in affirming the similarity between this world and the yonder worlds. The creation is both gross and subtle, with different worlds and different modes of existences, which form a graduated scale. All of these are informed by the same order, governed by the same principle and permeated by the same essence. Śaṅkarāchārya says :

यथा हि प्राणित्वाविशेषेऽपि मनुष्यादिस्तम्बपर्यन्तेषु ज्ञानैश्वर्यादिप्रतिबन्धः परेण परेण भूयान्भवन् दृश्यते, तथा मनुष्यादिष्वेव हिरण्यगर्भपर्यन्तेषु ज्ञानैश्वर्याभिव्यक्तिरपि परेण परेण भूयसी भवति । ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य I. 3.30

1. Cf. नारदपुराण पूर्वभाग द्वितीयपाद अध्याय LVI. 14—1
2. *Rv.* 1.164.6

All the psychic as well as physical worlds obey this rule. Formed worlds are in essence the formless Absolute and the manifested forms can be utilised as symbols for It. Symbols do belong to the world of phenomena; but the way to realise Reality lies through phenomenality. I feel that if Vedic utterances are construed in this light, they will lead to the same doctrine enunciated by the Upaniṣads and elaborated later by the *Advaita* of Śaṅkara.

Let me wind up this dissertation with a word of apology. I have not followed the modern method of interpreting the Vedic lore. I do not subscribe to the view that the vaguely accepted theory of human evolution and philological considerations alone would reveal the true significance of this monumental literature. I also do not agree with the opinion that Vedic people were somewhere on the lower rungs of the ladder of civilization. To me the whole mass of Vedic literature is one in spirit and conviction, and the epics, Purāṇas and other works express the same thoughts, using the idiom of the age in which they were produced.

कविकुलगुरोः स्थिरभक्तियोगः

बटुकनाथ शास्त्री खिस्ते
वाराणसी

महाकवेः कालिदासस्य विक्रमोर्वशीयाभिधे रूपके मङ्गलपद्ये चतुर्थः पादस्तावदयं— 'स स्थाणुः स्थिरभक्तियोगसुलभो निःश्रेयसायाऽस्तु वः ।' इति महाकविरयं न क्वाऽपि निरभिप्रायं पदमेकमपि प्रयुङ्क्ते यतो हि ध्वनिकारादीनामियमुक्तिः—'व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकाभ्यामेव हि सुप्रयुक्ताभ्यां महाकवित्वलाभो महाकवीनां न पुनर्वाच्यवाचकरचना मात्रेणेति'। अनया दृशा परीक्षणीयः स्थिरभक्तियोगोऽयं महाकवेराशयानुसन्धानेन। अत्र न केवलं योगः किन्तु भक्तियुक्तो योगो भक्तिरूपो वा योगः स च स्थिरपदविशिष्ट इत्यादिना को वाऽभिप्रायो महाकवेः प्रतिपत्तव्यः ?।

अत्रेदं पूर्वापरानुसन्धानेन शक्यमनुमातुं यदस्य कवेर्भगवति स्थाणौ निरतिशया भक्तिरस्त्येव, सर्वेष्वेव तदीयग्रन्थेषु भगवतो भवस्यैव स्तुतिः प्राथम्येन क्रियमाणाऽवलोक्यते। तासु सर्वत्र तदीयसर्वशास्त्रसम्मतं महिमानमुदीर्य तस्मिन् स्वप्रवणतामुपदर्शयति कविः। रघुवंशे तावत्—

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ।।

इत्यस्मिन् पद्ये शब्दार्थतत्त्वावगतये काव्यधाराप्रवृत्तये वा शब्दार्थवदन्योन्यसंश्लिष्टौ जगज्जनकौ शिवौ कविना स्तूयेते। तत्र वेदागमादिपरिशीलिता वाक् परापश्यन्त्यादिभेदेन चतुर्विधा प्रसिद्धैव, सा तु विशेषतो विचार्यमाणा षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वात्मकविश्ववैचित्र्यहेतुर्भगवती संविदेव प्रतिपाद्यते विद्वद्भिः। अभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्यैस्तन्त्रालोके—

प्राक् पश्यन्त्यथ मध्याऽन्या वैखरी चेति ता इमाः ।
परापरा परा देवी चरमा त्वपराऽऽत्मिका ।।
इच्छादिशक्तित्रितयमिदमेव निगद्यते ।
एतत्प्राणित एवाऽयं व्यवहारः प्रतीयते ।।

इत्थं व्याख्याता वाक्शक्तिः। इत्थमेव भर्तृहरिणा—

'न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोको यः शब्दानुगमादृते'

इत्यादिना शब्दतत्त्वस्य विश्वावभासकत्वमङ्गीकृतमेव । महाकविः कालिदासोऽत्र भास्यभासकतया परस्परान्न्वितयोः शिवशक्त्योरशेषविश्ववैचित्र्यरूपेण परिणतिमनुसन्धाय महाकाव्यं निर्मित्सुरात्मनस्तत्प्रवणतामुपदर्शयति । यद्यपि वन्दनं नमस्करणमिति सामान्य-रूपेण स्फुरति, परं तादृशशब्दार्थरूपपारमेश्वरतत्त्वस्य केवलया कायिकया क्रियया वन्दनं न सम्भवति किन्तु सर्वत्र तदभेदानुसन्धानमेव वस्तुतो वन्दनमिति महाकवेराशयः प्रतिभाति । यदुक्तमभियुक्तैः

न पादपतनं भक्तिर्व्यापिनः परमात्मनः ।
भक्तिर्भावस्वभावानां तदेकीभावभावनम् ॥

एवं महाकवेरुपास्यदेवताविषये या भक्तिः, सा सर्वथा द्वैतोज्झिता तदभेदानुसन्धानरूपा यतस्तत एव स्थिरा तदेकप्रवणतारूपचित्तवृत्तिसातत्याच्च योगरूपाऽपि भवतीति 'स्थिरभक्ति-योग' नाम्ना व्यपदेश सम्यग् लभते । कुमारसम्भवे पार्वतीविवाहप्रसङ्गे महेश्वरेण स्मृताः समागताश्च मुनयस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः कृतज्ञताऽऽविष्करणमपि परमेश्वरे जगदात्मनि निष्फलमेवेति ब्रुवते—

या नः प्रीतिर्विरूपक्ष ! त्वदनुध्यानसम्भवा ।
सा किमावेद्यते तुभ्यमन्तरात्माऽसि देहिनाम् ॥

अत्राप्यभेदानुसन्धानरूपैव भक्तिः सप्तर्षीणां कविना सूचिता ।

भक्तिशास्त्रविदां मधुसूदनसरस्वतीप्रभृतीनां सरण्या तैलधारावदविच्छिन्नभगवदेका-कारप्रत्ययप्रवाहात्मिका चित्तवृत्तिर्द्रुतिमुपगता भक्तिरुच्यते । महाकविरयं सर्वत्र कथा-वस्तूनि निबध्नन् साक्षात्प्रणाल्या वा भगवन्तं महेश्वरमनुस्मरति । किं बहुना कुमारसम्भव-स्याष्टमसर्गे समुत्तुङ्गशृङ्गारतरङ्गितेऽपि प्रसङ्गे परमेश्वरस्य मूलभूतं रूपमनामृश्य नाऽयं पदमपि निक्षिपति । तथाहि तत्र विविधासु विलासचेष्टासु प्रवर्तमानास्वपि

'सा तथाऽपि रतये पिनाकिनः'
'शङ्करस्य रुरुधे तया करः'
'प्रश्नतत्परमनङ्गशासनम्'
'जगद्गुरुर्निर्विवश विशदाः शशिप्रभाः'

इत्यादिस्थलेषु पिनाकिशङ्कराऽनङ्गशासनजगद्गुरुप्रभृतिभिः पदैरेव भगवन्तमभिधत्ते, तेन चालङ्कारिकैरुद्भावितः प्रकृतिविपर्ययदोषोऽपि निरस्यत एव । जगद्गुरुप्रभृतिभिः पदैः परमेश्वरस्य मूलभूतमेव स्वरूपं कविना परामृश्यते न तु देवदत्तादिवद् कस्यचित् प्राकृतपुरुष-स्याभिधानमात्रम् । सोऽयं स्थिरभक्तियोगः पार्वत्याश्चरिते सम्यगुपपादितः कविना । बटुवेषधरेण हरेण मुहुःपरीक्षिताऽभिप्राया शैलकन्या हरनिन्दातस्तं निवारयन्ती यदैवं प्राह

उवाच चैनं परमार्थतो हरं न वेत्सि नूनं यत एवमात्थ माम् ।
अलोकसामान्यमचिन्त्यहेतुकं द्विषन्ति मन्दाश्चरितं महात्मनाम् ॥

तत्र परमार्थतो हरस्वरूपज्ञानमतिदुष्करं तच्च यदि संपद्यते तदा पुरुषार्थपराकाष्ठेति कवेराशयः संलक्ष्यते। परमार्थतो हरस्वरूपज्ञाने च स्थिरभक्तियोग एवोपायः स च विश्वस्मिन् तदभेदभावनारूप इत्यभिप्रायो निष्पन्नः। अत्र कविना 'ह्'कार'र'कारयोराकाशाऽग्नि-बीजरूपतया मायाबीजमंशतः कटाक्षयता विश्वस्य शिवशक्त्यात्मकत्वमागमशास्त्रदृष्ट्याऽपि सूचितमाभाति। अयमेवाशयः शाकुन्तलस्य चरमपद्ये 'ममाऽपि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः' इत्यत्र किञ्चिद्विशिष्य व्याख्यातः।

मेघदूते एकसम्बन्धिज्ञानमपरसम्बन्धिस्मारकमिति न्यायेन परम्परयाऽपि परमोपास्ये भगवति चित्तवृत्तिप्रवाहो भक्तेः प्रकारो भवतीति पद्यविशेषे कविना प्रकाश्यते—

तद्यथा—भर्तुः कण्ठच्छविरिति गणैः सादरं वीक्ष्यमाणः
पुण्यं यायास्त्रिभुवनगुरोर्धाम चण्डीश्वरस्य।

इत्यादिपद्ये भर्तृ-त्रिभुवनगुरु-चण्डीश्वरशब्दाः सविशेषमवधानमपेक्षन्ते। महाकविवाचामतिगभीरोऽभिप्रायः स्वारसिको भवतीति नियममाश्रित्य भर्तृशब्दः स्वातन्त्र्यशक्ति-संपन्नत्वे पर्यवस्यति, एवं त्रिभुवनगुरुशब्दो वाच्यव्यङ्ग्यदशयोस्तत्तद्विशिष्टार्थबोधकः, एवं 'चण्डी'शब्दोऽपि जगन्नियामिकायाः शक्तेर्बोधकः 'भीषाऽस्माद्वातः पवते भीषोदेति सूर्यः' इत्यादिमन्त्रस्मरणात्। एवंविधे भगवति सततप्रवाहशीलायां चित्तवृत्तौ गुरूपदेशाद्युपायेन संपन्नायां 'स्थिरभक्तियोगः' कालिदासकवेरभिमतः सिद्ध्यतीत्याकलयामः।

एवंविधेन स्थिरभक्तियोगेन न केवलमुपास्यः परमेश्वर इति साधारणोक्तिः, किन्तु तेनैव सुलभो नेतरेणोपायेनेति कथने कवेरभिनिवेशो लक्ष्यते। भगवतः शिवस्य सुलभत्वं कविना तद्वचसैव स्फुटीकृतं कुमारसम्भवे शाकुन्तले च यथा

'विदितं वो यथा स्वार्था न मे काश्चित्प्रवृत्तयः।
ननु मूर्तिभिरष्टाभिरित्थंभूतोऽस्मि सूचितः॥'

'प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिरष्टाभिरीशः'

अवाङ्मनसगोचरं मुक्तोपसृप्यं ब्रह्म तावन्मन्दधीभिर्दुरासदं भवति, महेश्वरस्तु महीप्रभृतिभिः स्थूलाभिरपि सर्वसंवेद्याभिस्तनुभिरुपासितुं सुलभो वर्तते। तत एव च चिरात्पार्थिवमूर्तौ समर्च्यते परमेश्वरः सर्वैः। अत एव कविना 'इत्थंभूतोऽस्मि सूचित' इति भगवदुक्त्या सुलभत्वमुपदर्शितम्।

नानाविधपुराणागमप्रसिद्धासु कथासु भगवतः सुलभत्वं प्रसिद्धमेव। किञ्च—

'सुन्दरः सुमुखः स्वस्थः सुलभो बहुतत्त्ववित्।
असंशयः संशयच्छिन्निरपेक्षो गुरुर्मतः॥'

इति तन्त्रराजोक्तेषु गुरुलक्षणेषु 'सुलभ' शब्दस्तत्रैव व्याख्यातः 'सौलभ्यमप्यगर्वित्वम्' इति। परमेश्वरस्य विश्वमूर्तेः सर्वसङ्कोचशङ्काकलङ्काभावान्नाऽहङ्कारलेशः परममौदार्यञ्च सुप्रथितमेव। महाकविनाऽप्येतदुन्मीलितम्—

'अष्टाभिर्यस्य कृत्स्नं जगदपि तनुभिर्बिभ्रतो नाऽभिमानः' इति।

तदेवमद्वैतभक्तियोगेनैव सुलभो महेश्वर इति कवेराशयः स्फुटीभवति। सा च भक्तिः पञ्चमपुरुषार्थरूपा निगमागमनिरूपिताऽपि सविशेषमागमोपलभ्या कविवचसां पर्यन्तभूमिरिति नः प्रतिभाति।

*NṚSIṀHĀŚRAMA'S CONCEPT OF LIBERATION

Dr. Satya Deva Misra

SULTANPUR

I

INTRODUCTION

Science has succeeded in its effort to enrich the world with numerous material advancements. In future too Science will go on advancing rapidly and promote our prosperity, welfare and happiness. But as real happiness and peace cannot be attained from any of the mundane prospects and prosperities, one has to take resort to philosophy, which avowedly promises to fulfil man's supreme goal, called *mokṣa* or liberation.[1]

Destruction of bondage and attainment of ever-enduring happiness constitute the nature of liberation. It is, therefore, necessary to give in brief the nature of bondage and happiness before we turn to the subject under discussion.

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* Nṛsiṁhāśrama, a staunch supporter of the Vivaraṇa school, is an honoured name in the history of Advaita Vedānta. He was a disciple of Jagannāthāśrama and Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī, the grandteacher of Dharmarāja, the author of the well-known Advaita classic *Vedānta-Paribhāṣā*, and teacher of several celebrated Advaitins, like Nārāyaṇāśrama. Bhattojī Dīkṣita, Rangojī Bhatta, Venkaṭanātha, Nānāji Dīkṣita, Appaya Dīkṣita and Raṅgarājādhvarīndra. Perhaps no other preceptor of Advaita, save Ācārya Śaṅkara, could claim such a galaxy of distinguished disciples, as Nṛsiṁhāśrama had in his seminary. He wrote a number of dessertations and glosses on the standard treatises of Vivaraṇa school and both as an independent writer and commentator acquired a very great reputation. His works are (1) *Adviata Dīpikā*. (2) *Vedāntatattvaviveka* (3) *Bhedādhikāra*, (4) *Nṛsiṁhavijñāpana*, (5) *Advaita pañcaratna* (6) *Vācārambhaṇa* (7) *Vedāntaratnakoṣa* on Padmapada's *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa* (8) *Bhāvaprarakāśikā* on Prakaśatman's *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa* (9) *Tattvabodhinī* on Sarvajñātman's *Saṅkṣepaśārīruka* and (10) *Tattvavivekadīpana* on his own work *Vedāntatattviveka*. From the original manuscript of his *Vedāntatattvaviveka* available in the India Office Library, London, it is known that he wrote it in 1547 A, D. According to traditions, he was a man of whole century. All this leads to the conclusion that Nṛsiṁhāśrama belonged to the 16th century. A. D.

1. *iha khalu dharmārthakāmamokṣākhyeṣu caturvidhapuruṣārtheṣu mokṣa eva parampauruṣārthaḥ 'na sa punḥāvartate' ityādiśrutyā tasya nityatavāvadhāraṇāt.* (*Vedānta Paribhāṣā*, Adyar Edn. pp. 2-3.)

II

BONDAGE

Non-realisation of the Absolute Reality, be it *Brahman* or *Īśvara* or any other principle acceptable to an Indian thought, is bondage. Scriptures declare that *Brahman*, which is of the nature of truth, knowledge and infiniteness[1] is the only real happiness[2] and the true goal of human life. This *Brahman*, though, according to the *Upaniṣad*-s is one and non-dual,[3] yet on account of nescience (*ajñāna*) seems to have splintered up into multiple forms of *Īśvara*, *Jīva* and other worldly objects.[4] The individual soul is thus essentially non-different from *Brahman*,[5] but because of *avidyā* (ignorance) which has veiled its true nature, and projected out and superimposed on it the characteristics of ego (*antaḥkaraṇa*) i. e. *Kartṛtva* (agency or doership), *bhoktṛtva* (enjoyership) and *pramātṛtva* (knowership) it is not able to recognise its identity with *Brahman*, labours under delusion and transmigrates from one body to another.[6] This transmigration of body, which involves incessantly revolving cycle of births and deaths, is known as the bondage of the *Jīva;* and the beginningless *avidyā* conjoined with constantly accruing and accumulating merit and demerit of the *Jīva* is the cause of bondage[7]

III

HAPPINESS

Everlasting and unalloyed happiness is the first and foremost goal of human life. Generally, acquirement or enjoyment of any pleasurable thing is happiness, but philosophically it has a specific significance. Vidyāraṇya, a famous *Advaitin* of the 13th century A. D., classifies it into three kinds (i) object-happiness or empirical pleasure (*viṣayānanda*) (ii) learning-happiness

1. *Satyam Jñānamanantam brahma* (*Taittirīya Up.* 2.1.1.).
2. *Vijñānamānandam brahma* (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 3.9.28) and *ānandam brahmaṇo vidvān. Taittirīya Up.* 2.9)· Cf. also *Br. Up.* 4.3.9.
3. *ekamevādvitīyam* (*Chāndogya Up.* 6.2.2.).
4. *jīveśau ābhāsena karoti* (*Nṛsiṁha. Up.* 6) and (*rūpam rūpam pratirūpobabhūva* (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* 2.5.19).
5. *ayamātmā Brahma* (*Br. Up.* 2.4.9) and *tattvamasi* (*Ch. Up.* 6.8.7)
6. *moghāśā moghakarmāṇo moghajñanavicetasaḥ rākṣasīm āsurīm caiva prakṛtim mohinīm śritaḥ* (*Gītā.* 9.12), *prakṛtim svāmavaṣṭabhya visṛjāmi punaḥ punaḥ bhutagrāmam-imam kṛtsnamavaśaṁ prakṛtervaśāt.* (ibid 9.8.). See also ibid vv.7.25, 9.7 and 9.10.
7. *anarthaśca duḥkhātmā tatpratikūlaḥ avidyā ca tadhetuḥ* (*Advaita-dīpikā* of Nṛsiṁhāśrama, Ch. I· p. 338), *bandhanam dharmādharmau kartṛtvasya tanmūlatvāt* (Nṛṣiṁhāśrama's *Tattvābodhinī* on *Saṅkṣepa-Śārīraka* 1.11, p. 8)and see also ibid. 1.50.

or aesthetic pleasure (*vidyā-sukha*) and (iii) Brahman-bliss, eternal and absolute Bliss (*Brahmānanda*).[1]

Pleasures derived from worldly attractions and earthly beauties are said to be of the first kind. This happiness, being dependent on and changing with the states of mind, is unquestionably relative and blended with misery. Pleasures experienced through the learning of *Śāstra*-s and appreciation of beauty or *aparā-vidyā*[2] are known to be of the second kind. This happiness, too, like the first one is relative and so cannot be of a permanent character. But realised as the ultimate reality, *Brahman*, which is of the nature of supreme, eternal, unexcellable and pure bliss[3] is of the third kind. The former two are pseudo-pleasures, and give no lasting satisfaction to human-heart, which is hankering after an eternal pleasure. Contrary to these, is the Brahman-bliss, attaining which, says Lord Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*, one thinks that there is no gain beyond it and seated in which there is no possibility of being shaken even by the heaviest pain.[4] This very realisation through the knowledge of ultimate Reality has been termed as liberation or *summum bonum* by almost all philosophical systems of India, notwithstanding their differences regarding its nature and the means to be adopted for its achievement.

IV

DIFFERENT VIEWS ABOUT LIBERATION :

Nṛsiṁhāśrama, a dialectician par-excellence and a staunch adherent of the Vivaraṇa school, flourished at the time, when the Advaitic concept of liberation was challenged by dialecticians of other schools like *Vijñānavādin*-s, *Naivāyika*-s and others, it was, therefore, natural for him to bring out the distinctive feature of the Advaitic concept and its superiority over others by criticising and discarding the views advanced by other Indian systems Now, we shall proceed to review those views, which have been examined by Nṛsiṁhāśrama in his *Tattvabodhinī*, *Bhāvaprakāśikā* and other works.

1. *ānandastribidho brahmānando vidyāsukham tathā. viṣayānanda ityādau brahmānando vivicyate. (Pañcadaśī.* 11. 11.)
2. *tatrāparā ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo'tharvavedaḥ śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇam niruktam chando jyotiṣamiti* (*Muṇḍ. Up.* 1.1.5.)
3. *yo vai bhūmā tatsukham nālpe sukhamasti bhūmaiva sukham.* (*Chā. Up.* 7.23.1) Cf. also foot-note, 2 p. 204.)
4. *yam labdhvā cāparam lābham manyate nādhikam tataḥ yqsminsthitho na duḥkhena gnruṇāpi vicāryate.* (*Gītā.* 6.22).

(a) Yogācāra view : *Vijñānavādin*-s hold that cessation of objective tinge (*viśayapaplutа*), the changing stream of cognition (*vijñāna*) and its restoration to flow of pure cognition, which is the result of knowledge is *mokṣa* or liberation[1].

Criticising the Yogācāra view, Nṛsiṁhāśrama says in his commentary on the *Saṅkṣepa Śārīraka*, as follows : None of the streams can be sublatable and refinable by knowledge, being different from the streaming cognition (*santānin*) or *vijñāna*, which is itself being dissolved every moment into the *tattva* (absolute). If the Yogācāra view is granted, there is every possibility of contingence of liberation even in the state of bondage. On the other hand, if the streaming cognition were held to be permanent by the *vijñāna-vādin-s*, this will involve a contradiction of their own doctrine, besides advocating *apuruṣārtha*, that is a goal not cherishable by any human being, in maintaining cessation of the stream of cognition as human goal,. for, the stream of cognition would be permanent like Self and so this cessation will mean in a way the cessation of the Self itself which nobody would like.[2] It may be objected to here that cessation of only that stream of cognition is liberation, which is changing in the form of cognitions tinged objectively and not of the stream of permanent cognition (*ālayavijñāna*). Showing impropriety of this objection, Nṛsiṁhāśrama says, since the stream of cognition changing in the form of objects cannot be different from the stream of permanent cognition (*ālayavijñāna*) it will be logically absurd to maintain simultaneity of the two cognitions subsisting differently.

Nor is *mokṣa* an emergence of the unchanging stream of mind. In this case, the *Vijñānavādin-s* have to answer, whether this lack of change attributed to the permanently running stream or in another stream characterised by absence of objective tinges therein (*anuplava*). The first alternative is not tenable, because of the doctrinal contradiction. The changing stream of mind can never be the locus of the momentary or changing stream. The second, too, is not plausible, for if this unchanging stream is different from the changing one, there is the contingence of *vaiyadhikaraṇya*, i. e. existence in different substrata in the states of bondage and liberation. And if both

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1. ....*Upaplutovijñānasantānoparamo jñānaphalam mokṣaḥ* (*Tattvabodhinī* on *Saṅkṣepaşārīraka*, 4.6. (p.1038)

2. *santāninaśca jñanasya sthāyitve apasiddhāntāpātat jñānasantānasyātmātvena taducche-dasyāpuruṣārthatvaprasaṅgācca*, (*na*) *hi svochhedāya kasyacidvāñchā samupajāyate*. (ibid. p.1038).

changing and unchanging are identical, *mokṣa* will again turn into an undesirable human goal (*apuruṣārtha*).[1]

(b) Nyāya View : According to the Naiyāyikas, *mokṣa* consists in cessation of sorrows, which results from the knowledge of the Self.[2]

Directing his criticism against the Nyāya view, Nṛsiṁhāśrama questions whether cessation of sorrow alone is the result of knowledge or absolute cessation of sorrow ? In the first case, it is cessation of all sorrows, or of a few sorrows ? If the first alternative of the first question is accepted *mukti* or release will occur even in the state of deep sleep and dissolution. It may be objected that because of the absence of cessation of future sorrows, there could be no cessation of all sorrows in the state of deep sleep and dissolution. But this objection, says Nṛsiṁhāśrama, is meaningless, because only the produced sorrow can be a counter-correlate of destruction.[3] To be more explicit, when future sorrows have not arisen, there is no question of their being present in the above states and when all born sorrows cease to exist in these states, the Naiyāyikas can have no argument to contradict the Advaitic observation that *mokṣa* will occur in the states of deep sleep and dissolution. Turning to the second alternative of the first question, Nṛsiṁhāśrama points out, if cessation of only a few sorrows constitutes liberation, according to the Nyāya view, *mukti* becomes probable even in the state of bondage, where one always experiences cessation of a few sorrows. The second alternative, that liberation is an absolute cessation, is also not tenable. Absoluteness of cessation of sorrows may mean either (i) eternality, or (ii) non-simultaneity with sorrows or (iii) non-appositveness (*asamānādhikaraṇatva*) with the prior non-existence (*prāgabhāva*) of sorrow, or (iv) non-simultaneity with the prior non-existence of sorrow. None of these alternatives can plausibly hold good. Nor the first one, because of the contingence of *mukti* even in the state of bondage, as during the state of bondage, too, some sorrows may cease permanently. The second meaning of the absoluteness of cessation of sorrow may be interpreted possibly in two ways. It is either (a) non-simultaneity with one's sorrows or non-simultaneity with one's own sorrows. The first alternative is

1. *Upaplutasantānādasyānyatve bandhamokṣayorvaiyadhikaraṇyāpatteḥ. ekatve cānupaplutasyopaplutābhinnatvena mokṣasyāpurusārthatvaprasaṅgāt.* (Ibid., p.1039).
2. *duḥkhanivṛttirātmajñānaphalam mokṣaḥ* (Ibid. 11.1939) Cf. also '*nityasamvedyamānasukhena viśiṣṭātyāntikī duḥkhanivṛttirmokṣaḥ.*' (*Nyāyasāra* of Bhāsārvajña, p.1039).
3. *utpannasaiva dhvaṁśapratiaoyitvāty, Tattvabodhinī* (p. 1039)

impossible because even when some one is released, there will be others still plunged into sorrows and hence no such non-simultaneity can ever be feasible. Following the second interpretation, if it is held that non-simultaneity with one's own sorrows is cessation of sorrow, the question. naturally arises here, is, whether it is so with regard to only a few sorrows or all sorrows ? If this non-simultaneity is intended to be in respect of only a few sorrows, one can attain liberation even in the waking state, which is non-simultaneous with future sorrows. The first alternative is thus easily refutable. The second, too, is unacceptable, because of the contingence of liberation in the states of one's deep sleep and dissolution, where all sorrows really cease. The third possible alternative, namely, absolute cessation of sorrow consists in non-appositiveness with the prior non-existence of sorrow may be interpreted further as non-appositiveness with the prior non-existence of sorrows, whatsoever or non-appositiveness with the prior non-existence of one's own sorrows. Proving improbability of the first interpretation, Nṛsiṁhāśrama remarks that since during the state of bondage, too, non-appositiveness with the prior non-existence of other's sorrows is possible even from cessation of one's own sorrows, the contingence of liberation even in the state of bondage cannot be explained away.[1] The second interpretation is also not sound, for, as a rule, prior and annihilative non-existences are appositive of each other and hence cessation of sorrow is in apposition with the prior non-existence of sorrows.[2] In other words, as the prior non-existence is in apposition with the annihilative non-existence, absoluteness of cessation of sorrows in the form of non-appositiveness with one's own sorrows does not stand to reason. The last alternative, that suggests absoluteness of cessation of sorrow as non-simultaneity with the prior non-existence of sorrow, may imply either non-simultaneity with the prior non-existence of any sorrow or with the prior non-existence of all sorrows. In order to avoid an unwelcome contingence of *mukti* during the state of bondage, one has to reject the first of these alternatives. For it is a universally acknowledged fact, that in the state of bondage, too, there is non-simultaneity with the past prior non-existence of sorrow. And the second alternative, namely, non-simultaneity with the prior non-existence of all sorrows is groundless, because of the contingence of liberation even

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1. *nādyāḥ sansāradaśayāmapi muktiprasaṅgāt tadānīntana-duḥkhanivṛtterapi parakīya-duḥkha-prāgabhāvāsāmānādhikaraṇatvat*. (ibid., pp. 1039-40).
2. *na dvitīyaḥ asambhavāt, prākpradhvaṁsābhāvayoraikādhikaraṇyaniyamena duḥkha-nivṛtteḥ duḥkhaprāgabhāvasamānādhikaraṇatvāt* (Ibid. p.1040).

through the annihilation of present sorrows, which, being non-simultaneous with the prior non-existence of annihilated sorrows, exists without simultaneity with the prior non-existence of all sorrows.[1] In other words, since the condition of non-simultaneity with the prior non-existence of sorrow is *operant* even in the state of bondage, it is very difficult for Naiyāyikas to maintain any line of distinction or demarcation between the states of bondage and liberation, where cessation of sorrows is occasioned respectively due to fulfilment of material desires and the knowledge of Self. The opponent may argue that during the state of bondage, there cannot be non-simultaneity with the prior non-existence of all sorrows because there is also a possibility of simultaneity with the prior non-existence of a few sorrows. Questioning this possibility of simultaneity, Nṛsiṁhāśrama says, that the meaning of non-simultaneity with the prior non-existence of all sorrows implies the absence of simultaneity with the prior non-existence of sorrows, whatsoever, and this is possible even if the prior non-existence of any sorrow is absent, for, there can be no objects.[2] And, since simultaneity with the prior non-existence of all sorrows is established nowhere, there is no possibility of its being absent. The meaning of simultaneity itself is thus against simultaneity of any sorrow. It may be argued further by the opponent, that as regards Self, there is permanent prior non-existence of all sorrows and, therefore, the conditions of simultaneity and appositiveness are for *ātmattva* (selfhood) etc. But this argument, too, like the previous ones, says Nṛsiṁhāśrama, is not sound because of the following reasons. First, although it is true that the appositiveness with the prior non-existence of all sorrows is established with respect to the Self, yet there can be no such simultaneity in the Self. Secondly, since sorrows are of the nature of a beginningless series, how can the prior non-existence of all sorrows be possible as is thus unknown before *vicāra* or enquiry into the truth, cannot be subject to a person, yearning for liberation. Since the desire for a thing cannot arise without a prior knowledge of the form of that thing,[3] nobody would even think of annihilating an unknown sorrow.

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1. *na dvitīyaḥ—idānīṁtanaduḥkhadhvaṁsasyāpi vinaṣṭa-duḥkhaprāgabhāvasamānakālīnatvābhāvena sakaladuḥkhaprāgabhāvāsamānakālīnatvasattvena muktiprasaṅgāt.* (ibid, p. 1040).
2. *yāvanti duḥkhaprāgabhāvāstatsamānakālīnatvarāhityam hi tadarthaḥ. taccaikasminduḥkhaprāgabhāve vinaṣṭe'pi sambhavateyeva.* (ibid, p.1040).
3. *tatprakārakajñānam vinā tatprakārakakāmanānupatpateḥ* (ibid. 1040).

As none of the possible alternatives of the definition of *mokṣa* as cessation of sorrows is tenable, the Nyāya view of liberation cannot be accepted.

(c) YOGA VIEW :

The followers of the Yoga system maintain that *mokṣa* consists in the absolute non-existence of sorrows, and substantiate their viewpoint by citing a scriptural text, which says that "In the state of liberation, one is absolutely free from sorrow".[1]

It would appear that this view is nothing but a modified form of the Nyāya view, and so cannot find favour with our author, Nṛsiṁhāśrama. Criticising the yoga concept he says, the absolute non-existence of sorrow is impossible in one's own self and if the liberation is said to be the absolute non-existence of others' sorrows, then there will be a contingence of liberation during the state of bondage in which one experiences the absolute non-existence of others' sorrows. Thus the view point of this system is dismissed as utterly untenable.

It may be argued by the opponent that the absolute non-existence of sorrows, which exists elsewhere, gets related to one's own Self when all sorrows of the self are destroyed and this is precisely meant by liberation. To meet this argument Nṛsiṁhāśrama says that the Self, which is the locus of the destruction of its own sorrows, cannot be related to the absolute non-existence of the sorrows existing elsewhere. And if the opponent's contention is conceded, the contingence of liberation even in the dissolution gets unaviodable, because, as a rule, the absolute non-existence cannot co-exist with the counter-correlate prior non-existence and annihilative non-existence.[2] Moreover, as the absolute non-existence is eternal, the futility of knowledge as a means thereto becomes irresistible in the Yoga system. The scripture negates really the relation of sorrows in one's Self and, therefore, the absolute non-existence of sorrow cannot characterise the true nature of liberation. Again, if liberation is non-existence of sorrows, it is no better than *apuruṣārtha*, because the gain and loss, one has in following this view, are equalised.[3]

1. *Kecit duḥkhenātyantam vimuktāścaratīti śrutibalātduḥkhātyantābhāvo mokṣaiti. vadanti.* (ibid, p.1043). Cf. Nrsiṁhāśrama's commentary. *Bhāvaprakāśikā* on the *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa*, p.37, aad '*Kaivalyamātyantikī* on the *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa*, on *Yogasūtra* 3.50)

2. *atyantābhāvasya pratiyogiprākpradhvaṁsābhāvāsam-āndeśatvaniyamot pralāyā'pi mnktipraṇaṅgācca.* (*Tattva-bodhinī*. 1034).

3. *śrutiḥ svātmano vastuto duḥkhasansargam niṣedhati kiñca duḥkābhāvalakṣanamokṣasya sukharahitatayātulyātulyāyavyayaj atvenāpuruṣārthatvaprasaṅgaḥ* (ibid. p.1043).

As to a question, if the absence of sorrow is not accepted as the true goal of human life, what else can be so, answers Nṛsiṁhāśrama that bliss alone is the supreme goal. The opponent may question that bliss, too, being blent with misery is rejectable and so, cannot be the human goal. This objection Nṛsiṁhāśrama explains away by pointing out the distinction between the real and the unreal pleasure. He says that the real pleasure is certainly one, which is obtainable (*upādeya*) and not that which is rejectable (*heya*), because the latter which is in contradiction to the former, can only be of the nature of non-pleasure or pain. This achievable (*upādeya*) absolute pleasure alone can constitute the supreme human goal, because it, as Scriptures say, is of the nature of the Brahman. The opponent objects further that a *yogin* also does not discard totally the attainability of pleasure in *mukti*. A *yogin*, while in *jīvanmukti*, experiences all kinds of pleasure by creating a *kāya-vyūha* (series of bodies) through his yogic power. Nṛsiṁhāśrama's reply to this is : if it is so, there is a contingence of *apuruṣārthatā* with respect to the bodiless release (*videhamukti*). Also it is not possible to experience all sorts of pleasure for an embodied liberated person, because there is no such rule that only *yogin-s* attain liberation. On the other hand, scriptures declare it as a rule, that there is no difference between the liberation of gods, seers and human beings.[1] Patañjali has also admitted that *kaivalya* or liberation is possible both for Gods and non-Gods (*anīśvaras*).[2] The simultaneous enjoyment of all *karmans*, which are limited to a certain place and time is, also impossible, for otherwise, there is a contingence of non-validity for the *codanā* or the motive impelling one to act.

It may be argued by the opponent that one has to admit the simultaneous enjoyment of all *karman-s*, because an unenjoyed *karman*, according to *Smṛti* texts like "An unenjoyed *karman* stands undestroyed even after a lapse of thousand million *Kalpas*"[3] etc,. cannot cease until exhausted through its resultant enjoyment, and also because of the impossibility of the sequential enjoyment of all *karman-s*. This argument, says Nṛsiṁhāśrama, is not tenable, because the *Smṛti* text quoted here relates to the *karmans*, which have begun to bear fruit like to that of an unperformed expiatory (*prāyaścitta*) *karman*. Otherwise, there is a futility

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1. '*tadyo yo devānām pratyabudhyat sa eva tadabhavat tatharṣīṇām tathā manuṣyāṇām* (*Bṛ. Up.* 1.4 10)—*iti muktyaviśeṣaśruteḥ* (ibid. pp. 1043-44).
2. *etasyāmavasthāyām kaivalyamīśvarasyānīśvarasya veti pātañjalavacanācca*. (ibid. 1044).
3. *nābhuktam kṣīyate karma kalpakoṭiśatairapi* (*Bṛhannāradīya* 3.69.70)

for expiation or *prāyaścitta*.[1] The opponent may object to it saying that unenjoyment is only in relation to unperformed expiatory *karman*. Nṛsiṁhāśrama's reply to this objection is that this very reason establishes the impossibility of simultaneously enjoying all *karmans*. This very established rule can lead the conclusion that like the expiatory action, the knowledge of the Self, too, can annul the operations of all *karmans* other than the *Prārabdha karmans* which pursue the knowledge till their enjoyment. ' All *karmans* of a person cease, who has realised the absolute Reality"[2] and 'the fire of knowledge reduces all *karmans* to ashes'[3]—these passages respectively from the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* and the *Gītā* also vouch for the removability of *karmans* through the knowledge of the supreme Self. Again, the ultimate human goal can be only that, which is being known (*jñāyamāna*) and is not unknown (*ajñāyamāna*). A treasure hidden in the earth and hence unknown can never be desired as an object of achievement (*puruṣārtha*).[4] Nobody is able to know cessation of sorrows and hence it cannot be admitted as the ultimate human end. In the state of liberation, there is no knowledge and if it were there, its purpose itself would be unserved.

Further, if non-existence of sorrows can be the human goal, why not its absolute non-existence? As a matter of fact, the latter would be the supreme human goal in accordance with the maxim of 'still more so' (*Kaimutikanyāya*). Consequently the Lord (*Parameśvara*) would be ever-liberated. And the inner things like pot etc. would also be so, because neither the knowledge of the Lord is held here as supreme human goal nor the latter.[5] In other words, if not knowledge of the supreme Self, but the absolute non-existence of sorrow is defined as liberation, the Lord and inert things are to be admitted as eternally liberated, for, to Lord and these things, sorrows, in fact, are absolutely non-existent.

It may be objected to by the opponent that the determinability of non-existence of sorrows lies in the apposition of the counter-correlate sorrows.

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1. *prāyo nāma tapaḥ proktam cittam niścaya ucyate. tapo-ni-ścayasaṁyogāt prāyaścittamitrīyate. (Hemādri)* Quoted from Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.
2. *Kṣīyante cāsya Karmāṇi tasmin dṛṣṭe parāvare (Muṇḍ. Up.* 22.8)
3. *Yathaidhāṁsi samiddho 'gnirbhasmasātkurute' rjuna|jñanāgniḥ sarvakarmāṇi bhasmasātkurute tathā (Gāita,* 4.37)
4. *Kiñca jñāyamānameva puruṣārtho vaktavyaḥ na tvajñāyamānam bhūnihitanidhyādeḥ puruṣārthatvadarśanāt (Tattvabodhlnī,* p. 1044).
5. *evam ca parameśvaro'pi nityatṛptaḥ syāt. tathā ca tajjñānasyaivāpuruṣārthatve ghaṭādirapi nityatṛptaḥ syāt.* (ibid. p. 1045).

As reply to this objection Nṛsiṁhāśrama says that if this condition of determinability is granted, sorrow itself becomes *puruṣārtha.* Not only sorrow but the absolute non-existence will also be the supreme human goal, because anything implied by sorrow has to become naturally so. If it is contended by the *yogin* that non-existence of only those sorrows constitutes the nature of *puruṣārtha*, which are producible, the Advaitist Nṛsiṁhāśrama would put this contention to the following insoluble examination. How can the producibilty of sorrow, which is neither pleasure nor non-existence of sorrow, nor the means occasioning non-existence of sorrow, and non-existence of which lies in the prior non-existence be a determinant with respect to the human goal?[1] Further, if non-existence of producible sorrow is accepted as the human goal, not only sorrow, but also the yearning after the destruction of sorrow, which ascertains the objectness of its direct knowledge, will come up as *puruṣārtha.* As regards the cited Scripture,[2] Agnahotra Yajvan in his commentary on the *Advaitaratna-koṣa* of Nṛsiṁhāśrama says that it states only the absence of sorrow in *mukti* and does not maintain it as the human goal.[3]

Concluding the examination of the Yoga view Nṛsiṁhāśrama remarks that *mokṣa,* in view of the aforesaid reasons and scriptural contradiction, cannot be of the nature of non-existence of sorrow and so one has to admit it as identical with the Supreme Bliss.

IV. Sāṅkhya view : The exponents of the Sāṅkhya School also define *mokṣa* as absolute non-existence of three kinds of sorrows which is possible from the discriminative knowledge between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti.*[4] To put differently, *mukti* in the Sāṅkhya system consists in aloofness of the Self as a result of its dawning discernment between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti.*[5]

Even a cursory glance would show that the Sāṅkhya also follows more or less the Yoga and the Nyāya systems in expounding liberation as the state of

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1. See Ibid. p. 1046.
2. See foot-note. 1, p. 210.
3. "*duḥkhenātyantaṁ vimuktascārati*" *iti śrutiśca tatkāle duḥkhābhāva-mātraṁ darśyati na tu tasya puruṣārthatvam*'. (Ch. I, p. 342).
4. *atha trividhaduḥkhātyantaṇivṛttiratyantapuruṣārthaḥ.* (*Sāṅkhya-sūtra* 1.1.) and *Vivekānniḥśeṣaduḥkhanivṛttau Kṛtakṛtyatā netarānnetarāt.* (ibid. 3.84) Cf. also *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*, 1.
5. *Prakṛtipuruṣavivekagrahāt Cidātmano viviktayā'vasthānam muktiriti. (Tattvabodhinī, p. 1047).*

absolute non-existence of sorrows. Since from the foregone pages we have already refuted the views of the Nyāya and the Yoga systems and have arrived at a conclusion that *mokṣa* can be only of the nature of bliss, the Sāṅkhya view naturally falls on the ground and it is, therefore, needless to examine it with the touch-stone of reason.

(V) MĪMĀṀSAKA SCHOOLS :

(i) Prābhākara view : According to the fifth view referred to in Nṛsiṁhāśrama's *Tattvabodhinī*, the maintenance of the prior non-existence of sorrow is liberation.[1] It seems difficult to find out as to which system this view belongs. But if we have to accept the authority of a Nyāya work, *Vādavinodinī* of Śaṅkara Miśra, this is the view of the Prābhākara school of Pūrvamīmāṁsā.[2] Maintenance of the prior non-existence of sorrows, as puts Prof. A. G Krishna Warrier, 'amounts to saying that *mokṣa* is a state of the Self, in which there is no pain and no possibility of its appearance.'[3]

This view also falls in line with the view taken by the Nyāya and others and so Nṛsiṁhāśrama does not wield his mighty pen for its criticism. He says that this view should be treated as automatically dismissed on the grounds already adduced to refute the views of the Nyāya and other schools.

(ii) Kumārila view : Kumārila, unlike the Naiyāyikas and other realists, maintains that *mokṣa* consists in the manifestation of bliss.[4] Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, one of the supporters of Kumārila, says that when there is absolute cessation of sorrow, the resultant mental experience of happiness, which already exists in one's soul, is *mokṣa*.[5] 'Bliss is the nature of the Brahman and this is only manifested in the state of liberation'[6]—is a scriptural authority on which, Kumārila and their followers base their concept of *mukti*.

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1. *duḥkhaprāgabhāvaparipālanam mokṣaḥ* (ibid. p. 1047).
2. See P. 40.
3. *The Concept of Mukti in Advaita Vedānta*, Part I, ch. vii, p. 203.
4. *Sukhābhivyaktirmokṣaḥ* (*Tattvabodhinī*, p. 1047).
5. *duḥkhātyanta-samucchede sati prāgātmavartinaḥ| sukhasya manasā bhuktirmuktiruktā Kumārilaiḥ*. (*Mānameyodaya*, p. 212).
6. *ānandam brahmaṇo rūpām tacca mokṣe'bhivyajyate*.

In order to criticise this view, Nṛsiṁhāśrama sets forth two possible interpretations of the term, manifestation (*abhivyakti*). The manifestation can imply either the destruction of that which has brought about the delusion of non-manifestation, or the origination of a prior non-existent thing. In admitting the first alternative, Bhāṭṭas will be only dittoing the Advaita view, which, as we shall see in the following pages, holds that the bliss manifested in the state of *mokṣa* is eternal unsurpassable and ever-attained. and its non-manifestation is due to delusion over the real nature of the Brahma. If, following the second alternative, the manifestation of bliss is said to be the origination of an antecedently non-existent bliss, then there will be the continence of non-eternality in respect of *mokṣa,* because any thing, which is subject to origination, cannot be eternal. Further, how can an antecedently non-existent bliss come into existence in the *mukti*, wherein, according to the scriptures, there is the absence of body, which alone is admitted as the abode of a generable happiness. And if the body is said to be operating even after the attainment of liberation, there is no difference between the states of liberation and bondage.[1] Owing to all this incongruousness, the Bhāṭṭa view is also not admissible.

V

ADVAITA VIEW

Having thus criticised the views of the Nyāya and other schools of Indian thought, Ācārya Nṛsiṁhāśrama advances to bring into light his own view i. e. The *Śaṅkarādvaita* concept of *mukti.*

(i) Nature *:* Liberation, according to Ācārya Śaṅkara and the Śaṅkaraites, is the result of *Brahma-jñāna* (Realisation of the Brahman).[2] But it should be noted here that this emergence of emancipation lies neither in its attainment through any kind of action, nor in its prior non-existence. It, in fact, is ever-attained, but seems unattained because of the Neiscience which has veiled its true nature. Its attainment is not like the fruit of a tree, which can be produced in a particular place and time, and involves a series of actions. On the contrary, its attainment is like the lost ornament which has been all the time round one's neck but appeared to be unattained.[3] *Ajñāna* is the only hindrance to its attainment. As soon as this *ajñāna* is

1. *śarīram vinā tadutpattyayogācca.* (*Tattvabodhinī, pp. 1047-48*), and *nāpi sukhābhivyaktireva sukhāvāptiḥ tasyāpyaśarīrāvasthāyāmasambhavena muktisansārayoraviśeṣāt* (*Bhāvaprakāsikā* on *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa, Varṇaka* 1, p. 376.)

2. *Phalam ca mokṣo' vidyānivṛttireva* (Śaṅkara's commentary on *Bṛ. Up.* 1. 4. 7 p. 117) and *mokṣākhyam phalam* (Śaṅkara's commentary on *Gītā*, 4. 1.).

3. *lipsate' jñanato' labdham kaṇṭhe cāmikaram yathā* (Sureśvarācārya : *Naiṣkarwyasiddhi* ch. 1. v. 31).

removed by the knowledge of absolute Reality, one attains liberation. Its attainment has thus only a figurative meaning and the resulting, too, is nothing but the removal of ignorance by knowledge of the Brahman.[1] Declaring that the Brahman itself is the state of liberation,[2] Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra* defines *mokṣa* as one, which is absolutely real, transcendental, eternal, omnipresent like ether, free from modifications, ever-satisfied (*nityatṛpta*), indivisible and self-luminous.[3] Nṛsiṁhāśrama, who is a close follower of Ācārya Śaṅkara, has given two definitions of *mokṣa*. According to one definition, *mokṣa or niḥśreyas* consists in the *avasthāna* or remaining of the individual soul in its true nature as the Brahman, which is free from all superimposition, like agency etc., unrelated to the world of dualities and shining forth with unsurpassable bliss[4] And according to the other, it is the destruction of bondage[5] or the removal of ignorance.[6] But these, definitions are not opposed to each other, because while the former describes *mokṣa* in the positive terms, the latter defines the same in the negative terms. These two conceptions also lead the Advaita system to the summit of superiority. The negative nature points out the impossibility of cessation or absolute non-existence of sorrow without removing its root, *ajñāna*, by the knowledge of Brahman and the positive aspect distinguishes the Advaita from the Buddhism and those other schools of Indian philosophy, which, in the name of gaining *mokṣa*, expound only the cessation of sorrow as such.

It follows from the above discussion that *mokṣa* is eternal and beginningless. Now we support this eternality and beginninglessness on the strength of the Scriptures. 'He, who knows the Brahman, becomes the Brahman'[7] 'By the knowledge one attains immortality,'[8] 'One remaining in the Brahmaṅ becomes immortal', and 'This bodiless and immortal Self

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1. *mokṣapratibandhaninṛivttimātramevātmajñānasya phalam daṅśryati* (Śaankara's commentary on *Brahma Sūtra*, 1. 1. 4. p. 75).
2. *Brahmaiva muktyavasthā* (Ibid., 3. 4. 52, p. 823).
3. Ibid., 1. 1. 4. p. 73.
4. *Upasampattiśca Kevalānandabrahmarūpeṇāvasthānam* (*Advaitadīpikā*, ch. 1. p. 334). Cf. *nirastasakalakartṛtvādyadhyāsam apākṛtadvaitadarśanam anatiśayānandaprakāśamānabrahma-svarūpāvasthānam nīḥśreyasam*. (*Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa*, *Varṇaka* 4, p. 621).
5. *sa ca mokṣo bandhadhvaṁsa eva mucerdhātostatraiva prasiddheḥ*. (*Bhāvaprakśikā* on *Pañcrapādikā-vivaraṇa*, *Varṇaka*, 1, p. 40)
6. *tasmādanādyavidyāvṛttireva tattvajñānasādhyā muktiḥ*. (ibid, p. 377).
7. *Brahmaveda brahmaiva bhavuti* (*Muṇḍaka Up*. 3. 2. 9)
8. *Vidyayāmṛtumaśnute* (*Īśa. Up*., 11).

is the Brahman itself'[1]—are the Scriptures which show that *mokṣa* is of the nature of the Brahman and so eternal. The *anāditva* or beginninglessness of *mokṣa* is evidenced by the Scriptures like 'The liberated alone is released'[2] and 'One attains the Brahman only by being the Brahman '[3]

(ii) Types : Advaitins have no unanimous answer to the question, whether body of a released person, which is the result of *prārabdha-karman* or action, which has begun to bear its fruit, can exist after his knowledge of the Self. The great Ācārya Śaṅkara himself has taken two different standpoints in his reply to this question. In his *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* (vv. 453-466) and *Aparokṣānubhūti* (VV. 90-98), he has asserted that *prārabdha* is also destroyed by Self-knowledge and so body ceases to exist. But in his commentaries on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VI. 14.ii), *Vedānta-Sūtras* (IV. 1.XV) and *Gītā* (IV.37), he has maintained that the body of a Self-knower exists till the *prārabdha* perishes through destined enjoyments. The first view and its followers like Sarvajñātman and others advocate *sadyomukti* or immediate release from immediate knowledge, and discard the existence of *prārabdha* during *mukti*.[4] The second view and its supporters including Ācārya Nṛsiṁhāśrama do not admit *sadyomukti* by knowledge, and speak of two forms of release :[5] (i) *jīvanmukti* (embodied release) and (ii) *Videhamukti* (bodiless release). *Jīvanmukti* is the release of soul while living in body and it is to be admitted before *videhamukti*, because body, which is the result of *prārabdha*, cannot be destroyed without enjoyments, just as the force of an arrow without exhaustion. And *videhamukti* is that state of soul where body has come to an end on account of the complete enjoyment of *prārabdha*. In fact, *mukti*, which is of the nature of non-dual Brahman, is one and these terms applied to it are only due to the appearances and disappearance of body.

(iii) *Avidyā-nivṛtti*. The negative definition of liberation, as we have seen, is the destruction of bondage or the removal of ignorance. Before we conclude, it would be in place to set forth in brief the nature of the removal of ignorance, as admitted by Nṛsiṁhāśrama.

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1. *athāyamamarariśo' mṛtaḥ prāṇo brahmaiva* (*Br. Up*. 4. 4. 7).
2. *Vimuktaśca vimucyate* (*Kaṭha. Up*. 2.2.1)
3. *brahmaiva san Brahmāpyeti* (*Br. Up*. 4. 4. 6)
4. See *Saṁkṣepa-śārīraka*, vv. 4. 38-39. and Rāmatīrtha's *Anvyārtkaprahāśikā*, p. 838.
5. See *Tattvabodhinī* on *Saṁkṣepa-śārīraka*, ch. 4, vv. 38-40.

In Advaita, the nature of the removal of ignorance is one of the most difficult problems. It can be either different from or identical with the Brahman. But the objections, which can be raised here, are (i) if the removal of *avidyā* is different from the Brahman, and is of the nature of being produced, there is no need of any investigation into the knowledge, because it cannot constitute the human-goal like the heaven, being a thing to be achieved by a super-imposed doer and (ii) if it is identical with the Brahman, it cannot be of the nature of being achieved and hence the knowledge is futile.

Nṛsiṁhāśrama sets aside objections by saying that the removal of *avidyā*, which is really non-existent, is not identical with the Brahman. This is also not the supreme goal of human-life, because it is different from *ātman* in nature, and is non-bliss. *Ātman* itself is the supreme goal, the removal of *avidyā* is undesired and as such there is no need of resorting to the knowledge for its removal. In reply to this objection, Nṛsiṁhāśrama says that the removal of *avidyā* is necessary, for removal of the factors obstructing the supreme human goal and there is thus no futility of the means to be undertaken for its removal.[1]

VI

CONCLUSION

Liberation is thus neither cessation of sorrow nor the absolute non-existence of sorrows. It is also not the manifestation of such a bliss, which was non-existent earlier. It is the Brahman itself and is, therefore, eternally existent and unsurpassable bliss. It is beyond the limits of time and space. It is the very nature of the seeker, who realises it, as soon as the ignorance gets removed by the knowledge emanating from the major texts or *mahāvākyas* of the *Upaniṣads*. While the bondage of soul is its false identification with the mind and its modifications, the liberation is realisation of its own nautre, ever free from *ajñāna* and its products.

1. See *Advāita-dipikā*, ch, I, pp. 337-38 and *Advāita-ratnakośa*, ch. II, pp. 739-41.

AMĀ

K. K. Raja

MADRAS

Prof. Babu Ram Saksena's suggestion (*Ṛtam*, I. p. 158) that *amā* sometimes used in the sense of *amāvāsyā* may be considered as an abbreviation for that term is supported by Maheśvara in his commentary on the *Amarakśoa* (p. 24, Bombay edn. 1882) :

अमावास्या अमावस्या। 'अमावन्यतरस्याम्'। अमा सह वसतः अस्यां चन्द्रार्कौ अमोपपदाद् वसेरधिकरणे ण्यत्। वृद्धौ सत्यां पाक्षिको ह्रस्वश्च निपात्यते।

"अमावसी अमावासी अमामासी अमामसी।
अप्यमावस्यमावासी चामामास्यप्यमामसी॥"

इति शब्दार्णवः। नामैकदेशे नामग्रहणाद् अमापि।

अश्वघोषस्य महाकवेः विशिष्टाः प्रयोगाः

डा० पराञ्जपे, विनायकशर्मा

पुणे

तत्रभवान् कविवरेण्यः अश्वघोषः खिस्ताब्दस्य द्वितीये शतके मगधदेशे पाटलिपुत्रं नामनगरं स्वजन्मना अलञ्चकार। कवेरस्य बुद्धचरितं सौन्दरनन्दं चेति महाकाव्यद्वयं सुप्रसिद्धमेव संस्कृतवाङ्मये। अनेन कविवरेण लिखितं नाटकद्वयं नाम्नैव जानन्ति वाङ्मयाभ्यासकाः यतः केवलं पञ्चपत्राण्येव मध्यआशियादेशे एतावता हस्तसादभूवन् न समग्रं नाटकम्। बहुभिः विद्वद्भिः अश्वघोषपद्यानां साम्यं कालिदासीयपद्यैः नैकवारं आविष्कृतम्। सर्वे एव रसिकवराः तदङ्गीकारे न मतभेदं प्रदर्शयन्ति। सत्यपि एवं कालिदासकाव्ये अश्वघोषस्य काव्यपरिणामो वा अश्वघोषस्य वा काव्ये कालिदासीयकाव्यस्य परिणामः इति विषये तु विद्यते एव वैमत्यं विदुषाम्। विषयेऽस्मिन् उभयोः काव्ययोः पौर्वापर्यं निर्धारयितुं शक्यते इति प्रदर्शनार्थमेवायम् उपक्रमः।

कालिदासस्य महाकवेः काव्ये विदग्धकाव्यरचनायाः असामान्यं सौष्ठवं, शब्दानां च सारगर्भः प्रयोगः औचित्यं व्यङ्ग्यार्थपरत्वं च प्रतिपद्यं प्रदर्शयितुं शक्यते यावता अंशेन तादृशसौष्ठवं, सारगर्भः प्रयोगः शब्दानां, औचित्यं व्यङ्ग्यार्थपरत्वं वा शब्दानां नोपलभ्यते कविश्रेष्ठस्य अश्वघोषस्य काव्ये इति तु यस्य कस्यापि अभ्यासकस्य आपाततोऽवलोकनमात्रेणापि स्पष्टं प्रतीयादेव। मदीयस्तु अस्ति अयमभिप्रायः यद् अश्वघोषोपज्ञा इयं विदग्धकाव्यसरणिः गच्छता कालेन स्थिरं स्वरूपं प्राप्तवती यदा, तदुत्तरकाले एव कालिदासेन काव्यरचना कृता इति स्वीकर्तव्यं स्यात्। नात्र कालिदासे वाङ्मयचौर्याद्यारोपः क्रियते प्रस्तुतनिबन्धलेखकेन। अत एव च नास्ति उद्दिष्टं प्रबन्धस्य अस्य दोषोद्धारणादिरूपम्। किन्तु सर्वं एव अक्षुण्णमार्गप्रस्थितः अनुभवत्येवैतादृशीमवस्थाम्। क्षुण्णे च मार्गे गच्छन् पुरुषः विनैव आयासं गन्तुं शक्नोति इत्यपि सर्वेषामेव अनुभवगोचरं अस्त्येव। अत्र केवलं दिङ्मात्रं प्रदर्शयितुं प्रथमसर्गादेव उदाहरणानि प्रदर्श्यन्ते।

१.१७ 'कामं तदा स्त्रीचरितं तमिस्रं तथापि तां प्राप्य भृशं विरेजे'। अत्र प्रयुक्तः तमिस्रशब्दः अन्धकारपर्यायित्वेन निर्दिष्टः अमरकोशे यथा—'अन्धकारो स्त्रियां ध्वान्तं तमिस्रं तिमिरं तम इति'[१]। पण्डितवराः रसिकाग्रेसराश्च अप्पाशास्त्रिराशिवडेकरमहाशयः स्वोपज्ञायां टीकायां तमिस्रं तत्रोत्थं मलिनमित्यर्थः इति लाक्षणिक एव प्रयोगः अयमिति सुस्पष्टं सूचितमेव।

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१. अमर० १. ४४३

१।१८ 'च्युतोऽथ कायात्तृषितात्त्रिलोकी उद्योतयन् उत्तमबोधिसत्त्वः। विवेश तस्याः कुक्षौ'

इति पद्ये तावत् कवेरभिप्रायः स्पष्ट एव प्रतीयते यत् आकाशात् परिभ्रष्टं नक्षत्रं भूलोकात् परिभ्रष्टः कश्चन देवविशेषः मानुषं जन्म अनुभवितुं आगच्छति भूमिम् इति। परन्तु देवरूपार्थं द्योतयितुं अश्वघोषेण प्रयुक्तः तृषितशब्दः देवपर्यायत्वेन कोशादिषु निर्दिष्टः उपलभ्यते। अत्र तु देवसंबन्धित्वेन स्वीकर्तव्यो भवति। अत एव च अप्पाशास्त्रि-लिखितटीकायाम् तृषितात् भगवत्स्वरूपसंबन्धितया आनन्दविशिष्टादिति तारकादित्वादितच् इति च। अस्मिन् एव पद्ये उपमारूपेण निर्दिष्टा नन्दागुहापि न कुत्रापि संस्कृतवाङ्मये समुपलब्धम्। अश्वघोषेण कविना इदं प्रथमतया प्रयुक्तं इति अवश्यं स्वीकर्तव्यम्। पद्यमिदं 'अथान्धकारं गिरिः' इति रघुवंशे द्वितीयसर्गे विद्यमानं श्लोकं स्मारयत्येव।

तत्र बुद्धः मातृकुक्षेः समुद्भूतः इति वर्णयति अश्वघोषः। ततश्च नाभूतपूर्वोऽयमंशः इति सूचयितुम् २८ पद्ये चतुर्णां पुरुषश्रेष्ठानां अयोनिजत्वं स्पष्टं प्रदर्शयति। यथा—

(१) और्वः—मातुः ऊरुप्रदेशात्।
(२) पृथुः—वेनस्य हस्तात्
(३) मान्धाता पितुः मस्तकात्
(४) कक्षीवांश्च पितुः अंशदेशात्
अथवा कुक्षेः सकाशात्

प्रथमं दुष्यन्तद्वयं पुराणेषु उपलभ्यते। परन्तु मान्धातुः कक्षीवतश्च जन्मवृत्तान्तः पुराणादिषु नैव उपलभ्यते।

१।३५ 'खात् प्रस्तुते द्वे वारिधारे शिशिरोष्णवीर्ये' इत्यत्र बुद्धस्य अलौकिकत्वं प्रदर्शयितुं तज्जन्मसमनन्तरक्षणे शीतोष्णे वारिधारे अपतताम् इति वर्णयितुं प्रयतते कविः। अत्र पद्ये प्रयुक्तः वीर्यशब्दः समासान्ते प्रयुक्तः सर्वथा अनुपयुक्तः। यतश्च वीर्यं तेजः

भिन्नः वीर्यशब्दः वैद्यकग्रन्थेषु वनस्पतीनां पक्षिणाञ्चादिवर्णने प्रयुज्यते। अत्र तु तादृशः अर्थः नैवाभिप्रेतः इति स्पष्टमेव।

१।३७ 'बोधाय जेपुः परमाशिषश्च' इति पद्ये जप् धातोः लिटि प्रथमपुरुषबहुवचनं प्रयुक्तं कविवरेण। जप्धातोः काव्यादिषु प्रचुरे प्रयोगे उपलभ्यमानेऽपि इदं रूपं अश्वघोषेणैव प्रयुक्तं इति नैव विस्मर्तुं शक्यम्।

१।४१ 'वाता ववुः स्पर्शसुखा मनोज्ञाः दिव्यानि वासांसि अवपातयन्तः।' अत्र पद्ये रघुजन्मप्रसङ्गे शीतलवातप्रसरः आसीद् इति स्मराम एव वयम्। अथापि तैः शीतैः वायुभिः सुखानि सूक्ष्माणि वस्त्राणि आनीयन्ते इति तु अप्रसिद्धमेव सर्वथा।

१.४२ अत्र श्लोके आवसथप्रदेशे सिताम्बुः कूपः प्रादुरभवत् इति वर्णयति कविः। परन्तु तत्र जलस्य नैर्मल्यं द्योतयितुं प्रयुक्तः सितशब्दस्तु शुभ्रपर्यायः सन् स्वारसिकतया नैर्मल्यं बोधयितुं नैव क्षमते इति सुस्पष्टं प्रतीयादेव विदुषाम्।

१.४३ अत्र श्लोके 'धर्मार्थिभिः भूतगणैश्च दिव्यैः तद्दर्शनार्थं बलमाप पूरः'। इति वर्णयन् कविः बुद्धं साक्षात्कर्तुं महान् जनसम्मर्दः तत्र उपातिष्ठदिति कथयति। परन्तु जलौघबोधने समर्थं पूरशब्दं मानवसमुदायद्योतनार्थं प्रयुञ्जानः कविः एतावतापि यथोचितशब्दप्रयोगे असमर्थः इति द्योतयत्येव।

१.४४ 'पुष्पद्रुमाः स्वं कुसुमं पुफुल्लम्' इति फुल्लधातुं सकर्मकत्वेन प्रयुज्य कविः अश्वघोषः आत्मनः निरङ्कुशत्वमेव द्योतयति। अत्र यथानुशासनं कालिदासकृतः प्रयोगः 'लोध्रद्रुम सानुमतः प्रफुल्लम्' इति स्मरणगोचरो भवत्येव।

१.४५ पद्येऽस्मिन् मङ्गलवाद्यानां ध्वनिः समुत्पन्नः इति वर्णनावसरे अश्वघोषेण प्रयुक्तः मुकुन्दशब्दः आवद्धप्रकारकवाद्यानां नामसु कोशे उल्लिखितोऽपि नान्येन केनापि कविवरेण प्रयुक्तः स्यात् इति आप्टेमहोदयादीनां कोशावलोकनेन कथयितुं शक्नुयामो वयम्।

१.४७-५१ इति पद्यपञ्चके कविवरः पित्रपेक्षया महत् कार्यं कर्तुं अपत्यं प्रभवति इति नैकानि उदाहरणानि ऋषिप्रभृतीनां निरूपयति। तस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे ४८ तमे पद्ये उदाहृतः सारस्वतः प्राचीनसंस्कृतवाङ्मये विद्यमाने न कुत्रापि मन्त्रद्रष्टृत्वेनोल्लिखितोऽस्ति।

१.५५ इति श्लोके 'तज्जन्मनन्मान्तरकस्य बुद्ध्वा' इत्यंशे जन्मान्तरशब्दः मोक्षः निर्वाणम् इत्यनेन अभिप्रायेण न केनापि प्रयुक्तः उपलभ्यते अस्माभिः।

१.५८ इति श्लोके 'निमन्त्रयामास यथोपचारं पुरा वसिष्ठं स इवान्तिदेवः' इति उत्तरार्थे अन्तिदेवः इति वसिष्ठस्य राज्ञः नामधेयं प्रयुङ्क्ते कविः। पुराणेषु रन्तिदेवः इति नाम प्रसिद्धं वर्तते एव। अथापि तस्य राज्ञः न वर्णितः कुत्रापि सम्बन्धः वसिष्ठेन ऋषिणा सह। कदाचित् कुत्रापि पद्ये हकारान्तपदोपश्लिष्टः रन्तिदेवशब्दः विसर्गस्य रेफत्वं परिकल्प्य अश्वघोषेण अन्तिदेव इति प्रयुक्तः स्यात्। अन्यथा नैव सङ्गच्छेतायं शब्दः।

१.६२ श्लोके अस्मिन् 'धर्मेण सूक्ष्मेण धनान्युपार्ज्य' इति सूक्ष्मपदं धर्मविशेषणत्वेन प्रयुञ्जानः कविवरः न्याय्यमार्गेण धनं संपाद्य इत्येव अभिप्रैति इति तु सुस्पष्टमेव परन्तु युक्तेन पथा धनोपार्जनं बोधयितुं प्रयुक्तः सूक्ष्मशब्दः तदर्थबोधने सर्वथा अक्षम एव सन् दुर्बोध एव भवति। कदाचित् 'धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायाम्' इति धर्मतत्त्वस्य दुरवबोधत्वं मनसि कुर्वन् कविः प्रयोगं सूक्ष्मशब्दस्य कृतवान् स्यात्।

१.६६ बुद्धस्य शरीरगतानि शुकाशंसीनि सुपक्षाणि वर्णयन् कविः 'जालावनद्धाङ्गुलि-पाणिपादम्' इति समस्तं पदं प्रयुज्य जालावनद्धत्वं पादाङ्गत्वानां अपि वर्णयति । परन्तु कालिदासेन शाकुन्तले नाटके 'जालग्रथिताङ्गुलिः करः' इति प्रयुञ्जानेन हस्तमात्रसंबन्धि शुभलक्षणमिदं इति सूचितं वर्तते एव । तेन च अश्वघोषस्य काव्यशास्त्रसम्मतोऽपि अंशः प्रयुज्यते इति स्पष्टं प्रतीयते ।

१.७० अत्र पद्ये अश्वघोषेण प्रयुक्तः 'स्थिरायुः' इति शब्दः चिरायुरूपे अर्थे नान्येन कविना प्रयुक्तः इति आप्टेकोमशवलोक्य निर्धारयितुं शक्यते अस्माभिः ।

१.७० अत्र श्लोके प्रयुक्तः सलिलाम्भालिशब्दः पितृतर्पणे दत्तं जलाञ्जलिं बोधयति इति सत्यम् । अथापि तस्मिन्नर्थे सलिलाञ्जलिपदप्रयोगः अन्यत्रानुपलब्ध एव ।

१.७१ श्लोकेऽस्मिन् अश्वघोषः प्रयुङ्क्ते पदं 'कुलहस्तसारः' इति । तच्च बोधयितुं कुलाधाररूपं अर्थं इति अस्ति कवेरभिप्रायः । परन्तु एतादृशः शब्दः नान्यत्र कुत्रापि कविना प्रयुक्तः उपलभ्यते । तत्र टर्नरमहोदयः स्वीये कोषे एवमभिप्रायं आत्मनः प्रदर्शयति ।

हस्तिलिङ्गः तत्रापि च साम्यं प्रदर्शयति कविः गृध्रस्य चञ्चुपुटस्य हस्तिशुण्डायाश्च दैर्घ्यं साधर्म्यमाश्रित्य । अत्र तु सर्वथा न संगच्छति तादृशः अर्थः ।

१.७२ अत्र पद्ये प्रयुक्तः जातिक्षयः इति शब्दः व्युत्पत्या जातेः जन्मनः क्षयः नाशः जन्ममृत्युपरम्परायाः परिहारः मोक्षः इति अर्थं बोधयितुं क्षमोऽपि नास्ति रूढः अर्थेऽस्मिन् ।

१.८१ श्लोकेऽस्मिन् 'गुणवति दिवसे शुभे मुहूर्ते' इत्यत्र गुणवदिति शब्देन कविः शुभत्वमेव अभिप्रैति । परन्तु तत्र प्रयुक्तं गुणवत्पदं नास्ति रूढं तस्मिन्नर्थे ।

आस्तां तावत् । एतावता प्रदर्शितैः शोधिकैः उदाहरणैः एतावतं सुनिश्चितं वक्तुं शक्यं यत् विदग्धसरण्याः प्रारम्भकाले एव काव्यं प्रणीतवान् अश्वघोषः इति । अत एव च एतादृशाः अप्रसिद्धाः प्रयोगाः प्राचुर्येण तत्र समुपलभ्यन्ते ।

THE *MAHĀMṚTYUÑJAYA MANTRA*: AN ATTEMPT AT INTERPRETATION

Dr. S. V. Singh

LUCKNOW

The following *Mantra* of the *Ṛgveda* (VII. 59.12) is known from hoary antiquity as the *Mahāmṛtyuñjaya Mantra*—

'त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पुष्टिवर्धनम् ।
उर्वारुकमिव वन्धनान्मृत्योर्मुक्षीय माऽमृतात्' ॥

The very syllables of the *Mantra*, namely "मृत्योर्मुक्षीय माऽमृतात्" indicate the sense and the substance of the *Mantra*. Our problem is how to interpret the *Mantra* so that the philosophy of Immortality in consonance with the philosophy of the Divine Grace of the Being implied here is made explicit. It is rather disappointing that the Vedic exponents of the age-old traditional and the modern non-traditional orders offer no clue to the understanding of the philosophy of Death and Deliverance from Death intended by the Vedic seer of the *Mantra* with the result that the whole *Mantra* remains but a series of syllables of faith in the saving grace of the Vedic deity referred to by the substantive term "*Tryambakam*" characterised by the attributive terms i. e. '*Sugandhim*' and '*Puṣṭivardhanam*'. The concepts of Death and Immortality of the six orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy also do not explain the spiritual experience of freedom from bondage embodied in the *Mahāmṛtyuñjaya Mantra*. It is in the light of the Śaiva-Śākta Philosophy of Kashmir that we know what the word '*Tryambakam*' means in the ultimate sense and what are its characteristics which are emphasized by the adjectives, namely, '*Sugandhim*' and '*Puṣṭivardhanam*'. If we keep the context of the Ṛgvedic *Mantra* in mind, we know that the Divine Personality termed as the '*Tryambakam*' happens to be an appellation of 'Rudra', the deity of death and destruction. But this deity of death and destruction in the Vedic age itself undergoes a transformation when the *Yajurveda* describes it as having the Benign Form (शिवा तनुः) of Bliss, the contemplation of which leads to the removal of all sins and sufferings. It stands to reason, therefore, that the 'Rudra' is the 'Śiva' and that the Rudra-Śiva synthesis is the starting point of the Śaiva-Śākta philosophy of Kashmir. According to the Śaiva-Śākta philosophy trends of Kashmir, the concept of

the '*Tryambaka*' is the concept of the 'Śiva' with his three-fold *Śakti*-s of '*Icchā*' (absolute willpower), '*Jñāna*' (all-embracing absolute consciousness) and '*Kriyā*' (absolute universal creation energy). Śiva in the philosophical contemplation of the Kashmir Śaiva savant Shri Somananda Nath is the principle of '*Prakāśa*' or the self-luminous and self-seeing universal consciousness. The following verse of the *Śivadṛṣṭi* bears witness to the above—

'आत्मैव सर्वभावेषु स्फुरन्निर्वृतचिद्विभुः ।
अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसरः प्रसरद्दृक्क्रियः शिवः ।।'[1]

Or, that it is Śiva indeed who is the inmost Being of all the becomings as it is He who is the Blissful all-embracing consciousness manifesting His irresistible power of will and knowledge and action in ways unthinkable by the human mind.

It is the above *Śivadṛṣṭi* of Shri Somananda which his great exponent Shri Utpalācārya makes crystal clear in the following lines of his '*Vivṛti*'—

'एक एव शिवः स्थितः तेन तेन प्रकारेणानेकशक्तघटपटादिपदार्थात्मकत्वात्तस्य । .... एकमेव चित्तत्त्वमनन्तविश्वरूपमिति ।.....स्फुरद्रूपता हि सत्ता । स्फुरद्रूपता च प्रकाशमानता । ततश्च जडता तावन्नास्ति । प्रकाशमानता हि प्रकाशाभेदः । प्रकाशश्चानपह्नवनीयः सर्वप्रतिष्ठारूपः परमार्थः । सर्वेषां च घटादीनां प्रकाशरूपतया विशेषाभावादेकप्रकाशात्मता, तत एवैकशिवत्वम्' ।[2]

Or, that it is the One Divine Being, the Śiva who is ensouling, in innumerable ways, all the diversities of the objective world. To put it in a nutshell, it is but the One Realitv of Consciousness that is cognized as the Manifold or the entire order of the universe. To be or to exist means to be Self-shining and Self-seeing. It means, therefore, that there can be no talk of inert objectivity about this Reality. To be Self-effulgent means to be one with Effulgence. Effulgence (of consciousness) cannot be ignored as it is the very basis of all that is and all that becomes. It is the Ultimate Attainment, to be sure. All the objects of the world, accordingly, are the diverse forms or facts of the same Universal Effulgent Consciousness which means that it is the One Śiva alone that exists.

In the light of the above concept of 'Śiva' we have to understand the terms '*Tryambaka*' to stand for the Universal Self ever transcendent and ever immanent in the world of becoming which in reality is His *Līlā* or play and

1. *Śivadṛṣṭi* 1. 2.
2. *Ibid* p. 147-48.

reveals His *Ānanda Śakti* or His *Svātantrya* in His incessant Self-manifestation. The following verse of Abhinavagupta with which he begins his *Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Vimarśinī* seems to contain the gist of the *Mahāmṛtyuñjaya Mantra*—

'निराभासात्पूर्णादहमिति पुरा भासयति यद्
द्विशाखामाशास्ते तदनु च विभङ्क्तुं निजकलाम्।
स्वरूपादुन्मेषप्रसरणनिमेषस्थितिजुषस्-
तदद्वैतं वन्दे परमशिवशक्त्यात्मनिखिलम्' ॥[1]

Below, we attempt to suggest in the light of the *Bhāskarī* of Bhaskarakantha the sense of what Abhinavagupta, the Mahāmaheśvara says in the above benedictory verse.

We bring to our recognition the Paramaśiva, the Unity of Reality, which is the Universal Self-luminous Consciousness always being energized by his *Śaktis* or infinite powers of Self-manifestation. This '*Paramaśiva-Śakti*' Unity in its real nature has no distinction of our discussive thinking as *Śiva* and *Śakti* and hence It can be likened to a calm unruffled sea of universal consciousness. It is from this One Infinite Unruffled Sea of Universal Consciousness that the *Śakti*, as distinct from *Śiva*, manifests Herself in diverse forms to be re-composed in the end in Her counterpart, the Śiva. The manifestation of the Unmanifest means the self-seeing of the self-luminous consciousness. The self-seeing aspect of the self-shining consciousness ensouling the entire order of the universe is what we mean by *Śakti*.

To conclude, we may say that the *Rudra*, the *Tryambaka* is in the ultimate analysis, the Śiva in inalienable association with *Śakti*, the *Tryambikā*. The well-known *Durgā-Saptaśatī* contains the terms "*Trinetrā*', '*Trilocanā*' and '*Tryambikā*' for *Śakti*, the Mother of all that is and that is to be. So, the '*Yajana*' of '*Rudra*', the '*Tryambaka*' which in the Vedic ages may have been an elaborate sacrificial offering, is given place in the period of the Śaiva-Śākta Āgamas and Śaiva-Śākta philosophies to the Self-realization of the aspirant after liberation which is the same as self-recognitive experience of Bliss Eternal and Freedom Unfettered. The advent of this state in the life of the aspirant after unending Bliss and Happiness is what is called '*Jīvanmukti*', the ultimate attainment of the *Śiva-Sādhanā* or the *Śakti-Sādhanā*. In this '*yajana*' there is no distinction

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1. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī-verse* 1.

of caste and creed. The essence of this *'yajana'* of *Tryambaka*, in the words of Yogarāja, the disciple of Kṣemarāja who had the illustrious Abhinava Gupta as his teacher is —'त्वामेव स्वात्मानं पराहन्ताचमत्कारस्वरूपं समाविशामि' or 'चिदानन्दघनो स्वतन्त्रोऽस्मीति भावनम्.'

In the light of the above sense of the *'yajana'* of *Śiva*, the *Tryambaka* the epithets of *'Sugandhi'* and *'Puṣṭivardhana'* are very significant. *Tryambaka* characterised by the epithet of *'Sugandhi'* means, therefore, that It is a universal effulgent consciousness drawing towards It the entire order of the universe to partake of its unique fragrant taste of Bliss Eternal. When the diversities of our normal perception are nothing more than the leaves and buds and flowers of the Tree of Self-Seeingness, it goes without saying that the Tree is Sweet-smelling in that it is desired by all that is and that becomes. The *Tryambaka* is this Tree that is full of etherial fragrance emanating from the five-fold *Bhūtas* of *Pṛthivī*, *Vāyu*, *Agni* etc., which are but the manifestation of the fragrance of the Effulgence of Universal Consciousness, the real self. The epithet *'Puṣṭivardhana'* stands for the manifestation of *Aṇḍa-catuṣṭaya* of *Śakti* and *Māyā* and *Prakṛti* and *Pṛthivī* through which the *Tryambaka* or the *Rudra-Śiva-Bhairava* reveals His *Ānanda Śakti* or His *Mahaiśvarya*. Shri Mahesvarananda, a Śaiva savant in his *Mahārtha-Mañjarī* hints at a different sense of the *'Puṣṭivardhana'* epithet when he says- 'इच्छाज्ञानक्रियात्मकविश्वविकल्पपर्यायकोणत्रयसामरस्यलक्षणेन मधुना मांसलं अत्यन्तपरिवृंहितं .... आत्मानमुल्लासमाह्लादातिशयमनुभवति'[1] or that the *Puṣṭi* is the 'अन्तर्मग्नसंविदानन्द- स्पन्दसंधुक्षणरूपमधु' which constantly energizes the self in the Self-Seeingness of His *Ānanda* or *Svātantrya*.

Now, 'मृत्योर्मुक्षीय माऽमृतात्' becomes clear to our mind since *Śarīra-yoga'* or the state of embodiedness of the Being is the *'Bandha'* or bondage and the tearing asunder of this *'Bandha'* or bondage is *Mukti* or *Amaratva* or Immortality. The following verse of the *Paramārtha-Sāra* of Abhinvaguptapādācārya brings to our mind the real sense of the *Mahāmṛtyuñjaya Mantra*—

'भिन्नाज्ञानग्रन्थिर्गतसन्देहः पराकृतभ्रान्तिः ।
प्रक्षीणपुण्यपापो विग्रहयोगेऽप्यसौ मुक्तः' ।।[2]

The *'yajana'* of the *Tryambaka* in the form of the *Tryambikā* is the *Śaraṇa Varaṇa* of the Mother, the *Sarveśvarīśvarī* of the *Durgā-Saptaśatī*.

1. *Mahārthamañjarī* (Skt. Uni. Pub.), p. 38-39
2. *Paramārtha sāra*, verse 61.

The Aghora Saint Shri Baba Bhagavana Rama living at his Sarveśvarī-Nivāsa Āśrama at Padao, Rajghat, Varanasi has further simplified this '*Yajana*' of *Tryambikā*, the *Śakti* of *Tryambaka*, as 'सर्वेश्वरि ! त्वं पाहि माम् शरणागतम्' So we see here the old wine of the *Mahāmṛtyuñjava Mantra* contained in the new bottle of the *Sarveśvarī-Śaraṇa Varaṇa* to which everybody is entitled irrespective of caste or creed or state or status in life.

*महाभारते निर्वचनानि

सत्यव्रत शास्त्री

दिल्ली

निर्वचनशब्दस्य कोऽर्थं इति प्रथमस्तावदस्माकं जिज्ञासाविषयः। निरुक्तटीकाकृता भगवता दुर्गाचार्येणास्य शब्दस्यार्थ एवं निरूपितः—"अपिहितस्यार्थस्य परोक्षवृत्तौ अतिपरोक्षवृत्तौ वा शब्दे निष्कृष्य विगृह्य वचनं निर्वचनम्।" यत्रैतादृशेषु शब्देषु परोक्षवृत्तिष्वतिपरोक्षवृत्तिषु वा शब्दार्थानां विगृह्य वचनं भवति तदुच्यते निर्वचनशास्त्रमिति, निरुक्तमिति वा। अयमत्र क्रमः। अमूर्तानां भावानामभिव्यञ्जनाय शब्दप्रयोगः। प्रयुक्ते च शब्दे कथं भावाभिव्यक्तिर्भवतीति विश्लेषणात्मिकया पद्धत्या साधनमावश्यकं भवति। तत्रैवं नाम शब्दस्य विश्लेषणं स्याद्येन तस्य चार्थस्य च सामञ्जस्यं प्रकाशेत, भवेत्स नाम कलयैव। अत एवार्थानित्यः परीक्षेतेति भगवतो यास्कस्य नैरुक्तं प्रति निर्देशः। निरुक्ते हि शब्दसाधने नाग्रहः, कथं शब्दसिद्धिर्भवति, का प्रकृतिः, कश्च प्रत्ययः, को वा संस्कारोऽपितु अर्थदृष्ट्या शब्दविश्लेषणे। अत एवाह यास्को 'न संस्कारमाद्रियेत'।

निरुक्तशास्त्रं तु निर्वचनान्येव प्रस्तौति। तत्रैव तस्य चरितार्थता। परं यन्नाम न निर्वचनशास्त्रं तत्रापि परश्शतानि निर्वचनानि दृष्टिपथमुपयान्ति। ब्राह्मणेषु, सूत्रेषु, रामायणमहाभारतयोः, पुराणेषु अन्येषु वा नानाग्रन्थेषु निर्वचनानि पदानां प्रसक्तानुप्रसक्ततयोपस्थापितानि तत्तद्ग्रन्थकर्तृभिः। तानि विचार्य विचार्य विम्रष्टव्यानि विमर्शकैः पुरातनी चिन्तनपद्धतिस्तेभ्य आविष्कृता भवेदिति। प्रायशो ध्वनिसाम्यार्थसाम्यप्रेरितानि हि तानि नाद्यतनेभ्यो विपश्चिद्भ्यः स्वदेरन् दूराकृष्टानि वा प्रतीयेरंस्तथापि नानेनैव हेतुना तानि हेयताकोटिमाटीकेरन्निति धिया तानि विमर्शपदवीमापादयितव्यानि गुणदोषतश्च परिच्छेद्यानि। अस्मिन् प्रबन्धेऽस्माभिः श्रीमहाभारतात् तानि विचायं विचायमभ्युच्चित्य समासेनोपन्यस्यन्ते विचार्यन्ते च। महान् हि ग्रन्थराशिर्महाभारतं नाम। 'महत्त्वाद् भारवत्त्वाच्च (भारवत्त्वात् =सारवत्त्वात्, नील०) महाभारतमुच्यते' इति महाभारतनिर्वचनेनैवास्य महत्त्वं सुस्पष्टं भवति। अत्र हि स्थाने स्थाने यानि निर्वचनानि समुपन्यस्तानि तानि प्रसङ्गत एव न तु निर्वचनप्रदर्शनधियेति तेषां निरुक्तशास्त्रान्तर्गतेभ्यो निर्वचनेभ्योऽस्ति किञ्चिद्वैशिष्ट्यम्। एषु कानिचन निर्वचनानि परम्पराप्राप्तान्येव। ग्रन्थान्तरेष्वपि तथाऽपि तथाऽवलोकनात्। पुत्रशब्दस्य निर्वचनं दृष्टान्तरूपेणात्रोपस्थाप्यते।

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* लेखोऽयं पुण्यपत्तनीयभाण्डारकरप्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरेण प्रकाशितं महाभारतमाधारीकृत्य निबद्धः।

पुन्नाम्नो नरकाद्यस्मात् त्रायते पितरं सुतः ।
तस्मात् पुत्र इति प्रोक्तः पितॄन् यस्त्राति सर्वशः ॥

इत्यर्वाचीनवाङ्मयात् पुत्+त्र इत्येतत्पुत्रशब्दस्य निर्वचनमुलभ्यते । एतादृशमेव निर्वचनं महाभारतेऽपि दृष्टिपथमुपयाति--

(१) पुन्नाम्नो नरकात्पुत्रो यस्मात्त्राता पितॄन् सदा ।
तस्माद् ब्रुवन्ति पुत्रेति पुत्रं धर्मविदो जनाः ॥[१]

(२) पुन्नाम्नो नरकाद्यस्मात् पितरं त्रायते सुतः ।
तस्मात् पुत्र इति प्रोक्तः स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवा ॥[२]

(३) पितॄंस्त्राणात्तारयति पुत्र इत्यनुशुश्रुम ।[३]

(४) समुत्पन्नेन कौरव्य सत्पुत्रेण महात्मना ।
त्रातः स पुरुषव्याघ्र पुन्नाम्नो नरकात्तदा ॥[४]

यास्केनाप्येतन्निर्वचनमुल्लिखितम्—पुत्रः पुरु त्रायते, निपरणाद्वा, **पुन्नरकं ततस्त्रायत इति** वा ।

एवमेव जायाशब्दविषयेऽपि सुप्रसिद्धं निर्वचनमेवोपलभ्यते श्रीमहाभारते--

आत्मा हि जायते तस्यां तस्माज्जाया भवत्युत ।[५]

जायतेऽस्यामिति जाया । जन् धातोर्व्युत्पन्नोऽयं शब्दः । अन्यत्रापीयमेवास्य निरुक्तिः प्रदर्शिता—

तज्जायाया जायात्वं यदस्यां जायते पुनः ।

क्वचिन्निर्वचनेषु धातुविशेषस्य निर्देशोऽपि भगवता वेदव्यासेन कृतः । तथा हि कन्याशब्दः कमनार्थकात् कन् धातोर्निष्पन्न इति स प्राह—

सर्वान् कामयते यस्मात् कनेर्धातोश्च भामिनि ।
तस्मात् कन्येह सुश्रोणि स्वतन्त्रा बरवर्णिनि ॥[६]

१. हरिवंशः, ६६. २२
२. आदिपर्व, ६८. ३८
३. आश्वमेधिकपर्व, ९३. ४५.
४. हरिवंशः, ५. २४.
५. वनपर्व, १३. ६२.
६. तदेव, २९१. १३.

क्षत्रियशब्दो महाकविना कालिदासेन 'क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढः' इति ब्रुवता क्षत+त्रा इत्यस्मान्निरुक्तः एतादृश्येव निरुक्तिदृष्टिपथमुपयाति महाभारतेऽपि—

क्षताच्च नस्त्रायतीति स तस्मात् क्षत्रियः स्मृतः।

धर्मशब्दो धारणार्थकाद्धातोर्व्युत्पन्न इति 'धारणाद्धर्म इत्याहुरि' त्यादिभ्यो वचनेभ्य उपलब्धं भवति। महाभारतकारोऽप्येवमाह—

(१) धर्मो हि धृतः कृत्स्नं धारयते जगत्।[१]

(२) धारणाद्धर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः।
य: स्याद्धारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः॥[२]

(३) धनात्स्रवति धर्मो हि धारणाद्वेति निश्चयः।[३]

(४) धारणाद्धर्म इत्याहुर्धर्मेण विधृताः प्रजा :।
यत्स्याद्धारणसंयुक्तं स धर्म इति निश्चयः॥[४]

राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनादिति रञ्जधातोर्निष्पत्तिरस्य शब्दस्याभिव्यज्यते यद्यपि यास्केनान्यैश्च शासनार्थकाद्दीप्त्यर्थकाद्वा राजृधातोरयं निरुक्तः। महाभारते पुनः प्रकृतिरञ्जनमेव राज्ञः प्रधानं कर्मेति मत्वा रञ्ज्धातोरेवास्य निरुक्तिः सूचिता—

(१) पृथुं वैन्यं प्रजा दृष्ट्वा रक्ताः स्मेति यदब्रुवन्।
ततो राजेति नामास्य अनुरागादजायत॥[५]

(२) राजा रञ्जयति प्रजाः।[६]

(३) रञ्जिताश्च प्रजाः सर्वास्तेन राजेति शब्द्यते।[७]

(४) पित्रापरञ्जितास्तस्य प्रजास्तेनानुरञ्जिताः।
अनुरागात्ततस्तस्य नाम राजेत्यजायत॥[८]

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१. आदिपर्व, ५७. ५.
२. कर्णपर्व, ४९. ५०.
३. शान्तिपर्व, ९१. १५.
४. तदेव ११०. ११.
५. तदेव २९. १३१.
६. तदेव ५६. ३६.
७. तदेव ५९. १२७.
८. हरिवंशः ५. २९.

(५) यमस्तु कर्मणा तेन भृशं पीडितमानसः ।
धर्मेण रञ्जयामास धर्मराज इमाः प्रजाः ॥ [१]

क्वचिन्महाभारतकार एकस्यैव शब्दस्य नाना निर्वचनानि प्रस्तौति यास्कीयं निरुक्तं च स्मारयति । तथाहि मित्रशत्रुशब्दौ निर्ब्रुवन् स आह--

(१) मित्रं मिदेर्नन्दतेः प्रीयतेर्वा
संत्रायतेर्मानद मोदतेर्वा ।
ब्रवीति तच्चामुत विप्रपूर्वा-
स्तच्चापि सर्वं मम दुर्योधनेऽस्ति ॥ [२]

(२) शत्रुः शदेः शासतेः शायतेर्वा
शृणातेर्वा श्वयतेर्वाऽपि सर्गे
उपसर्गाद् बहुधा सूदतेश्च
प्रायेण सर्वं त्वयि तच्च मह्यम् ॥ [३]

क्वचित् क्वचिद्विलक्षणान्येव निर्वचनानि दृष्टिपथमुपयान्ति । तथाहि शरीरं शृणातेः शम्नातेर्वेति यास्कः, श्रयतेरिति तु वेदव्यासः ।[४] पुरुषादः, पुरिशयः, पूरयतेर्वा, पूरयत्यन्तरिति वेति पुरुषशब्दस्य यास्ककृतानि निर्वचनानि परं विपहते,[५] पुरं विग्रहते वेति[६] तु वेदव्यासकृते । धिनोतीति धनमिति यास्कः । धत्ते धारयते वेति वेदव्यासः ।[७] ह्रियते आयम्यमानं, ह्रियते जनाज्जनं, हितं रमणं भवति हर्यतेर्वा स्यात्प्रेप्साकर्मण इति हिरण्यशब्दस्य नाना निर्वचनानि प्रस्तौति यास्को हिरण्मयमित्येकमेव तु वेदव्यासः ।[८] अभ्यतितो गृहान् भवति, अभ्येति तिथिषु परकुलानि वेति अतिथिशब्दस्य यास्ककृते निर्वचने, अनित्यस्थितोऽतिथिरिति वेदव्यासकृतं निर्वचनम् ।[९]

क्वचिच्छब्दाः प्रत्यक्षवृत्तयो भवन्ति । तत्र निर्वचनवृत्तिर्न क्लेशकरा । यथा क्षर्धातोः क्षरशब्दः—

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१. तदेव ८. ४१.
२. कर्णपर्व, २९. २३.
३. तदेव २९. २४.
४. श्रयणाच्छरीरं भवति, शान्तिपर्व, २२४. ४३.
५. उद्योगपर्व, १३१. ३३
६. तदेव १३१. ३५.
७. धत्ते धारयते चेदमेतस्मात्कारणाद्धनम्, उद्योगपर्व, ११२. २.
८. यस्माद्धिरण्मयं सर्वं हिरण्यं तेन चोच्यते, उद्योगपर्व, ११२. १.
९. अनित्यं हि स्थितो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथिरुच्यते, अनुशासनपर्व, १००. १८.

कृत्स्नमेतावतस्तात क्षरते व्यक्तसंज्ञकम् ।
अहन्यहनि भूतात्मा ततः क्षर इति स्मृतः ॥[1]

एवमेव न क्षरम् अक्षरमिति अक्षरशब्दः—
तदक्षरं न क्षरतीति यद्धि ।[2]

वसुधाशब्दो वसुपूर्वकाद् दधातेर्निष्पन्नो भवेदिति प्रत्यक्षमेव। तथैव च महाभारतम्—

(१) ररक्ष वसुसम्पूर्णां वसुधां वसुधाधिपः ॥[3]

(२) तस्येयं वसुसम्पूर्णा वसुधा वसुधाधिप ।[4]

(३) वसुधा वसुसम्पूर्णा वर्धते भूतिवर्धनी ।[5]

(४) आत्मप्रत्ययकोशस्य वसुधेयं वसुन्धरा ।[6]

प्रथनात्पृथिवीति प्रथ्धातोः पृथिवीशब्दव्युत्पत्तिः । संवाध उद्धृते पद्ये ध्वन्यते—

प्रथिता धनतश्चेयं पृथिवी साधुभिः स्मृता ।[7]

एकत्र पुनः पृथोरपत्यमिति पृथ्वीशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः प्रदर्शिता—

ततोऽभ्युपगमाद्राज्ञः पृथोर्वैन्यस्य भारत ।
दुहितृत्वमनुप्राप्ता देवी पृथ्वीति चोच्यते ॥[8]

मेदनीशब्दे मेदःशब्ददर्शनात्मधुकैटभाख्यानमाश्रित्य तयोर्मेदसा परिप्लुतेत्यर्थे मेदःशब्दाद्भूमार्थे मत्वर्थीय इनिः, सकारलोपे मेदिनीशब्दव्युत्पत्तिः प्रदर्शिता श्रीमहाभारते—

आसीदियं समुद्रान्ता मेदिनीति परिश्रुता ।
मधुकैटभयोः कृत्स्ना मेदसाऽभिपरिप्लुता ॥[9]

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१. शान्तिपर्व, २६१. ३४.
२. तदेव १६४. २४.
३. वनपर्व ५४. ३८.
४. तदेव १२६. ३४.
५. उद्योगपर्व, ३४. २६.
६. तदेव ३८. २३.
७. शान्तिपर्व, ५९. १२८.
८. हरिवंशः, ६. ४०.
९. तदेव, ६. ३६.

एवमेवोर्वीशब्दोऽपि विस्तृतार्थादुरुशब्दात्स्त्रियां व्युत्पादयितुं शक्योऽपि काश्यपमाख्यानमाश्रित्य ऊरुशब्दाद् व्युत्पादितः—

ऊरुणा धारयामास कश्यपः पृथिवीं ततः।
निमज्जन्तीं तदा राजंस्तेनोर्वीति मही स्मृता ॥[1]

तदेतत्कल्पनोत्थं न विचारसहम्। ऊरुशब्दाद् व्युत्पत्तौ ऊर्वीतिशब्दप्रसक्तेरूकारह्रस्वत्वाभ्युपगमे गौरवप्रसङ्गाच्च।

शिलानां समूहः शैल इति शिलाशब्दात्समूहार्थेऽणि शैलशब्दः। सगरशब्दाच्चापत्यार्थेऽणि सागरशब्दः उभावप्येतौ प्रत्यक्षवृत्ती। तथैव च महाभारतम्—

तत उत्सारयामास शिलाः शतसहस्रशः।
धनुष्कोट्या तदा वैन्यस्तेन शैला विवर्धिताः।[2]
सागरत्वं च लेभे स कर्मणा तेन तस्य ह ॥[3]

खे चरतीति खेचरशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः। व्युत्पत्यनुसारी च महाभारतप्रयोगः—अध्वानं सोऽतिचक्राम खेचरः खेचरन्निव।

व्याक्रियन्ते शब्दा अनेनेति वैयाकरणशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः। व्याङ्पूर्वकात्करोतेर्ल्युटि व्याकरणशब्दस्य सिद्धिः। व्याकरणमधीते वेद वेति वैयाकरण इति वैयाकरणशब्दस्य व्याख्यानम्। महाभारतकारेण 'सर्वार्थानां व्याकरणाद्वैयाकरण उच्यते[4]' इति वैयाकरणशब्दे व्याङ्पूर्वकं करोतिं पश्यता समीचीनमेवाभ्यधायि। एवमेव 'श्रुतेन श्रोत्रियो भवतीत्य'[5]भिदधता तेन सुप्रसिद्धैव श्रोत्रियशब्दस्य निरुक्तिः सूचिता। श्रुतेन श्रोत्रिय इति श्रुतशब्दाच्छोत्रियरूपनिष्पत्तिरित्यभिहितं भवति। श्रोत्रशब्दादेव यदि सा व्याख्यायिष्यत समीचीनतरकमभविष्यत्।

केषाञ्चन नगराणां नामानि तत्तद्वैशिष्ट्यं तत्तदराजनिर्मितिं वाऽभिलक्ष्य व्याख्यातानि। तथा हि द्वारवती बहुद्वारेति कृत्वान्वर्थां संज्ञां लेभे। भूम्न्यत्र मतुब्व्याख्यातव्यो भवति। 'कृतां द्वारवतीनाम्ना बहुद्वारां मनोरमामि'[6]ति महाभारते पाठः। अस्ति श्रावस्ती नाम

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१. शान्तिपर्व, ४९. ६४.
२. हरिवंशः, ६९.
३. तदेव १०. ५२.
४. उद्योगपर्व, ४३. ३६.
५. वनपर्व, २९७. २९.
६. हरिवंश, ९. २६.

नगरी। तस्यास्तन्नाम कुत इति चेदुच्यते—'जज्ञे श्रावस्तको राजा श्रावस्ती येन निर्मिता'।[१] एतदुचितमिव प्रतिभाति। निर्मातॄणां राज्ञां नाम्ना नैकासां नगरीणां ख्यातत्वदर्शनात्। न केवलं नगराणां नगरीणां वाऽन्येषामपि पदार्थानां तत्तद्वैशिष्ट्यवशान्नामोपलम्भ इति महाभारतकारः। तथा कुशवदाख्यस्य ह्रदस्य कुशेशयपद्मवत्वात्तथाविधं नाम सञ्जातमिति महाभारतवचसा ध्वन्यते–'ह्रदश्च कुशवानेष यत्र पद्मं कुशेशयम्'।[२] एवमेव वितरणैर्वृतत्वाद्वैतरणीति नदीविशेषस्य संज्ञा संवृत्तेति महाभारतकारः—अत्र वैतरणी नाम नदी वितरणैर्वृता।[३] विनशनमपि तथैव, सरस्वत्यास्तत्र नाशात्-अदर्शनात्—

यस्मात्सा भरतश्रेष्ठ द्वेषान्नष्टा सरस्वती।
तस्मात्तदृषयो नित्यं प्राहुर्विनशनेति ह॥[४]

बाह्लीकदेशस्यापि तथाविधा संज्ञा बाह्लीकाख्यानां पिशाचानां वशादेव संवृत्ता। बाह्लीकशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिर्महाभारतकारेण बहिरिति ह्लीक इति च पिशाचयोः कयोश्चन नामविशेषाभ्यामेव प्रदर्शिता—

बहिश्च नाम ह्लीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ।
तयोरपत्यं बाह्लीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः॥[५]

बहि + ह्लीक इति बह्लीकः। यद्येतद्यथार्थं स्यात्तर्हि भाषाशास्त्रिणां समाक्षरलोपन्यायोऽत्र प्रवृत्तिमापन्न इति प्रतिभाति। तेन च पूर्वहकारलोपः। तत्क्षतिसमारोपणाय च पूर्वाकारस्य दीर्घः।

क्वचित्पूर्वाख्यानान्याश्रित्य शब्दा निरुच्यन्ते महाभारतकारेणेति मेदिनीशब्दप्रसङ्गे पूर्वमेवावोचाम। सैव प्रवृत्तिर्निषादशब्दनिर्वचनप्रसङ्गेऽप्यवलोक्यते। अधार्मिकस्य वैन्यस्य मथ्यमानादूरोः समुद्भूतः कश्चन ह्रस्वः कृष्णवर्णः पुरुषः। तमत्रिरुवाच निषीदेति। यतो हि स निषीदेत्युक्तः, तत एव निषादेति संज्ञया ख्यातः–निषीद निषाद।[६] तदेतत् कल्पनोत्थमशास्त्रीयं च भाति। एतादृशानि निर्वचनानि कौतुकमेव जनयन्ति केवलं न तु ज्ञानसमृद्धिमित्यलं वाचां विस्तरेण।

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१. तदेव ९. ४६.
२. वनपर्व, १३०. १५.
३. उद्योगपर्व, १०७. १४.
४. शल्यपर्व, ३६. २.
५. कर्णपर्व, ३०. ४४.
६. हरिवंशः, ५. १८.

महाभारते नैकेषां राज्ञाम्, ऋषीणां, देवानां च नामानि निरुक्तानि। तत्र विशेषतो राज्ञाम् ऋषीणां च नामनिर्वचने यत्किञ्चिद्ध्वनिसाम्यमाख्यानमाख्यानमाध्यमेन अर्थौचित्यं च प्रयोजकं महाभारतकारस्याभूत्तच्च पूर्ववदेव कौतुकवर्धकमेव। तथाहि क्षुधातोरिक्ष्वाकुशब्दः। 'यन्मनुरक्षौत्तत इक्ष्वाकुः'।[१] अत्र क्षसादृश्यादेव क्षवतेरिक्ष्वाकुशब्दो निरुक्तः। एवमेवौर्वशब्दस्य निरुक्तिरूरुशब्दात्प्रदर्शिता। ऊरोरयमिति और्वः। ऊरूं विनिर्भिद्य जातः[२] इति पुरातनमाख्यानमपि नाम्न औचित्यप्रदर्शनाय उद्धृतम्। तथैव सत्यव्रतः पितृपरितोषगुरुदोग्ध्रीवधाप्रोक्षितोपयोगरूपत्रिविधशङ्कु (= व्यतिक्रम) दर्शनात् वसिष्ठेन त्रिशङ्कुरित्युक्तस्तथैव च प्रसिद्धिं गतः।[३] दण्डाभिधस्य राज्ञो दण्ड इति नामापि अनन्तजनानां दमनाद्वा अशिष्टानां दण्डनाद्वा यथार्थमिति कृत्वा दमेर्दण्डेर्वा निरुक्तं महाभारतकारेण।[४] राजा कुवलाश्वः धुन्धुवधाद् धुन्धुमार इत्याख्यां गतः।[५] प्रथनात्पृथुरिति राज्ञः पृथोर्नाम्नो व्युत्पत्तिर्लोकान्प्रथयिष्यतीति कृत्वा[६]। तथैव प्रजानां भरणाद् भरत इत्याख्या। एताः सर्वा निरूक्तय ऋजुतया बुद्धिमुपारोहन्त्यौचित्यकोटिं च नातिक्रामन्ति। मान्धातृशब्दस्य निरुक्तिस्तु नैतादृशी। मांधास्यतीति मान्धातेति प्राचीनाख्याने शतक्रतोरुक्त्या तन्नामप्रसिद्धेः।[७] अत्र मामिति पदस्य पानार्थेकेन घेट्धातुना योगे रूपसिद्धिः। ध्वनिसाम्यमेवैतादृशनिर्वचने प्रमुखं प्रेरकम्। कथानकयोगस्तु तन्निर्वाहायेति नातितिरोहितं स्यात्प्रेक्षावताम् यदरोदीत्तद्रुदस्य रुद्रत्वमिति वदेतादृश्यः सर्वा अपि निरुक्तयो निरुक्त्याभासा एवं निरुक्तिप्रयासा एवं वा विद्वन्मनोविनोदफलकाः। वसुमनसो राज्ञो नाम्नो विर्वचनं तु स्पष्टमेवेति सुग्रहम्। वसुशब्दस्तत्र प्रत्यक्षवृत्तिर्मनः शब्दश्च।[८] विकुक्षित्वाद्विकुक्षिरिति तन्नाम्नो याथार्थ्यम्।[९] अत एव सोऽयोधतां प्राप्त इति भगवद्वेदव्यासोक्तिः। शशमत्तीति शशाद इति शशादाख्यस्य राज्ञो नामापि निर्वक्तुमशक्यम्। एतन्निर्वचनं चास्य शब्दस्य शशं भक्षयित्वा शशादो मृगयां गते इत्य[१०]नेन सूच्यते। अयं शब्दोऽपि प्रत्यक्षवृत्तिरेव। नाम्नो धातोश्च प्रत्यक्षावभासित्वात्। यद्यपि नाम बहुधा यादृच्छिकमेव भवति, संज्ञिनः शशाद त्वं भवतु वा मा भूत्तथापि तादृशार्थोपलम्भात् संज्ञायां तथा व्याख्यानप्रवृत्तेः। एतादृशमेव व्याख्यानं सगरशस्दस्यापि। सह गरेणेति सगरः।[११] सहस्य

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१. तदेव ६. ३८.
२. तदेव ३५. ५०.
३. तदेव १०. १८.
४. शान्तिपर्व, १५. ८.
५. हरिवंशः, ५. ४७.
३. शान्तिपर्व, २६. १३०.
७. तदेव, २६. ७७
८. उद्योगपर्व, ११४. १७.
६. हरिवंशः, ६. ३६.
१०. तदेव ६. ४२

सभावे रूपम्। एतन्नामयाथार्थ्यप्रतिपादनायापि पुरातनमाख्यानमेकं समुपस्थापि महाभारतकारेण। विदुलासञ्जयसंवादे सम्यग् जयति शत्रूनिति सञ्जय इति तन्नाम्नो निरुक्तिर्विदुलोक्त्या ध्वनिता भवति। नाम्ना सञ्जयोऽपि सन् त्वं तादृशो नासीति तदुक्तेः।[१] सर्वं दमयतीति सर्वदमन[२] इति सर्वदमनशब्दस्य व्याख्या महाभारतीया। एकत्र महाभारते काशिराजसुतायाः श्वफल्कपत्न्या गान्धा उल्लेखः। 'गा ददातीतिगान्दी'[३] तितस्या नामनिर्वचनमपि निर्दिष्टम्। सामान्यतस्त्वनया व्युत्पत्या गोदा इति नाम्ना भवितव्यम्। अत्र पुनः गान्दीति नाम गोशब्दस्य गाम् आदेशः, टाप् स्थाने च ङीष्प्रयोगः। उपरिष्टान्निर्दिष्टानां निरुक्तीनां सम्यक्परीक्षणेनैतदवदातं भवति यद् महाभारतकारदृष्ट्या नाम्नो यथार्थत्वमस्त्येव। निर्वचनदृष्ट्या नामतो ये गुणा ज्ञाकर्मीभवन्ति तेषां व्यक्तिविशेषेष्वस्ति विद्यमानत्वम्। तेनार्थस्य निर्वचनस्य चास्त्यविच्छिन्नः सम्बन्धः। यतो ह्यमुको गुणोऽमुके जनेऽतोऽस्य तन्नामधेयमित्येष क्रमो नामनि व्यक्तिविशेषे च संस्थापितो महाभारतकारेण। तदेतदर्थनित्यः परीक्षेतेत्यस्यैवोपबृंहणमिति नापक्ष्यते बहु वचः।

महाभारते कुन्तीपुत्रोऽर्जुनो नानानामभिर्निर्दिष्टो धनञ्जयविजयश्वेतवाहनकिरीटीबीभत्सु-अर्जुन-जिष्णु-कृष्णैः। तत्र सर्वाण्येव नामानि यथार्थानीति महाभारतकारः। तत्र नानावैशिष्ट्यवत्वात्तस्य कृते नानानामानि प्रसिद्धिमागतानि। प्रत्येकं च नाम यथार्थम्। व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यस्य तदर्थस्य नाम्न्यौचित्यदर्शनात्। एवं हि महाभारतकारोऽर्जुनस्य प्रत्येकं नाम्नो निर्वचनमुखेनौचित्यं प्रतिपादयति—

सर्वाञ्जनपदाञ्जित्वा वित्तमाच्छिद्य केवलम्।
मध्ये धनस्य तिष्ठामि तेनाहुर्मां धनञ्जयम्॥
अभिप्रयामि सङ्ग्रामे यदहं युद्धदुर्मदान्।
नाजित्वा विनिवर्तामि तेन मां विजयं विदुः॥
श्वेताः काञ्चनसंनाहा रथे युज्यन्ति मे हयाः।
सङ्ग्रामे युध्यमानस्य तेनाहं श्वेतवाहनः॥
उत्तराभ्यां च पूर्वाभ्यां फल्गुनीभ्यामहं दिवा।
जातो हिमवतः पृष्ठे तेन मां फाल्गुनं विदुः॥
पुरा शक्रेण मे दत्तं युध्यतो दानवर्षभैः।
किरीटं मूर्ध्नि सूर्याभं तेन माहुः किरीटिनम्॥
न कुर्यां कर्म बीभत्सं युध्यमानः कथञ्जन।
तेन देवमनुष्येषु बीभत्सुरिति मां विदुः॥

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१. उद्योगपर्व, १३४.७.
२. आदिपर्व, ३८.७.
३. हरिवंशः, २८. ३७.

उभौ मे दक्षिणौ पाणी गाण्डीवस्य विकर्षणे ।
तेन देवमनुष्येषु सव्यसाचीति मां विदुः ।।
पृथिव्यां चतुरन्तायां वर्णो मे दुर्लभः समः ।
करोमि कर्म शुक्लं च तेन मामर्जुनं विदुः ।।
अहं दुरापो दुर्धर्षो दमनः पाकशासनिः ।
तेन देवमनुष्येषु जिष्णुनामास्मि विश्रुतः ।।
कृष्णावदातस्य सतः प्रियत्वाद् वालकस्य वै ।
कृष्ण इत्येव दशमं नाम चक्रे पिता मम ।।[१]

अत्र धनञ्जयतीति धनञ्जयः, विजयते इति विजयः, श्वेतानि वाहनानि अस्येति श्वेतवाहनः, फल्गुनीभ्यां जात इति फाल्गुनः, किरीटमस्यास्तीति किरीटी, बीभत्सं (कर्म) नास्तीति बीभत्सुः—अबीभत्सुः बीभत्सुः, नञोऽत्र लोपः, सव्येनापि सचते गाण्डीवविकर्षण इति सव्यसाची, अर्जुनः (=शुक्लः) इत्यर्जुनः, जयति परान् अभिभवतीति जिष्णुः, कृष्ण इति कृष्ण इत्येवंरूपेणार्जुनस्य दशनाम्नां व्याख्यानं सूचितं महाभारतकृता ।

अर्जुनस्य पुत्रो घटोत्कचोऽपि कथं तामाख्यामलभतेत्यपि निर्दिष्टं महाभारते । यतो हि स मातरं घटमासोत्कच इत्यभ्यभाषत ततोऽस्य घटोत्कच इति संज्ञा पप्रथे ।[२] घटमासोत्कच > घटोत्कच । अत्र भासशब्दस्यान्तर्वर्तिनो लोपः । एवमेवं रावणशब्दोऽपि रुधातोर्ण्यन्ताद् व्याख्यातः, रावयति लोकान् इनि कृत्वा ।[३] रामायणेऽप्ययं शब्द एवमेव व्याख्यातः—

यस्माल्लोकत्रयं चैतद्रावितं भयमागतम् ।
तस्मात्त्वं रावणो नाम नाम्ना राजन् भविष्यसि ।[४]

'रावणो लोकरावण'[५] इत्यनेनापि इयमेव निरुक्तिः सूचिता भवति ।

अथ ऋषीणां नामनिर्वचनान्युपक्रम्यन्ते । महर्षिधौम्याख्याने शिष्येणोपमन्युना गुरोराज्ञया जलनिरोधार्थं केदारखण्डमेव दारितम् । ततश्च उद्दारणादुद्दालक इति तस्य संज्ञा पप्रथे ।[६] उद्दारकः > उद्दालकः । रलयोरभेदः । कश्यप ऋषिः काश्यानि शरीराणि पाति रक्षति पिवति भुङ्क्ते पाययति शोषं याति वेति तथासञ्ज्ञकः ।[७] काश्य > कश्य + पा = कश्यपः । काश्यपो

१. विराटपर्व, ३६. ११-२०.
२. आदिपर्व, १४३. ३४.
३. वनपर्व, २५६. ४०.
४. द्रोणपर्व, १६. ३७.
५. तदेव, १६. ३८.
६. आदिपर्व, ३. २६.
७. अनुशासनपर्व, ६५. २६.

मार्तण्ड इत्यप्युच्यते। मृतोऽण्ड इति मृताण्डः। मृताण्ड एव मार्तण्ड।[१] आकारह्रस्वः। गौतमो गोदमो गां भूमिं स्वर्गं च दमयति वशीकरोतीति।[२] गोदम>गौतम। दकारस्य तकारः। ओकारस्य औकारः। गालवस्तु विश्वामित्रपत्न्या गले बद्ध[३] इति प्राचीनाख्यानम्। तस्मादेव तस्य तादृश्याख्या। गलवद्ध>गालव। अकारस्य दीर्घः। बकारस्य वकारो, दकारधकारयोश्च लोपः जमदग्निशब्दस्यातिविलक्षणैव निरुक्तिर्दत्ता महाभारते—जाजमद्यज्ञशब्दाज्जमदग्निशब्दो निष्पन्नः।[४] भूयो भूयोऽतिशयेन जमन्ति युगपदनेकेषु यज्ञादिष्वनेकवारं पुनः पुनर्भक्षयन्ति हवींषि ते जाजमन्तो देवाः। इज्यन्ते देवता अस्मिन्निति यज्ञोऽग्निः। जाजमद्यज इत्यत्राद्यपदे प्रथमाक्षरलोपे द्वितीयस्याग्नित्वे जमदग्निरिति रूपम्। जाजमत् जमत् यज अग्नि। जमत् अग्नि जमदग्नि। जाजमन्तोऽग्निश्चास्मिन् सन्तीति जमदग्निमान्। ततो मतुब्लोपेन जमदग्निरिति पदम्। भरद्वाजशब्दस्य महाभारते 'प्रजा वै वाजस्ता एष बिभर्ति यद्बिभर्ति तस्माद् भरद्वाज' इति श्रुत्यनुसारिण्येव निरुक्तिः प्रदर्शिता। सुतशिष्यद्विजभार्यां बिभर्तीति भरद्वाजः।[५] अत्र शत्रन्तो बिभर्तिः प्रथमपदम्। वाजश्चेति द्वितीयः। एवं भरद्वाजः साहसमन्नं वा यस्येति भरद्वाजशब्दस्य व्याख्यानम्। यदि प्रथमपदमकारान्तो भरशब्दः, द्वाजशब्दश्च द्वितीयस्तर्हि पुत्रादीन् बिभर्तीति भरः। द्वाभ्यां जातः द्वाजः, सङ्करज इत्यर्थः पर्यवस्यति। अङ्गिरस्शब्दस्याङ्गारशब्दान्निरुक्तिः महाभारते प्रदर्शिता।[६] सा तु अङ्गारसदृशाक्षरयोजनायास्तत्र दर्शनादेव। अङ्गार>अङ्गिरा। आकारस्येकारः, अकारस्य चाकारः। एवमेवात्रिशब्दो रात्रिशब्दस्यैव परिवर्तितरूपम् इति निर्देशो महाभारते।[७] अरात्रि>अत्रि। मध्यवर्तिनो रा इत्यक्षरस्यात्र लोपः कल्प्यः। अरयः कामादयः सन्त्यस्मिन्नित्यरं पापं तस्मात्त्रायत इत्यरात्रिः। अरिशब्दान्मत्वर्थीय अर्शआद्यचि यस्येतीकारलोपे अरमिति सिध्यति। यस्मादरात्रिस्तस्मादत्रिः। नीलकण्ठेन महाभारतटीकाकृता अत्तीत्यद् मृत्युस्तस्मात्त्रायत इत्यत्रिः (अद्+त्रा) इत्यपराऽपि व्युत्पत्तिः प्रदर्शिता। सा हि साधने लाघवान्मूलपाठादुचिततरा प्रतीयते। भृगुशब्दो महाभारते भ्रस्ज् धातोर्व्युत्पादितः भृज्जति इति भृक्[८] नीलकण्ठेन भृज्जतीत्यस्य पावयतीत्यर्थः कृतः। पाणिनिधातुपाठे पुनः पाकार्थको भृज्जतिः। तेन भृज्जति पचतीति तेनार्थः स्यात्। स्यान्नाम नीलकण्ठस्तात्पर्यार्थमत्र ब्रूते। पाकेनानिष्टस्य दाहात् पावनत्वसम्भवः भृगिति क्विबन्तादुकारः प्रत्ययः कल्प्यः। भृज्जति पावयतीति भृक्, उकारप्रत्यये कृते भृगुः पावकोऽग्निर्वा, अग्नि-

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१. हरिवंशः, ८. ४.
२. अनुशासनपर्व, ६५. ३३.
३. हरिवंशः ६. ६५-१००.
४. अनुशासनपर्व, ६५. ३७.
५. तदेव, ६५. ३१.
६. तदेव, ६५. १५.
७. तदेव, ६५. २५.
८. तदेव, ६५. १५.

ज्वाला वा। तेन भृगुशब्दस्य साक्षाज्ज्वालेत्येवार्थः। वसिष्ठस्य ऋषेर्नाम महाभारते द्विधा निरुक्तम्। वसुमच्छब्दाच्च वस्तृशब्दाच्च।[1] तत्र वसुमच्छब्दो यदि प्रकृतिस्तर्हि तस्मादिष्ठनि मतुब्लोपे टिलोपे च वसिष्ठ इति रूपम्। यदि वस्तृशब्दः प्रकृतिस्तर्हि तस्मादिष्ठनि टिलोपे च वसष्ठि इति रूपम्। एतद्व्युत्पत्तिद्वयाभिप्रायेणैव वसिष्ठत्वाच्च वासाच्च वसिष्ठ इति महाभारतोक्तिः। विश्वामित्रशब्दविषयेऽस्ति श्रुतिः—विश्वस्य ह वै मित्रं विश्वामित्र आस। एतया विश्वस्य मित्रं विश्वामित्रशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः सूच्यते। यास्केनापि सर्वमित्र इति व्याख्याता विश्वस्य सर्वस्य मित्रम् इति विश्वामित्रशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिरूरीकृता। महाभारते पुनर्द्विविधाऽस्य व्युत्पत्तिः प्रदर्शिता। विश्वासां सर्वासां गवामिन्द्रियाणां मित्रमिति विश्वामित्रः, विश्वे देवता मित्रमस्येति च विश्वामित्रः।[2] विश्वशब्दो हि सर्ववाची। सर्वत्वं च यस्य कस्यापि भवितुमर्हति। इन्द्रियाणां वा देवानां वाऽन्येषामपि येषां केषाञ्चित्। अतः स्वाभिप्रायानुसारेण महाभारतकारव्याख्यानम् महाभारतकारो हि भगवान् वेदव्यासः। स वेदान् विव्यासेति तस्य यथार्थं नाम वेदव्यास इति। वेदानां व्यासः शाखाभेदेन विस्तार इति वेदव्यासः।[3] अत्र धर्मधर्मिणो भेदाद्येन वेदव्यासः कृतः सोऽपि वेदव्यासः संवृत्त। द्वैपायन इति वेदव्यासस्यापरा संज्ञा। मात्रा सत्यवत्या स यमुनाद्वीपे परित्यक्तो जातमात्र एव। अत एव तस्य नाम द्वैपायन इति। द्वीपमेव अयनं न्यासस्थानं यस्य स द्वीपायनः। द्वीपायन एव द्वैपायनः।[4] स्वार्थे तद्धितः ब्रह्मणः पुत्रस्य सनत्कुमारस्य नाम्नो निर्वचनमप्युपलभ्यते महाभारते। प्रत्यक्षवृत्तिरेष शब्द इति नास्त्यस्य दुरूहता। निरन्तरार्थकः सनत्कुमारः। सनत् कुमार इति सनत्कुमारः।[5] निरन्तरकुमार इत्यर्थः। कुमार इव रागादिद्वेषशून्यः। यथोत्पन्नः। यथोत्पन्नः कुमारो रागद्वेषादिशून्यो भवति तथा नैरन्तर्येण प्रवृद्धोऽपि रागद्वेषादिशून्य इति तन्नाम्नस्तस्मिंश्चरितार्थता। गण्डस्य ऋषेर्नाम महाभारते गडिधातोर्निरुक्तम्।[6] अत्र पाठान्तरे धातोरर्थोऽपि निर्दिष्टः।[7] स च स एव यः पाणिनिना धातुपाठे प्रतिपादितः, गडि वदनैकदेश इति। उन्नतगण्डत्वादृषेर्गण्ड इति नाम। एवमेव पशूनां सखा इति पशुसखस्य ऋषेरन्वर्थकं नाम।[8] एवमेवान्वर्थकं नाम शुनःसखस्यापि।[9] शुनः सखा इति शुनःसखः। ऋषिपत्नीनां नामसु विशेषतोऽरुन्धत्या नामनिर्वचनमेव निर्दिष्टं महाभारते।

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१. तदेव, ९५. २७.
२. तदेव, ९५. ३५.
३. आपिदर्व, ५७. ७३.
४. तदेव, ५७. ७१.
५. हरिवंशः, १२. १६.
६. अनुशासनपर्व, ९५. ४१.
७. तदेव, ९३. १०२.
८. तदेव, ९३. १०४.
९. तदेव, ९३. १०६.

भर्तुर्वसिष्ठस्यानन्तरमव्यवधानेन मनो रुन्धतीति तस्या तादृशी समाख्या ।[२] अरुपोऽतिकठिनान् धरादीन् दधातीत्यरुन्धतीति दकारलोपेन नुमागमेन च तद्रूपनिष्पत्तिः । अनुरुन्धतीत्यत्र नुकारलोपेन वा ।

हरिवंशे योगधर्मनिरतानां हंसानामुल्लेखः । तेषु अणुहत्येत्येकस्य नाम निर्दिष्टम् । तन्नाम्नः अणून् सूक्ष्मान् अर्थान् हन्ति प्राप्नोतीति निर्वचनम् 'अणुं पदमध्यगमत्'[२] इति वचसा सूचितं महाभारते ।

सम्प्रति देवताना नामान्यधिकृत्य प्रस्तूयते महाभारतीयेषु निर्वचनेषु विचारः । अश्विनाविति देववैद्यौ सुप्रथितौ । व्यश्नुवाते सर्वं रसेनाथवौर्णवाभमतेन अश्वैरश्विनौ, अश्ववन्ताविति अश्विशब्दस्य यास्केन प्रदर्शिते निरुक्ती । महाभारतकारोऽपि अश्वशब्दादेवास्य निर्वचनं मन्यते । केवलं तत्रार्थभेदः । और्णवाभमतेन अश्ववन्तावश्विनौ इत्यर्थः महाभारतकारमतेन अश्वस्यापत्यमश्विनावित्यर्थः ।[३] महाभारतेऽश्वरूपान्मार्तण्डादनयोरुत्पत्तिर्वर्णिता । तेन तन्मतेऽपत्यार्थेऽत्र इनिः स्यात् मरुच्छब्दस्यापि महाभारते विलक्षणमेव निर्वचनमुपलभ्यते । मरुतो मितराविणो मितरोचिनो वा, महद्द्रवन्तीति वेति यास्कोक्त्या मित+रु, मित+रुच्, महद्+द्रु इति प्रकृतिभ्यो मरुच्छब्दव्युत्पत्तिः । महाभारतकारमतेन पुनः मा+रुद् प्रकृतेरस्य व्युत्पत्तिः ।[४] मा शब्दाकारह्रस्वत्वे मरुद् अथवा मरुत् शब्दनिष्पत्तिः परिस्फुटैव । दित्यां कश्यपेनाहितो गर्भं इन्द्रेण वज्रेण पाटितः, पाट्यमानश्च स रुरोद । मा रोदीरिति तमिन्द्रोऽभ्यभाषत । तेन खण्डशः कृताद् गर्भात्सभुद्भूतानां देवानां मरुदिति सञ्ज्ञेति महाभारतीयमाख्यानम् । विशिष्टाग्निनामसु पुष्टिमतिरित्येकं नाम पुष्टिं प्रयच्छतीति सतः ।[५] पुष्टिरस्यास्तीति पुष्टिमान् । यस्य पुष्टिरस्ति स पुष्टिं प्रदातुमपि शक्नोति । पुष्टिमच्छब्दादिकारः प्रत्ययः । तेन पुष्टिमतिरिति रूपम् । अपरस्याग्निविशेषस्य महाभारते निर्दिष्टं नाम भरत इति भरतीति सतः ।[६] निगदव्याख्यात एष शब्दः । एवमेव निगदव्याख्यातौ स्तः स्वयम्भूसावित्रीशब्दौ । स्ययम्भूतौ जात इति स्वयम्भूः ।[७] सवित्रा प्रोक्तेति सावित्री ।[८]

'तिस्र एव देवता इति नैरुक्ताः ।...तासां माहाभाग्यादेककस्या अपि बहूनि नामधेयानि भवन्ति । अपि वा कर्मपृथक्त्वादि'ति यास्कः । देवतानां माहाभाग्यं कर्मपृथक्त्वं वा तासां

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१. तदेव, ६५. ३६.
२. हरिवंशः, १८. ४.
३. तदेव, ८. ३८.
४. तदेव, ३. १०७-१६.
५. वनपर्व, २११. १.
६. तदेव
७. हरिवंशः, १. २५.
८. उद्योगपर्व, १०६. १०.

नानानामसु हेतुरिति यास्काशयः। अतो हेतोरेव विष्ण्वादिदेवानां नानानामानि महाभारते यत्र तत्र दृष्टिपथमुपयान्ति तद्द्वदृष्ट्यौचित्यदिशा च निरुक्तानि महाभारतकारेण। तत्र प्रथमं तावद्विष्णुनामान्युपक्रम्यन्ते। तन्नामनिर्वचनमेकैकश उद्योगपर्वणि हरिवंशे च विशेषतो निरूपितम्। तथा हि न च्यवते इत्यच्युतः।[१] न जायत इत्यजः,[२] अधो न क्षीयते जातु इत्यधोक्षजः,[३] उत्तरपदावयवलोपः, अथवा अध इति पृथिवी, अक्षू व्याप्तौ इत्यतोऽक् आकाशः, ते उभे अधोक्, पृथिवीनभसी स जयति सङ्गेन धारयतीति अधोक्षजः, अधोक्+स+जः, नकारलोपे अधोक्षजः, अथवा पृथक्पदैरेवास्य निर्वचनम्,[४] तथाहि अतन्ति सततं गच्छन्त्यस्मिन्निति अः, अत सातत्य गमन इत्यतः, तकारलोपः, धोक्षः दुह प्रपूरण इत्यस्मादौणादिकः सः, गुणभष्भावौ, जायतेऽस्मात् सर्वमिति जः, अ+धोक्ष+जः अधोक्षजः, जगल्लयस्थितिजन्मस्थानमित्यर्थः, इन्द्रस्योपरि स्थापित इत्युपेन्द्रः,[५] अत्र रिलोपः, उपरि+इन्द्र, उप+इन्द्र उपेन्द्र, भूवाचकः=सत्तावाचकः शब्दः कृषिः, निर्वृत्तिः=सुखं तद्वाचकश्च शब्दः णः, कृषि+णः कृष्णः,[६] इकारलोपः, कृषति भूमिमिति वा कृष्णवर्ण इति वा कृष्णः,[७] केशिनं वाति हिनस्तीति केशवः,[८] केशि+वः (मत्वर्थीयस्येनेर्लोपः), केशाः अंशवः सन्त्यस्येति वा केशवः[९] (मत्वर्थीयो वः), कः ब्रह्मा, ईशः शिवः स्तोऽस्य, तदङ्गसम्भूतत्वादिति वा केशवः,[१०] परशुखण्डनात् खण्डपरशुः,[११] गा गोपायति पातीति गोपः,[१२] गा विन्दतीति गोविन्दः,[१३] गवामिन्द्र इति वा गोविन्दः[१४] (अत्र वकारागमो रकारलोपश्च), गां वाणीं वेद इदि वा गोविन्दः[१५] जनं दस्युजनमर्दयतीति जनार्दनः,[१६] जयतीति जिष्णुः,[१७] त्रीणि ककुदानि उच्चप्रदेशाः सन्त्यस्येति

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१. तदेव, ६८. १५.
२. तदेव, ६८. ८.
३. तदेव, ६८. १०.
४. शान्तिपर्व, ३३०·१९.
५. हरिवंशः, ६२. ४४.
६. उद्योगपर्व, ६८. ५.
७. शान्तिपर्व, ३३०. १६.
८. हरिवंशः, ६७. ५८.
९. शान्तिपर्व, ३२८. ४३.
१०. तदेव, ३३०, ४९.
११. हरिवंश, ८८. ४८.
१२. तदेव, ३०. ७.
१३. उद्योगपर्व, ६८. १३.
१४. तदेव
१५. तदेव, ६८. ६.
१६. हरिवंशः, ८८. ५०.
१७. उद्योगपर्व, ६८. १३.

त्रिककुद्,[1] उत् उत्कर्षेण प्रकाशत इत्युदरः, दमोऽस्यास्तीति दामः, दामश्चासावुदरश्चेति दामोदरः,[2] नराणामयनो नारायणः,[3] नारा आपोऽयनं यस्येति वा नारायणः,[4] पुण्डरीकमिव पुण्डरीकं हृदयकमलं धाम तत्र सन्नपि न क्षीयत इति पुण्डरीकाक्षः[5] पूरणात्सदनाच्च पुरुषः, स चासावुत्तमश्चेति पुरुषोत्तमः,[6] पूरयतीति पुरुः, सीदन्त्यस्मिन्निति सः तस्मात् पुरुषः, पुरुषश्चासावुत्तमश्चेति पुरुषोत्तमः, बृहत्वाद् बृंहणत्वाच्च ब्रह्म, मधुं तन्नामकं दैत्यं सूदयति नाशयतीति मधुसूदनः,[7] मधूनि इन्द्रियाणि सूदयति इति वा मधुसूदनः,[8] सर्वतत्त्वमयत्वान्मधूनि पृथिव्यादीनि हन्ति संहरति गच्छन्ति वा एनमिति मधुहा,[9] मां=धीं वृत्तिं मौनाद् ध्यानाद्योगाच्च धवयति दूरीकरोतीति माधवः,[10] मा=विद्या तस्या धवः स्वामीति वा माधवः,[11] मननान्मुनिः,[12] यमनाद्यतिः,[13] वसनाद् वासुदेवः, वस्ते आच्छादयति, मायया आवृणोतीति वा, वस्यति स्तभ्नाति भुवनमिति वा, वसत्यस्मिन् भुवनमिति वा वासुः, देवो द्योतमानश्चेति वासुदेवः,[14] वसन्ति देवा अस्मिन्नति वा वासुदेवः (बृहत्वाद्व्यापकत्वात्), वेवेष्टि सर्वमिति विष्णुः,[15] वृषं धर्मं भासयतीति वृषभो वेदः तदेव ईक्षणं चक्षुरिव ज्ञापकं यस्येति वृषभेक्षणः,[16] वृषो=धर्मः, कपिः=श्रेष्ठः, वृषाकपिः,[17] (अकारदीर्घः), धर्मश्रेष्ठ इत्यर्थः, विशब्दः पक्षिवाची, व्योमचारित्वसामान्याद्वायुतेजोमेघरूपवाची च, कुः पृथिवी, ठः आकाशः, एतेषां समाहारो विकुण्ठम् (णकारागमः), विकुण्ठानां श्लेषणकर्ता इति वैकुण्ठः,[18]

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१. शान्तिपर्व, ३३०. २८.
२. उद्योगपर्व, ६८, ८.
३. तदेव, ६८. १०.
४. हरिवंशः, १. २४; ८८. ४४.
५. उद्योगपर्व, ६८. ६.
६. तदेव, ६८. ६.
७. तदेव, ६८. १०.
८. तदेव, ६८. ४.
९. हरिवंशः, ८८. ४६.
१०. उद्योगपर्व, ६८. ४
११. हरिवंशः, ८८. ४९.
१२. तदेव, ८८. ५२.
१३. तदेव ८८. ५२.
१४. उद्योगपर्व, ६८. ३.
१५. तदेव, ६८. १३, हरिवंशः ८८. ४३. (अत्र व्याप्तिरिति धातोरर्थस्याप्युल्लेखः धातोर्व्याप्तिश्च दर्शनात्)।
१८. उद्योगपर्व, ६८. ७.
१९–२०. शान्तिपर्व, ३३०. २४.

अथवा विगता कुण्ठा पञ्चानां भूतानां मेलने सामर्थ्यमस्येति विकुण्ठः, स एव वैकुण्ठः[१] (स्वार्थे तद्धितः), शिपिना=निष्कलेन रूपेण आविष्टं यत्किञ्चिदनेनेति शिपिविष्टः[२] (आकारलोपः), श्रवणानि श्रवाः, शुचयः श्रवा यस्य स शुचिश्रवाः,[३] सत्त्वमबाधितमस्येति सत्वतः, सत्वत एव सात्वतः[४] (स्वार्थिकोऽण्), हरति क्रतुषु भागमिति वा, प्राणिन इति वा,[५] हरिर्हरिर्विर्णो वाऽस्येति हरिः,[६] हर्षाद् हृषीकेशः, हृष्यत्यनेनेति वृत्तिसुखं[७] स्वरूपानन्दः, ईशनवान् अतो हृषीकेशः, हृषीकाणीन्द्रियाणि तेषामीश इति वा हृषीकेशः।[८]

यथा भगवतो विष्णोस्तथैव भगवतः शिवस्यापि नैकेषां नाम्नां निर्वचनं महाभारत उपलभ्यते। त्रीण्यम्बकानि नेत्राण्यस्येति त्र्यम्बकशब्दस्य सुप्रथितं निर्वचनम्। महाभारते पुनः किञ्चिदन्यदेवोक्तम्। तत्र हि तिस्रो देवीर्भजत[९] इति त्र्यम्बकशब्दस्यार्थः कृतः। तेन तत्र नेत्रार्थाम्बिकशब्दस्थानेऽम्बिकाशब्द एव तदभ्युपगत इति सूचितं भवति। ततश्च तिस्रोऽम्बिका अस्येति त्र्यम्बक इति व्याख्यानमस्य शब्दस्य (इकारलोपोऽत्र परिकल्प्यः)। एवमेव धूम्रश्चासौ जटी धूर्जटिरिति[१०] धूर्जटिशब्दस्य निर्वचनम् (मकारलोपः), पशून् पातीति पशुपतिः[११] पशूनां सखेति पशुसखः,[१२] महयन्ति लोका यं स महः, महश्चासावीश्वरश्चेति महेश्वरः,[१३] निर्दहति,[१४] मांसशोणितमज्जाद इति वार्थे दहतेरत्तेर्वा रुद्रः।[१५]

'उ मा' इति पार्वत्या निषेधवचनोच्चारणेन[१६] उमाशब्दनिर्वचनं प्रदर्शितं महाभारतकारेण। एवमेव कार्तिकेयनामनिर्वचनं कृत्तिकानामपत्यमिति[१७] कृत्वा तेन प्रादर्शि।

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१. शान्तिपर्व, ३३०. १५.
२. तदेव, ३३०. ६.
३. तदेव, ३३०. २६.
४. तदेव, ३३०. १३, उद्योगपर्व, ६८. ७.
५. तदेव, ३३०. ३, हरिवंश, ८८.
६. तदेव, ३३०. ३.
७. उद्योगपर्व, ६८. ९.
८. अनुशासनपर्व, ८८. ४७. (चित्रशालामुद्रणालयसंस्करणम्).
९. द्रोणपर्व, १७३. ८६
१०. अनुशासनपर्व, १४६. १२.
११. द्रोगपर्व, १७. ३४२; अनुशासनपर्व, १४६. १४.
१२. अनुशासनपर्व, ९५. ४३.
१३. द्रोणपर्व, १७३. ८३; अनुशासनपर्व, १४६. १५.
१४. द्रोणपर्व, १७३. ९८,
१५. तदेव
१६. अनुशासनपर्व, १३. १७-१८.
१७. हरिवंशः, ३. ३६.

तस्यैव कार्त्तिकेयस्यापरे नामनी स्कन्दश्च गुहश्च । तत्र स्कन्दः स्कन्दतेः,[१] शिवतेजः स्कन्दात्, गुहायाश्च गुह[२] इति तयोर्महाभारतकारकृते निर्वचने ।

एवं महाभारते यत्र तत्र निर्दिष्टानि निर्वचनानि महाभारतकारस्य शास्त्रान्तरवन्निर्वचन-शास्त्रेऽपि प्रौढिं परमां पिशुनयन्ति । **निघण्टोर्निरुक्तस्य तत्कर्तुर्यास्कस्य चापि स्पष्टतो नामोल्लेखो महाभारतेऽस्ति ।**[३] यास्कीयां पद्धतिमाश्रित्य स्वोपज्ञानि नानानिर्वचनानि प्रस्तुतानि महाभारते भगवता वेदव्यासेन । तेभ्यः शब्दस्वरूपविषये ऋषेर्दर्शनमाविर्भवति गूढं च तद्रहस्यमुद्भिनत्तीत्येव समासेनोपन्यस्योपसंह्रियतेऽस्माभिरयं महाभारतीयनिर्वचनविचारः ॥

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१. अनुशासनपर्व, ८४. ७७; ८६. १४

२. तदेव

३. नैघण्टुकपदाख्याने विद्धि मां वृषमुत्तमम् ॥ यास्को मामृषिमव्यग्रो नैकयज्ञेषु गीतवान् । शान्तिपर्व (चित्रशालाप्रेससंस्करण, पूना) ३४२.८८,७२

STUDIES IN THE PROBLEM OF ERROR

Dr. Rasik Vihari Joshi

JODHPUR

The Sanskrit term for error is '*khyāti*', derived from the *khyā* meaning 'to perceive' or 'to manifest'. The observation of Professor Daisetz Teitaroo Suzuki, in his monumental work entitled '*Studies in Laṅkāvatārasūtra*' that 'the function of *khyātivijñāna* is to perceive or to reflect things that appear before it just as the mirror reflects all forms before it'[1] inspired me to take up the Problem of Error for a comprehensive study. It has long been a topic of discussion among Indian philosophers. What will here again be studied is a comparative and critical study of the points of view of Jaina, Bauddha, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta and Nyāya systems on the problem of error with special reference to Indian Logic.

I

The Jaina theory of error is known as *satkhyātivāda* or misrelationing of existents. It maintains that silver parts exist along with the parts of oyster-shells. Both are considered as real. On account of the defective eye contact, real silver is produced from the real silver parts. It is by the correct cognition of the oyster-shell that real silver is destroyed in its own parts. Error, thus, consists when silver is perceived in an existent oyster-shell; illusion is due to brilliant sun rays. We perceive silver where it does not exist.

The following objections are raised against this theory :

(a) If real silver is produced in oyster-shell, it should never be obstructed by the correct knowledge of oyster-shell.

(b) When many persons differently misapprehend rope as a stick or a serpent or a garland, it will not be wise to call any of them as existent (*sat*) because no practical purpose can be served by any of them.

(c) If a real existent object is produced in misapprehension, fire should be extinguished when one misapprehends water on a fiery barren

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1. Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaroo, *Studies in Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, London, 1930. p. 190.

land. Or, cotton should burn when one misapprehends red black berry as fire on the heap of cotton.

(d) While misapprehending silver in oyster-shell when there is an instance of the burning of oyster-shell by fire to ashes, no means will be available to remove the knowledge of silver. The oyster-shell is completely destroyed and misapprehension of silver cannot be removed due to the transformation of silver into ashes. The opponent argues that one should be able to recover some parts of silver from the ashes since silver is a substance of the nature of fire according to the Nyāyavaiśeṣika and it cannot be consumed by fire.

II

The nihilist school of Mādhyamika Buddhism declares the theory of '*asatkhyātivāda*'. According to this school, all external objects are of the nature of non-existence. All perception, internal and external, is erroneous. Misapprehension of silver and oyster-shell are both, in reality, non-existent. Therefore, when silver is non-existent on its non-existent locus, misapprehension has no locus at all. Such a knowledge and the knower of such misapprehension are both non-existent. Nāgārjuna, thus, totally denies the existence of external world. The *asatkhyātivāda*, therefore, means that the object of cognition is unreal for the reality itself is void.[1]

Śaṅkarācārya argued against the Mādhyamika *śūnyavāda* stating that complete denial of every thing is not possible, otherwise any practical behavior in nihilism would remain out of question.[2] Besides, according to *asatkhyātivāda*, when no particular attribute can be ascribed to any individual object and when the real existence and the mis-apprehension of an object are both considered unreal, fire should serve the purpose of water. Any supposition of a particular to the individual objects would be against the theory of *asatkhyāti*. It would be further unreasonable if Mādhyamika insists to argue that a particular attribute would be without any distinguishing mark (*vilakṣaṇa*) because any practical behavior from such state would remain out of question and such a state itself is held as *asat* or non-existent by this school of thought. The very statement 'non-existent and 'particular attribute,' is self contradictory and illogical.

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1. (a) Max Muller, *Die Mittlere Lehre des Nāgārjuna*, Heidelberg, 1911.
   (b) *Mūlamādhyamika-kārikā*, (Ed) Bibliotheca Buddhica, 1903-13.
2. *Sarvathānupapatteśca.*
   Brahmasūtra II. 2. 32. (Ed) S. Radhakrishnan, London, 1960, p. 387.

It is interesting to note that the Tāntrika school also admits the *asatkhyātivāda* with only one point of difference from that of Mādhyamika, viz. oyster-shell is not non-existent. It is only silver, the object of misapprehension, which is considered as non-existent. Real silver existing in some place and time has no relation to oyster-shell.[1] There is no real misapprehension of silver in oyster-shell as *anyathākhyātivādin* Naiyāyika admits, or the production of indescribable silver in oyster-shell as *anirvacanīyavādin* Vedāntin declares, or the possibility of two knowledge as *akhyātivādin* Mīmāṁsaka admits, or absolute non-existence of oyster-shell as *śūnyavādin* Mādhyamika declares. The point of view of Mādhyamika that all four, viz. knowledge, means of knowledge, knowable and knower are imaginative and non-existing has been completely looked down upon by Śaṅkarācārya and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.[2]

Nevertheless, there is a close similarity between the *asatkhyātivāda* of Prābhākara Mīmāṁsaka and *anyathākhyātivāda* of Naiyāyika. The similarity is obvious as the latter finally admits the non-existence of silver in oyster-shell and the existence of silver only in the places where it does exist such as silver market or silver mines. The basic point of difference between the two schools of thought is that in *anyathākhyātivāda* one apprehends silverness (*rajatattva*) which really exists in the existent real silver in some space and time, while in the *asatkhyātivāda* the knowledge of non-existent silver is produced on account of the contact of the defective vision with oyster-shell. Neither of the two, however, becomes the real object of our knowledge.

Tāntrika, on the other hand, maintains that oyster-shell, knower and knowledge—all three are indeed existing. We do not perceive oyster-shell simply due to our defective vision. Hence misapprehension of non-existent silver in oyster-shell.[3]

The discussion now opens two alternatives :

(a) If we accept oyster-shell as objeet of misapprehension in the form of silver, we should cognise 'This is an oyster-shell'.

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1. Muni, Ātmānand, *Vṛttiprabhākara*, Ahmadabad, 1957, pp. 392-93.
2. (a) *śūnyavādipakṣastu sarvapramāṇapratisiddha iti tannirākaraṇāya nādaraḥ kriyate. Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on II. 2. 31.
   (b) Bhaṭṭa, Kumārila, *Ślokavārtika* pp. 268-345.
3. Keith, A. B., The *Karmamīmāṁsā*, London, 1921, pp. 45-46.

(b) If we do not comprehend the particular attribute 'oyster-shellness', we should only have the general idea of the nature of 'thisness' in the statement 'This is an oyster-shell'.

Indeed in the absence of both the attributes, oyster-shell cannot become the object of misapprehension. Likewise, silver cannot become the object of mis-apprehension as there is absolute non-existence of silver in the object of perception. The existent real silver, although present at a distant place, does not have any conjunction with the sense organ eye which is considered as the basic cause of perception (*indriyārthasannikarṣajanyam jñānam pratyakṣam*). As such neither oyster-shell nor silver can be accepted as an object of our misapprehension. Besides, misapprehension of silver is instantly sublated when we correctly apprehend oyster-shell. As a result we arrive at the following ascertainment : 'There is an absolute impossibility of the existence of silver in oyster-shell'. Accordingly, Tāntrika concludes that misapprehension of silver having no independent locus of its own is merely a perception of non-existence (*asat-gocarajñāna*), technically known as *asatkhyātivāda*.

III

The idealistic school of Yogācāra Buddhist advocates the principle of *kṣaṇikavijñānavāda*. Accordingly, all external objects are non-existent. Only *vijñānātman* exists interiorly.[1] *Vijñānavādin* Buddhist totally denies the existence of the entire external world and propounds that the external objects are merely of the form of knowledge.[2] Thus *vijñānātman* is the basis of external silver which is nothing else but a *dharma* of *vijñānātman* and appears as external due to some defect. The knowledge does not negate silver but what is negated is the external existence of silver.

Ātmakhyātivādin Buddhist attacks the Vedāntin saying that in *anirvacanīyakhyātivāda* of Vedānta, Vedāntin has to sublate silver and the external attribute of silver in the form of *bāhyavṛtti* by the correct knowledge; while we Buddhists have to sublate only 'Thisness' (*idantārūpa dharma*) in *ātmakhyātivāda*. Thus the theory is based on the simple ground

1. (a) Sharma, C.D., *A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1960, pp. 231-32.
   (b) Upadhyaya, Baladeva, *Bhāratīya Darśana*, Varanasi, 1941, pp. 210-16.
2. (a) Keith, A. B., *Karmamīmāṁsā*, p. 44.
   (b) The Buddhist *Vijñānavāda* has been thoroughly repudiated in the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*. The *Brahmasūtra*, (Ed) S. Radhakrishnan, London, 1960, pp. 383-87.

that the internal existence of silver is true while its external existence is false. Hence, error. In the knowledge of silver, the perception of silver is not of the nature of error but error is only in the real existence of external silver. Thus error is a mere superimposition of cognition on external objects which are unreal and error is considered as consisting in the imposition of cognition on external objects.

To understand the development of Buddhist thought it will not be out of plaee to refer to the main currents of thought briefly :

(I) *Bāhyārthapadārthavādin* : The followers of this current of thought believe in the external existence of the objects. They are further divided into two groups : viz. (a) *Bāhyārthapadārthaparokṣavādin* : They hold the external objects as inferential and do not accept the perception of external objects. The experience of the knowledge of external objects is, however, admitted. By the knowledge of external objects the existence of external objects is inferred. (b) *Bāhyārthapadārtha-aparokṣavādin* : They maintain that external objects are also the objects of perception on account of defective vision.

(II) *Antar-vijñānavādin* : According to this school, the question of *parokṣa* and *aparokṣa* of *bāhyapadārthavāda* does not arise at all. This school does not recognise the external existence of objects. Moreover, *antar-vijñānavādin* attacks *bāhyapadārthavādin* on the following grounds :

a. In admitting external appearance of silver as an object of correct knowledge and internal object as an error, we shall falsify the correct and incorrect nature of misapprehension due to internal and external positive form of object.

b. If silver, an object of correct knowledge, is admitted to exist externally and silver, an object of misapprehension, is also accepted to exist externally, what will be the difference between knowledge and misapprehension.

c. When four persons have different misapprehensions in one and the same object, each of them must have knowledge of all the four misapprehensions as their locus is one.

d. In admitting misapprehension on external silver, all should misapprehend silver in oyster-shell.

These objections are not valid in *antar-vijñānavāda* because, according to this point of view, in whomsoever an object is created, he alone apprehends the object and none else.

Ātmakhyātivāda of *bāhyapadārthavādin* is also not tenable because the positive existence of internal objects is against our normal experience with the only exception of the dream. The objects externally exist by nature. It would be against their nature to accept their internal existence. Otherwise, we should all experience 'Silver is in me' or 'I am silver' instead of 'This is silver'.[1]

Naiyāyika objects that in the *svatantra-vijñānavāda* as well as in the *vijñānavāda* of Yogācāra Buddhism,[2] it would not be possible to maintain any distinction between truth and error. The Yogācāra system propounds non-difference of Self, knowledge and knowable. It is noteworthy that the general rule of logic, that error is an apprehension of one object in another, is also applicable to the Yogācāra system but it is the subjectivism of Yogācāra which vitiates the whole position. Naiyāyika further argues that the heat of fire or the sweetness of sugar are not mere subjective and imaginary qualities but they do have their positive external existence in the world.

IV

The Sāṅkhya theory of error is technically known as *sat-asat-khyātivāda*. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta has represented the Sāṅkhya view of error as identical with the *akhyātivāda* doctrine of Mīmāṁsā.[3] and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan calls it *prasiddhārtha-akhyātivāda*.[4] Dr. Dasgupta has neither elucidated nor given any evidence in support of his opinion. Dr. Radhakrishnan's point of view is, however, based on the *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa* of Prabhācandra, a Jain logician. It is quite possible that Prabhācandra did not correctly represent the Sāṅkhya view. I have not so far been able to find out any textual authority from Sāṅkhya to justify either one of the above mentioned views. Dr. C.D. Sharma has made a casual reference to the theory of error of Sāṅkhya as *satkhyātivāda* of the early Sāṅkhya and as *sat-asat-khyātivāda* of later Sāṅkhya.[5] I prefer to agree

1. Dasgupta, S. N., *History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge 1957, Vol. I., p. 385.
2. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, however, calls the theory of error according to Yogācāra Buddhism as '*jñānākārakhyātivāda*'. S. Radhakrishnan: *Indian Philosophy*, London, 1951, Vol. II, p. 131.
3. Dasgupta, S. N., *History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1957, Vol. I, 385.
4. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, London, 1951, Vol. II, p. 133 (NB. I.).
5. Sharma, C. D., *A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 230-31.

with Dr. Sharma as the *aniruddhavṛtti* on the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* 5.56 clearly indicates the existent-nonexistent theory of error (*sat-asat-khyātivāda*) of Sāṅkhya.

It may be noted that according to Sāṅkhya the experience of the external universe is based on *buddhivṛtti* against the *Vijñānavādin* Buddhist contention of the non-existence of the external universe. The realistic Sāṅkhya insists on the real existence of the external universe as well as on their real knowledge. The form and nature of objects imposed on intellect are identical with that of external universe; and this knowledge in view of Sāṅkhya explains that validity of experience is based on the identical nature of the objects imposed on the intellect and the external physical world.

Sāṅkhya maintains that when we misapprehend silver in oyster-shell, we do experience 'This is silver'. In this statement the knowledge of 'This' is existent and the knowledge of 'silver' is non-existent. The locus of the knowledge of 'This' being the object of our eye-perception is existent (*sat*) but the locus of the knowledge of silver, being beyond our eye-pereeption and being sublated by our later knowledge that : 'This is not silver', is non-existent (*asat*,[1]

Vijñānabhikṣu in the *Sāṅkhyapravacana-bhāṣya* maintains that all objects being eternal remain un-sublated by their form. The erasure is only of conjunction when imposed on consciousness.[2] This point of view is further supported by an illustration of existent silver in a silver shop and non-existent silver in oyster-shell where it is imposed. Thus, according to the Sāṅkhya theory of error the universe is existent in form and non-existent when imposed on consciousness.[3]

V

The theory of error, according to the Prabhākara school of Mimāṁsā, is non-apprehension or denial of illusory apprehension or non-discrimination, technically known as *akhyātivāda*. In this theory the common characteristics of two different objects are not noticed differently.

It is a well-known fact that certain systems of Indian philosophy, such as Nyāya, admit two kinds of knowledge, viz. correct (*yathārtha*) and

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1. *Sāṅkhyasūtra, Aniruddhavṛtti*, V. 56.
2. *Svarūpeṇābādhaḥ sarvavastūnām nityatvāt; sansargatastu bādhaḥ sarvavastūnām caitanye 'sti.* Vijñānabhikṣu, *Sāṅkhyapravacana-bhāṣya*, V 56
3. Baladeva Upadhyaya, *Bhāratīya Darśhna*, Banaras, 1948, p. 33.

incorrect (*ayathārtha*). The activity and non-activity depend on the correct and incorrect knowledge. This standpoint is inconsistent with Mīmāṁsā; as Prabhākara, in accordance with his view of intrinsic validity of knowledge, recognises only correct knowledge as knowledge because incorrect knowledge remains unknown to him. He argues that every knowledge is always true and there is nothing false which ever appears in any error like mistaking of rope for snake. In case there does exist incorrect knowledge, there should be complete cessation of activity and non-activity as immediately after acquiring the kowledge of the nature of ordinary knowledge the doubt of incorrectness will also appear.[1] Accordingly, no error exists in strict logical sense and all knowledge is valid per se. Needless to stress that the cause of activity and non-activity is nothing but mere ascertainment of the correctness of knowledge and the absence of doubt of incorrectness in relation to a particular knowledge. As a matter of fact, Mīmāṁsā does not accept incorrectness of knowledge and, therefore, there is no possibility of doubt. The doubt arises only when one accepts incorrectness of knowledge and only then one has doubt about correctness or incorrectness due to certain similarity between two objects.

It is clear from the above account that Prabhākara does not recognise *bhrama*. Therefore, in case of activity towards an oyster-shell out of greed or of non-activity towards the rope out of fear, we do not perceive real silver or snake. It will not be correct to say that we perceive silver and snake which are really non-existent. In fact, what is in existence is the mere recollection of silver and snake. Perception is of an ordinary nature 'This is an oyster-shell' and 'This is rope'. We do not perceive particular attributes of oyster-shell and silver. We simply have the ordinary perception of the nature of 'Thisness'. Immediately after the ordinary knowledge, the impressions of silver and snake are awakened due to similarity and remind us of their form and characteristics. Normally, in all sorts of recollections, the knowledge of 'Thatness' remains related to that very substance which is remembered. Even so, due to defective vision the impressions are awakened and the idea of 'Thatness' is substituted. The object is imported to memory merely as an object robbed of its thatness.

I may mention that according to Prabhākara school there are two types of understanding of the following phrases: viz, (1) This is silver (2) This is snake:—

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1. Dasgupta, S. N., *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 386.

a. The ordinary perception of oyster-shell and rope of the nature of thisness is quite correct.

b. The ordinary perception of silver and snake of the nature of recollection is also correct.

Nevertheless, the first type of perception is minus particular attributes of oyster-shell and rope while the second type of perception is minus thatness of silver and snake. It is insisted upon that on the ground of abandoning a part of knowledge, the knowledge does not become incorrect. The incorrectness of knowledge would actually mean knowledge of one object is considered as knowledge of another. Hence incorrect knowledge of such a type is unacceptable to the *akhyātivāda* theory of Mīmāṁsā.

An objection is raised against the Mīmāṁsā view that the activity or non-activity towards an object depends on the knowledge of the desired object or the undesired one (*iṣṭa-aniṣṭa-sādhantājñāna*). If the knowledge of the desired object is accepted in the oyster-shell, we indirectly accept misapprehension but if such knowledge is negated, there should be no activity towards oyster-shell with an idea of silver. On the other hand, such an activity occurs in our normal common experience.

Prabhākara, carefully considering the objection, answers that the activity towards the misapprehended object is based on the following four possibilities :

a. Ordinary perception of an object.

b. Remembrance of the desired object.

c. Idea of non-difference between the object of our remembrance and the object of perception and desire.

d. Idea of non-difference between knowledge of remembrance and knowledge of the object of perception and desire.

Thus, according to Mīmāṁsā, the activity becomes possible even without the knowledge of misapprehension. The cause of an activity is indeed the knowledge of ordinary perception of the perceptible object plus the remembrance of the desired object plus the idea of nondifferenee between the two. In the present context, the ordinary knowledge of oyster-shell of the nature of 'This' is the correct one. Hence, misapprehension is unnecessary. It may further be made clear that the action of avoiding of our fear while misapprehending rope for a snake is also not caused by

misapprehension in the thinking of Mīmāṁsā tradition but by simple ordinary perception of rope plus remembrance of snake plus ignorance of difference between both types of knowledge and their respective objects. In fact, running is a type of activity which does not take us towards the object, but, on the other hand, it takes us away from the object. As such it is non-activity (*viṣaya-vimukha-pravṛtti*).[1] One may call this action of running by any name, such as activity or non-activity. It does not make any difference to Mīmāṁsaka so long as remembrance of the object resorting to enmity remains the cause of action.

On the basis of these arguments Prabhākara concludes that all types of knowledge are correct. In the phrase 'This is silver' (an instance of misapprehension) the object of perception is 'Thisncss' (*idamāṁśa*). The sense organ eye stops its function just after giving the information 'This'. The silver is not the object of perception because it is in reality non-existent. We simply remember silver which was previously seen elsewhere. Now both these states are correct in their own respective places. Misapprehension is based on non-difference between silver, the object of remembrance, and this objeet, '*idam padārtha*'. Noteworthy is the fact that in Mīmāṁsā misapprehension is due to lack of discrimination between silver and oyster-shell (*dvayoḥ viṣayayoḥ vivekāgrahād bhramaḥ*). We simply experience brilliance and then remember silver.[2] Therefore, the *akhyāti* theory of Prābhākara Mīmāṁsaka is also technically known as '*vivekāgraha*' or non-discrimination.[3]

VI

The theory of error pertaining to the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṁsā is technically known as *viparītakhyātivāda* because a non-effect appears as an effect in this theory.

The Bhāṭṭa school differs from the Prābhākara by maintaining a logical distinction between truth and error and recognising the latter as misapprehension. In erroneous perception 'This is silver' the oyster-shell is perceived as 'This' bereft of 'shellness' and silver appears in memory bereft of the

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1. The basic difference between the two activities is that while *viṣaya-vimukha-pravṛtti* is based on remembrance of the object resorting to enmity, the *viṣaya-abhimukha-pravṛtti* is based on the remembrance of desired object.
2. Miśra, Śālikānātha, *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, p. 43.
3. (a) *Tantrarahasya* pp. 2-5.
   (b) *Nayaviveka* pp. 86-93.

idea of 'Thatness'. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa differs from Prabhākara stating that this is a wrong synthesis of both the perceived and the remembered and that error is due to non-discrimination of the two.[1] Error is thus considered as misapprehension in the Bhāṭṭa school. It is not due to non-discrimination (*vivekāgraha*) but due to two imperfeet cognitions (*viparītāgraha*).[2]

Kumārila is obviously more close to Naiyāyika in maintaining that error is wrong apprehension of an object as another. It may be noted in this connection that Bhaṭṭa and Miśra Mīmāṁsaka totally agree with Naiyāyika in respect of the theory of error. The Nyāya argument against Prabhākara is that so long as misapprehension remains, there exists real perccption of silver. Non-discriminity at the time of misapprehension will not induce any sort of activity. Kumārila's view of *viparītāgraha* is, therefore, based on the ground that we have error only when there is reversion from the right behavior.

VII

We now pass on to study the Vedāntic theory of error. The *Advaita Vedānta* advocates the doctrine of indescribable error technically known as *anirvacanīya-khyātivāda.* The error is indescribable either as real or unreal. The cognition of snake (unreal) in a rope is nonexistent (*asat*) as it is sublated by the correct knowledge of rope when light is brought. It is not completely nonexistent (*asat*) because we experience fear and trembling as a result of perceiving the rope in the form of a snake. The illusion of snake is thus distinguished from existent (*sat*) and nonexistent (*asat*) and hence regarded as indescribable. The term *anirvacanīya* is a synonym of *mithyā.* Needless to add that *advaita vedānta mithyā* stands for *anirvacanīya* and not for *asat*. Padmapāda has distinctly mentioned this in the Pañcapādikā.[3]

As a matter of fact, when we cognise snake in a rope the cause of *adhyāsa* is the ordinary knowledge of the locus plus particular ignorance of the *adhiṣṭhāna.* On account of the defective visual perception, we acquire ordinary knowledge of rope of the nature of 'This' (*idamākārā*) and not of the nature of particular. It is thus explained that when the defective eye comes into the contact of rope, the *idamākāra-vṛtti* of mind goes to the

1. Sharma, C. D., *A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy*, p. 228.
2. Chatterji, S. C. and Datt, D. M., *An Introdnction to Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 331-32.
3. Padmapāda, *Pañcepādikā*, p. 4.

rope and the consciousness becomes conditioned by that object (*idaṁ padārtha-avacchinnaṁ caitanyaṁ bhavati*) and there remains no difference between knower and consciousness. We acquire the ordinary knowledge of rope of the nature of 'This' of the object of perception. Let us not forget the admitted rule in this context that whenever there is identity between perceiving consciousness (*pramātṛ-cetana*) and the object, the object as well as the knowledge both are known as perception. Or, to put it in other words, we may say that the identity between *pramātṛ-cetana* and *viṣaya-cetana* is the cause of the perception of knowledge. It is notable that in spite of the fact that there is apparent possible identification in Vedānta between *pramātṛ-cetana* and *viṣaya-cetana,* it is literally impossible to admit complete identity between *pramātṛ-cetana* and *viṣaya-cetana* (jar etc. objects). What is actually meant by identity in Vedānta is that there is no separate independent existence of the objects apart from *pramātṛ-cetana.* The locus of the objects is nothing else but the consciousness itself endowed with the objects of perception. Even in case of misapprehension, the existence of the misapprehended object is not different from its locus.

In this way Vedānta admits the creation of misapprehension (*aparokṣa-bhrama*) of snake in rope and of silver in oyster-shell. The cause of misapprehension is the general cognition of the locus, i.e. rope or oyster-shell. This cognition is of the nature of real perception while the cognition of snake and silver produced from the general condition are of the nature of misapprehension. Thus, according to the theory of error in Vedānta, in all such cases where illusory perception takes place the indescribable illusory object is produced. For example, the indescribable illusory silver.

The conclusion of the Vedāntin with regard to the theory of indescribable error is, therefore, as follows :

a. Misapprehension as a result of nescience takes place after the ordinary correct knowledge of the nature of 'This' (*idamākāra*). It covers the ordinary aspect of locus (*adhiṣṭhāna*) as well as the object of imposition (*adhyāsa*). Hence, the nature of 'This' and of 'the object of imposition' i.e. in the examples (i) This is silver (ii) This is snake, the illusory indescribable silver and snake are produced due to nescience (*avidyā*).

b. The knowledge is based on the defective vision and the object of perception. This knowledge is of the nature of misapprehension. It covers both the general conditions and aspects of locus and the

object of imposition. Here the ordinary nature of knowledge is not accepted as *pramā*.

It is clear from the above discussion that the ordinary correct knowledge of the nature of 'This' is admitted in Vedānta as the cause of misapprehension. The knowledge of snake or silver in the subsequent moment being the result of ignorance is considered as misapprehension. Hence, misapprehension is always connected with the object of misapprehension or imposition but it is never connected with the locus. And this relation is technically known as *anirvacanīya*. During the moment of misapprehension of silver in oyster-shell, the indescribable silver is produced due to some defect in the sense organ and the Vedantic theory is henceforth known as indescribable theory of error (*anirvacanīya-khyātivāda*).

VIII

I should now finally like to describe the theory of error as admitted by Naiyāyika. It is technically known as *anyathā-khyātivāda* or theory of misapprehension. In the *anyathā-khyātivāda*, the Nyāya maintains that illusory perception is based on mal-observation when one fails to note the particular attributes of the object of perception. It is explained that when some one possessing the impressions of correct experience of an object perceives a similar object with defective vision he remembers the previously seen object on account of the general cognition of the presently seen object. In other words, the latent impressions of the previously seen object are aroused by the general cognition of the present object due to similarity and visual defect. Whatsoever object is remembered or the latent impressions of whatsoever object are aroused, we misapprehend the attributes of the same object in the present object of our perception.[1]

It may be illustrated by the example of a man who, being endowed with the impressions of real silver, makes a contact of his defective vision with an oyster-shell resembling silver and remembers silver, and silverness (*rajatattva*) appears for him in the oyster-shell. Or, the contact of defective vision with the oyster-shell leads him to misapprehend silver.

It is interesting to note that there is in fact no room to remember silver during the very short period of conjunction of eye with oyster-shell and misapprehension of silver. The impressions of the experience of real silver are awakened without remembrance of silver and they themselves help to perceive silverness in oyster-shell. As in the case of memory the impressions are aroused by the knowledge of similarity of the previously seen object;

1. H. De Glasenapp. *La Philosophie Indienne*, Paris, 1951, p. 198.

similarly in case of misapprehension the impressions of the previously seen object are aroused by the contact of sense organ and the similar object of perception, and thus the *saṁskāra-gocara-jñāna* appears in the object of perception. Undoubtedly, oyster-shell is always endowed with oyster-shellness (*śuktittva dharma*) and there is in reality no possibility in any period of time of its being endowed with silverness (*rajatattva dharma*). Nyāya school, thus, technically recognises misapprehension of an object in another form as *anyathā-khyātivāda.*[1] In Hindu Logic, misapprehension is, morever, subjective (*viṣayi-mūlaka*) and not objective (*viṣaya-mūlaka*). Vātsyāyana in his *Nyāyabhāṣya* clearly propounds that misapprehension is removed by correct knowledge,[2] while the object of perception remains the same. Thia idea is further elaborated in the *Nyāyavārtika* by Udyotakara that when we misapprehend water in the rays of sun the existence of rays as well as the movement are both correct. The objects being the same we simply misapprehend.[3] We obviously remember the *dharma* of water in the rays of sun due to visual defect. When we remember this *dharma* of water the qualities and attributes of water, mentally perceived through transcendental perception, are imposed on the rays of sun. Thus, by *anyathā-khyāti* is meant the imposition of the attributes of one object on another.[4]

I may now mention that Naiyāyika maintains the knowledge of dream as *mānasa-viparyaya* i.e. mental contrariety or mental consideration of wrong as real and *anyathā-khyāti* as simple *viparyaya* or misapprehension. On this point the Naiyāyika is attacked by Vedāntin who, taking support of the evidence of *Śruti* and *Smṛti* texts, states that these authorities do not testify the knowledge of dream as *mānasa-viparyaya* but clearly consider it as creation of indescribable objects.[5] Besides, it is rather impossible to acquire the knowledge of silverness in oyster-shell while the silver is conditioned by time and space. Even if silver was also present in close proximity of oyster-shell, misapprehension of silver in oyster-shell was quite understandable due to close proximity because special knowledge (*viśiṣṭa-jñāna*) always depends on the conjunction of *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya-bhāva* and the sense organ. For example, whenever we perceive real silver, the silverness is the

1. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II., p. 133.
2. *Tattvajñānāt mīthyajñānam apaiti.*
   Vātsyāyana, *Nyāyabhāṣya*, 1, 1,2 (Ed) Phaṇīndrabhuṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa, Calcutta, 1967, p 28.
3. *na hi tatra arthaḥ vyabhicarati, kintu jñānaṁ vyabhicarati*, Udyotakara, *Nyāyavārtika*, 1. 1.4
4. Miśra, Vācaspati, *Tātparyaṭīkā*, p. 15-90.
5. The *Brahmasūtra*, III, 2, 1. (Ed) S. Radhakrishnan, London, 1960. p. 442.

viśeṣaṇa or attribute and silver is *viśeṣya* or the qualified. The relation of the eye with the silver is that of conjunction (*saṁyoga*) and with that of conjunction plus intimacy (*saṁyukta-samavāya*) with silverness (*rajatattva*). The simple ground is that silverness resides in silver with the relation of intimacy.

Vedāntin, however, continues to argue against Naiyāyika that in the present example, in spite of the conjunction between eye and oyster-shell, there is absolutely no possibility of having the relation of conjunction plus intimacy (*saṁynkta-samavāya*) with the silverness because we cannot have any sort of contact with silver, the locus of silverness in the absence of the real and existent silver. Hence, there is absolute impossibility of the cognition or perception of oyster-shell as endowed with silverness (*rajatattva-viśiṣṭa-śukti*) from the point of view of Vedānta.[1]

Naiyāyika in his turn does not simply content himself just with replying to the objections raised by Vedāntin but equally attacks Vedāntin on the following grounds :

a. In logic Naiyāyika has to accept the causality[2] between mis-apprehension and defect only, but Vedāntin would be forced to accept causality of indescribable object and also of their knowledge. As such the *anyathā-khyātivāda* of Naiyāyika is based on the brevity of expression while the vedantic theory of *anirvacanīya-khyāti-vāda* is relatively much larger.

b. Vedāntin has to accept the *anyathā-khyātivāda* of Nyāya in certain cases in addition to his own *anirvacanīya-khyātivāda*. For instance, whenever Vedāntin has to apprehend the truth of *Ātman* in the inanimate objects (*anātma jaḍa padārtha*), he has no other choice but to accept the indescribable creation of truth. As a result, it will be as self-contradictory as the birth of an unborn or destruction of an eternal. In all such cases Vedāntin has no other way but to accept the *anyathā-khyātivāda* of the logician.

c. Vedāntin cannot afford not to accept the *anyathā-khyātivāda* in case of *parokṣabhrama*. The views of all the schools of Indian Philosophy are largely agreed that perception is related to the present only. It is unanimously agreed upon that for perception the relation between the object of perception and knower is

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1. Jhalakikara, Bhimcarya, *Nyāyakośa*, Poona, 1928.
2. Joshi, Rasik Vihari, *The Role of Indian Logic in the Doctrine of Causality*. Mellanges d' Indianisme a la memoire de Louis Renou, Paris, 1968, pp 411-13.

absolutely necessary. No such relation can possibly exist between silverness and nonexistent silver. Hence, perception of silver is out of question. Perception does require the real existence of silver before our eyes. On the contrary, the knowledge of a non-existing object (*parokṣapadārtha-jñāna*) could be related either future or to past. As such the contact between the non-existing object and knower is neither possible nor necessary. Likewise, there could not be any such contact when the correet knowledge of an object belonging to another space and time depends on inference or verbal testimony. The result is obvious that *anirvacanīya-khyāti* in connection with an unseen object or non-misapprehension remains out of question and the *anyathā-kāhytivāda* of Nyāya is forcibly imposed on the Vedāntin.

The arguments of Naiyāyika prove that Vedāntin does not reject in toto the *anyathā-khyātivāda*. Naiyāyika on this point insists that when Vedāntin accepts *anyathā-khyātivāda* in certain cases, there is no point in accepting *anirvacanīya-khyātivāda*; as the purpose can be served by the *anyathā-khyāti* in all the cases.

Vedānta contention against Nyāya still persists as follows :

a. That perception of silver depends on contact between eye and silver. Nyāya view to perceive nonexisting, unseen silver in oyster-shell is against our common experience.

b. That perception of silver also depends on the contact of light with silver. In the *anyathā-khyāttvāda*, mis-apprehension of silver depends on the contact between light and oyeter-shell. This is also against our common experience.

It is interesting to note that Vedāntin eventually most wisely evades to answer the objections raised by Naiyāyika and develops his own point of view without caring to answer the ingenious objections of Naiyāyika.

To sum up I may conclude in the resumé that Nyāya view of errors is based on the simple ground that error consists in acquiring knowledge in a different way (*anyathā*). The knowledge of oyster-shell is always invariably endowed with oyster-shellness (*śuktittva-prakāraka*) and the knowledge of silver is endowed with silverness (*rajatattva-prakāraka*). The oyster-shellness and silverness, being particular *dharma-viśeṣa*, exclusively pertain to their own respective locus, i.e. oyster-shell and silver, by the relation of intimacy (*samavāya*) and can never be seperated. During the state of misapprehension, our cognition takes the form of silverness in oyster-shell. And, it is in this way, that we cognise some thing else (silver) in another (oyster-shell). Hence in the *anyathā-khyātivāda* theory of the Nyāya school, we cognise an object otherwise or in a different way. The Nyāya theory of error seems to be more logical and may be tacitly accepted.

APROPOS OF ŚUNAŚŚEPA

Umesh Chandra Sharma

POONA

Śunaśśepa is one of the reputed seers of the first *maṇḍala* of the *ṚV*. He is very famous because of the legend occurring in the Vedic as well as the post-Vedic literature. Among the Ṛgvedic legends, the legend of Śunaśśepa occupies an unrivalled place. It has been considered as the earliest specimen of story narration in the literature of the world, and is also important from the point of view of the controversy about the prevalence of human-sacrifice in ancient India. Perhaps, this is the reason, that, apart from being narrated in the Vedic literature, this story finds an important position in the Epics, the Purāṇas and other texts.

Śunaśśepa is the seer[2] of the *ṚV*. I. 24-30; IX.3. In all, he is said to have seen eight entire hymns, which aggregate to 107 verses. In these verses he has praised and propitiated different gods: Prajāpati, Agni, Savitṛ, Varuṇa, Viśvedevas, Indra, Aśvins, Uṣas and Soma-Pavamāna. Some 44 Ṛgvedic verses attributed to Śunaśśepa, have found their place in the *SV Saṁhitā*[3] and hence these are meant for the use on various occasions in the performance of sacrifices. Besides this, twenty verses of the *VS*, are also ascribed to his seership[4]. These are *VS*. VIII. 23-29; X.27,28; XII. 12; XVIII. 49-55; XXI. 1,2 and XXXV. 11. The *AV*. VI. 25; VII. 88;

1. H. L. **Hariyappa**, in the sub-section 'On the Name Śunaśśepa', in the second chapter 'The Legend of Śunaśśepa' of his book, *Ṛgvedic Legends Through the Ages*, (Deccan College, Poona, 1953), has very ably discussed the propriety of the name of Śunaśśepa. After analysing various grammatical and linguistical facts, he prefers the form Śunaśśepa (pillar of happiness) to Śunaḥśepa (the dog-tailed one). He has concluded very reasonably :

"The orthography of the word Śunaśśepa requires proper appreciation. Śunaśśepa is *the correct form*, whereas Śunaḥśepa is wrong, unsceintific and pretentious". (P. 238). I have accepted the etymology given by this veteran scholar, and has adopted the form Śunaśśepa and have used it here and elsewhere.

2. *Sarvā*. Ed. Macdonell, pp. 6, 33.
3. *SV*. 15, 17, 28, 154, 163, 183, 214, 589, 743-45, 758, 1084-86, 1256-65 1415-17, 1497-99, 1585, 1599-1601, 1617-19, 1634-36, 1663-65.
4. *V S Sarvānukramasūtra*, Ed. Satvalekar, Svādhyāya Maṇḍala, Aundh, 1925, pp. 25, 31, 37, 51, 58 and 78.

XX. 26.1-3 and XX. 45, 74, 122 have also been ascribed to the seership of Śunaśśepa[1].

The *Sarvā* and the *VD*[2] mention Śunaśśepa as the son of Ajīgarta. Actually he was the middle-one among the three sons of that sage, the remaining two being Śunaḥpuccha and Śunolāṅgūla. In these texts, where the seership is ascribed to Śunaśśepa, we find the mention of another name for him, and that is Devarāta, (lit. 'given by the gods') the adopted son of Viśvāmitra. Because he was given to Viśvāmitra by the gods, so he came to be known as Devarāta (*devai rāto dattaḥ, ...sa ha devarāta iti*). After the adoption by Viśvāmitra he got the position of the eldest among his sons.

The seed of the legend of Śunaśśepa is found sown in the *ṚV* itself. From this seed the legend grew in the form of a large tree in the *AB* and the *ŚŚS*. In the Epics and the Purāṇas this tree got foliage of defferent shades and colouring. From here onwards the aim of the paper will be to discuss its development fully from the *ṚV* onwards to the later literature. An attempt will also be made to evaluate this story in a socio-historical perspective, dealing side by side with the various views put forth by several learned scholars in this connection. Although the subject is a wide one and various expert hands have tackled it, yet an attempt to project in brief the life and personality of Śunaśśepa was not made by these scholars. A socio-historical study of the legend is being attempted in the following pages.

In the *ṚV* the name of Śunaśśepa has been referred to in three verses[7]. The first two verses, out of these three, occur in the hymns ascribed to his

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1. *Atharvedīya-Bṛhat-Sarvānukramaṇikā*, Ed. Vishva Bandhu VVRI, Hoshiarpur, 1966 pp. 44, 64, 131, 132, 134 and 138.

2. *Sarvā* and *VD*, Ed. Macdonell, pp. 6, 83. On p. 83 the *VD* refers

अजीगर्तपुत्रो जन्मना शुनः शेपो नाम। शेपपुच्छलाङ्गूलेषु शुनः संज्ञायाम्। षष्ठ्या अलुक्। शुनःशेपः निर्वृत्तः। ··· वैश्वामित्रः। दतपुत्रतया विश्वामित्रपुत्रो देवरातो नाम। देवै रातो दत्तः। रा दाने। श्रूयते हि। देवा वा इमं मह्यमरासतेति स ह देवरात इति।

3. *RV* I. 24. 12, 13; V. 2.7.

१. तदिन्नक्तं तद्दिवा मह्यमाहुस्तदयं केतो हृद आ वि चष्टे।
शुनःशेपो यमह्वद्गृभीतः सो अस्मान् राजा वरुणो मुमोक्तु॥

२. शुनःशेपो ह्यह्वद्गृभीतस्त्रिष्वादित्यं द्रुपदेषु बद्धः।
अवैनं राजा वरुणः ससृज्याद्विद्वाँ अदब्धो वि मुमोक्तु पाशान्॥

३. शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं सहस्राद्यूपादमुञ्चो अशमिष्ट हि षः।
एवास्मदग्ने वि मुमुग्धि पाशान्होतश्चिकित्व इह तू निषद्य॥

seership and the remaining one occurs in the hymn attributed to Kumāra Ātreya. It will be worthwhile here to give their English translation for facility to understand them clearly[1]-

1. They say that to me by night and by day, and the same sentiment strikes my heart (mind) as well. May Varuṇa, the king, to whom Śunaśśepa in bonds addressed himself, liberate us.

ṚV. I. 24. 12.

2. To three stakes bound, Śunaśśepa has verily addressed himself to the son of Aditi (Varuṇa). May Varuṇa, the king set this (suppliant) free, may he, (who is) wise and above restrictions, entirely remove the fetters.

ṚV. I. 24. 13

3. You did liberate the fast-fettered Śunaśśepa from a thousand fold stake and he became pacified, indeed. Even so do you, O Learned Priest of the gods, Agni, sitting here (with us) loosen our bounds.

ṚV. V. 2.7.

In the first two, of the above mentioned verses, it is indicated that Varuṇa liberated Śunaśśepa bound to three stakes. The seer prays to Varuṇa in the hope of liberation from the (worldly) fetters as he did in the case of Śunaśśepa. Hariyappa[2], at this juncture, has doubted the seership of these two verses. He opines that these verses can never be considered as as the composition of Śunaśśepa. Because, in the first verse, the worshipper prays, "May Varuṇa, the king, to whom Śunaśśepa addressed himself, liberate us", that is, on the precedent of Śunaśśepa's being saved by Varuṇa, a later devotee is seeking similar favour. The second verse says: Śunaśśepa in fetters prays to god Varuṇa : "May Varuṇa set him free and may he remove the fetters". The situation, in the view of Hariyappa, must have been that while Śunaśśepa is praying to God for succor, those by the side are recommending him for Varuṇa's mercy. This is in itself reasonable, but is inconsistent with the previous verse. The legend depicts that these *mantra*-s were uttered by Sunaśśepa in order to obtain release, whereas the two verses, just referred to, regard the release as a thing of the past. On this basis he infers in the following two ways : either (1) these are not Śunaśśepa hymns at all (*ṚV.* I. 24 to 30). At the Saṁhitā stage, these hymns were assembled and the occurrence of Sunaśśepa's name in two verses was responsible for the ascription. Or, (2) the two verses in question are a later insertion or interpolation into the Śunaśśepa hymns.

1. As translated by **Hariyappa**, *Ṛgvedic Legends Through the Ages*, **pp. 185-85.**
2. *Ibid.* pp. 185-86.

The above expressed views of Hariyappa seem to be justified in a major portion. Sāyaṇa, while commenting on the first verse (i.e. *ṚV*. I. 24. 12) refers to—'*saḥ varuṇaḥ rājā asmān śunaḥśepān mumoktu bandhāt muktam karotu*'. From this it is clear that Śunaśśepas (may be the descendents of Śunaśśepa) are the worshippers and hence they are the seers of these two verses. Here, we agree with Hariyappa only to this extent that only these two verses (I. 24. 12-13) and not all the seven hymns (I. 24 to 30) ascribed to Śunaśśepa are such as need not be said to be the latter's creation. The sons of Śunaśśepa might have been the seers of these verses. Possibly, later on, these were inserted into the said hymns as the composition of Śunaśśepa.

In the verse V. 2.7. the seer Kumāra Ātreya has recorded the event in clear terms—*śunaś cic chepam niditam sahasrāt, yūpād amuñco aśamiṣṭa hi ṣaḥ*, i.e. "you did liberate the fast-fettered Śunaśśepa from a thousand fold stake and he became pacified, indeed". Here, Agni, and not Varuṇa delivered Śunaśśepa from the stake, because Agni is the deity of this verse. The Saṁhitā appears to corroborate this, because Śunaśśepa has addressed himself next to Agni in the *ṚV*. I. 24.2. (*Agner vayam prathamasyāmṛtānām manāmahe cāru devasya nāma*). It is interesting to note here that Śunaśśepa was delivered to Viśvāmitra and this was a great event in itself. Even then the name of Śunaśśepa is nowhere, directly or indirectly, mentioned in the Viśvāmitra Maṇḍala, either by Viśvāmitra or other seers. Surprisingly enough, this event is not referred to even in the hymns of Vasiṣṭha, who officiated as the Brahmā priest in the Śunaśśepa's 'sacrifice'. It is important to note that this event is reflected in a hymn of a member of the Atri family, who was in no way connected with this affair.

The first two verses of the twentyfourth hymn[1], which is the first in the *Saṁhitā* among his compositions, also have some thing interesting to be noted in connection with the Śunaśśepa legend. In these verses, it appears as if the seer, i.e. Śunaśśepa, bound on the stakes, is crying for the help of some god by whose grace he can see his father and mother. In the second

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1. *ṚV*. I. 24. 1-2.

१. कस्य नूनं कतमस्यामृतानां मनामहे चारु देवस्य नाम ।

को नो मह्या अदितये पुनर्दात्पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च ॥

२. अग्नेर्वयं प्रथमस्यामृतानां मनामहे चारु देवस्य नाम ।

स नो मह्या अदितये पुनर्दात्पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च ॥

verse he suddenly thinks that only God Agni should be praised for well-being and by his mercy he would be able to see his parents. It is natural that in time of misery, one wants to see one's fellow beings. Only the translation of these two verses will clearly show the propriety of this fact[1].

1. Of whom or of which god among the immortals shall we cherish the charming name ? Who would give us back to the great Aditi ? And would I ever see father and mother ?

2. God Agni's charming name we shall cherish, for he is the first of the immortals. He would give us back to the great Aditi. And then would I see father and mother.

As regards the Ṛgvedic statement about Śunaśśepa, it may be observed that Śunaśśepa, who had been bound by fetters to the sacrificial post, was liberated by Varuṇa (I. 24. 12, 13). At another place it has been shown that he was liberated by Agni (V. 2.7). This is the only seed which took the shape of a tree in the *AB*.

In the *TS*[2] it is found mentioned that Śunaśśepa Ājīgarti was seized by Varuṇa. He saw the verse, '*uduttamam* ..' (ṚV. I. 24.15) which is addressed to Varuṇa. By reciting this he freed himself from the capture of Varuṇa. Again, it is recorded here that by reciting this verse one can be free from the noose of Varuṇa.

There is nothing significant here except that Varuṇa seized Śunaśśepa and when he uttered this particular *mantra*, he was released from the fetters of Varuṇa.

The *KS*[3] also alludes to the same thing, which is referred to by the *TS*. in some different words. The *KKS*[4] refers to the Śunaśśepa legend in exactly the same words, as it is related by the *KS*.

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1. As translated by Hariyappa, op. cit., p. 188.
2. *TS* 5.2.1.3. शुनःशेपमाजगीर्तिं वरुणोऽगृह्णात् स एतां वारुणीमश्पयत् । तया वै स आत्मानं वरुणपाशादमुञ्चद्वरुणो वा एतं गृह्णाति य उखां प्रतिमुञ्चत उदुत्तमं वरुणपाशमस्मदित्याहाऽऽत्मानमेवैतया ।
3. *KS* 19.11. उदुत्तमं वरुणपाशमस्मदिति । शुनश्शेपो वा एतामाजीगर्तिव-रुणगृहीतोऽपश्यत् । तया वै स वरुणपाशादमुच्यत । वरुणपाशमेवैतया प्रमुञ्चते ।
4. *KKS* 21.1.

There is no reference to the Śunaśśepa legend in the *AV*. He is only the seer of some hymns in this Saṁhitā, as we have already shown above. The *AV*. VI. 25 is a rite against a disease called '*manyā*'. The *AV*. VII. 88. is addressed to Varuṇa. Here, the Ṛgvedic verse '*ud uttamam.........*'(*RV*. I. 24. 15) etc. is also repeated as the third verse of this hymn. Rahurkar[1] suggests in this connection that the name of Śunaśśepa must have come to be associated with these *mantra*-s in the *AV* more or less artificially. The authorship of these *mantra*-s ascribed to Śunaśśepa is evidently an after thought. These views of the learned scholar seem to be appropriate at this juncture.

The *AB*[2] gives in detail the story of Śunaśśepa's deliverance. It is surprising to note that no other *Brāhmaṇa* text, except the *AB* contains any reference to Śunaśśepa. The *ŚSS*[3] has repeated the story, as found in the *AB*, with a few changes, which are of no importance. We come across in this text, certain verbal differences, which are but natural. Before proceeding further, it will be worthwhile to summarise the story in the following manner—

Hariścandra, the son of Vedhas and belonging to the Ikṣvāku race, was childless. He had one hundred wives. Once the sages, Parvata and Nārada visited his house. The king asked Nārada : why all human beings, intelligent or ignorant, long for a son and what do they gain from it ? To this question, Nārada replied in ten *gāthās* explaining the merits of begetting a son. "Food is life for man, clothing his protection, gold his beauty, cattle his strength. His wife is a friend, his daughter is a pity, but the son is his light in the highest world ...... The world is not meant for the childless person, it is known by every living being"[4]. Nārada advised Hariścandra to approach Varuṇa and pray for a son whom he might again surrender to him in a sacrifice. The king approached Varuṇa, who being plessed granted his request. Then, the son, Rohita, was born. But on the

1. **Rahurkar**, *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*, p. 184.
2. *AB*. 7. 13-18.
3. *ŚSS*. 15. 17-27
4. *AB*. 7. 13.

अन्नं ह प्राण: शरणं ह वासो रूपं हिरण्यं पशवो विवाहा, ।
सखा ह जाया कृपणं ह दुहिता ज्योतिर्ह पुत्र: परमे व्योमन् ।।

× × × ×

नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्तीति तत्सर्वे पशवो विदु :

birth of the son, the king was unwilling to give him up to Varuṇa. So he pleaded excuses and put off the dreadful event successively. In the mean time Rohita grew into a youth. Varuṇa persisted in his demand and Rohita came to know the old contract of his father with the god. He went to the forest, bow in hand, to fulfil the demand of Varuṇa. He wandered for full one year. In the meantime, Varuṇa became angry. He seized Hariścandra, who, as a result, began to suffer from dropsy. Rohita heard this and was coming back, when Indra came and advised him to wander more and more. For, "the fortune of a man, who sits, sits also, it rises when he rises, it sleeps when he sleeps, it moves well when he moves. Wander"![1] Thus, on the sixth round, Rohita met the sage Ajīgarta, son of Sūyavas, who was dying of starvation. He had three sons, Śunaḥpuccha, Śunaśśepa and Śunolāṅgūla. Rohita told the sage that he would pay him hundred if the latter would provide him one of his sons. The father was unwilling to give away the eldest and the mother the youngest. Hence the middle one, Śunaśśepa was sold. Rohita brought him to his father and told him about his proposal. Hariścandra approached Varuṇa who readily agreed.

The sacrifice began. Viśvāmitra was officiating as Hotṛ, Jamdagni as *Adhvaryu*, Ayāsya as *Udgātṛ* and Vasiṣṭha as *Brahmā*. Śunaśśepa was about to be taken through various rites before the actual sacrifice. It moved Jamadagni and he refused to do anything. Ajīgarta came to bind him to the stake for a hundred more. The poor victim Śunaśśepa poured forth his fervent prayers to the gods in utter desperation. They heard. Agni steered Śunaśśepa through; the catastrophe was averted. Indra presented a golden chariot to Śunaśśepa. As he praised Uṣas, the bonds fell off one by one. Now he was free and at the same time Hariścandra was cured of his ailment.

Then, Śunaśśepa was invited to perform the closing rite called the '*abhiṣecanīya*'. In this ceremony, he saw '*añjassava*', an improved method of pressing the Soma. Naturally, he got admiration from all sides. But forsaken by the parents, he had to search for a new home. He straightaway went and sat on the lap of Viśvāmitra, as a son sits on father's[2].

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1. *Ibid.* 7. 15.
   आस्ते भग आसीनस्योर्ध्वस्तिष्ठति तिष्ठतः ।
   शेते निपद्यमानस्य चराति चरतो भगः । चरैवेति ।

2. *Ibid.* 7. 17.
   अथ ह शुनःशेपो विश्वामित्रस्यांकमाससाद ।

Now, Ajīgarta asked Viśvāmitra, to give him his son back. The latter refused because gods had given Śunaśśepa to him. Thus, he came to be known as Devarāta Vaiśvāmitra. Then Ajīgarta tried to reconcile Śunaśśepa, in vain. Viśvāmitra supported the latter. Γhe rapprochement was impossible.

Viśvāmitra again invited Śunaśśepa to join him, "you shall be the eldest of my sons, yours progeny will have seniority, my divine heritage shall be yours, with that I invite you". Viśvāmitra had a hundred and one sons. He called them all and said, "Listen to me Madhucchandas, Ṛṣabha, Reṇu, Aṣṭaka (and all). Are there any among you brothers who are not for Śunaśśepa's seniority?"[1] Madhucchandas was the midmost of his sons. The fifty brothers, elder to him, thought that the proposal was not in their interest. They were cursed by the angry father that they would have low and barbarous life. The other fifty with Madhucchandas, humbly submitted whatever father proposed. They made Śunaśśepa their eldest brother. Viśvāmitra was pleased, blessed them all. Thus Devarāta (Śunaśśepa) got overlordship of the Jahnus and the divine lore.

This is the Śunaśśepa legend as it is given by the *AB*. It is prescribed to be narrated at a king's coronation.

Thus, we have seen that the Vedic outline, of Śunaśśepa's having been saved from death by the grace of gods, has developed into an elaborate narrative. This narrative has provided us with several details of the social position of that time. In the case of Hariścandra, the longing for a son is a just exposition of the trend of the society of that time, which believed in the necessity of having a son. To long for progeny is a universal psychological fact which has got religious backing in India. On the point raised by Hariścandra, Nārada has explained in ten *gāthās* the merits of having progeny. A son is regarded as the light of the highest world, (......*jyotir ha putraḥ parame vyoman*). It is said that the father himself appears in the form of a son, after remainiag in the womb of his wife for ten months. Progeny is considered as the fulfilment of wifehood. Without progeny one can not get *niḥśreyas*, worldly and other-worldly. Another point worth noting in this connection is the misfortune of utter poverty. The saying, '*bubhukṣitaḥ kiṁ na karoti pāpam*' comes true when it is seen that the starving sage Ajīgarta does not hesitate in selling his son for some pieces of coin. It shows also that in ancient days the life of a forester was not an easy one. Hariyappa[2] adds that poverty is "painfully exaggerated to the

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1. *Ibid.* अथ ह विश्वामित्रः पुत्रानामंत्रयामास मधुच्छंदा : श्रृणोतन ऋषभो रेणुरष्टकः ये के च भ्रातरः स्थ नास्मै ज्यैष्ठ्याय कल्पध्वमिति ।
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

extent of even names being ugly and unbecming : Śunaśśepa, Śunaḥpuccha, Śunolāṅgūla .. ". The third point is the prevalence of human sacrifice in those days. We find the mention of human-sacrifice in the Greek and Roman history also, In some primitive races it is still prevalent Such is the case with the Papuas of New Guinea. The last, but not the least, important fact, about the society of those days, is the charity and open-heartedness of the Ṛṣis. Jamadagni refused to practise violence in the sacrifice of Śunaśśepa. Viśvāmitra (friend of all) came forward to the rescue of Śunaśśepa. Seeing him deprived of him parents, he adopted him as a son and gave him the highest position among his hundred and one sons. It is a striking incident imcomparable in the history of the world.

H. G. Narahari[1] has observed in connection with the Śunaśśepa story in the *AB*, that the account given in the *AB* about Śunaśśepa is ratified to a very great extent, by the *Ṛgveda.*

In the *BD*, the name Śunaśśepa has occurred at three places, but it does not contribute to the historical study of the legend. The first reference is the *BD* I. 54. Nothing useful is quoted in this verse. The secod reference is the *BD* II. 115. This reference is also concerned with the order of words in *Saṁhitā*, hence valueless to us. The third reference is the *BD* III. 103[2]. It, however, points towards an incident in the legend of Śunaśśepa as given in the *AB*. It is mentioned here that being praised with the stanza *'śaśvad indraḥ'* (*RV*. I. 30, 16), Indra, pleased at heart, bestowed upon Śunaśśepa, a celestial chariot made of gold. At this Hariyappa[3] has expressed a view which is quite contrary to the real fact. He observes : "Here probably Śunaśśepa, the seer is meant and not the poor victim of Hariścandra's sacrifice". One is surprised to note the views expressed by Hariyappa. It is quite clear from all known evidence that there did not exist two persons of the name of Śunaśśepa. The victim of Hariścandra's sacrifice and the Ṛgvedic seer Śunaśśepa are considered in every Vedic and the post Vedic text to be one and the same person. Moreover, Hariyappa does, nowhere in his thesis, show the difference between the two. He makes no such observation even in the concluding part of the section "The Legend of Śunaśśepa" of his thesis. Another point in this connection is this, that the

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1. Narahari, "Śunaḥśepa in Vedic and Post-Vedic Literature", *A Volume of Studies in Indology-Presented to Prof. P. V. Kane*, Poona, 1941, p. 305.
2. स्तूयमानः शश्वदिति प्रतिस्तु मनसा ददौ ।
   शुनःशेपाय दिव्यं तु रथं सर्वं हिरण्मयम् ।।
3. *Op. Cit.* pp. 84--86.

content of the above-mentioned verse of the *BD*, whieh is here in question, is supported by the AB narrative-'*Indraḥ stūyamānaḥ prīto manasā hiraṇya-ratham dadau*'. Hariyappa's view in this connection is, therefore, quite untenable.

The *Nir*[1] has only one reference to Śunaśśepa. It is mentioned there that women are given away, sold and abandoned, but not a man, some say that a man is also sold as is seen in the case of Śunaśśepa. Here we find nothıng useful to serve our purpose except the sale of a human being, both male and female, was considered justified and that as an example Śunaśśepa's case was cited.

The *Sarvā*[2]. gives good support to the *AB* version of the legend. It says that Śunaśśepa was the son of Ajīgarta and the adopted son of Viśvāmitra to whom he was bestowed by the gods. In the same sequence it is said there that the deity of the verse *ṚV* I. 28.9 is Hariścandra. The seer of this verse is Śunaśśepa. Hence, it is interesting to note that the *Sarvā*. has defined the place of Hariścandra in the orbit of the legend.

Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, the author of the commentary called *VD* on the *Sarvā*. of Kātyāyana, has narrated the story of Śunaśśepa in 22 stanzas.[3] It closely follows the *AB* version of the legend. Here and there he has made certain changes in the narrative; but they are not of much significance.

Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra[4] has classified the varieties of sons. Śunaśśepa is mentioned there as an instance of two kinds of sons—*Krīta* and *Svayamupāgata*. *Krīta* is a son bought for a price and *Svayamupāgata* is one who of his own accord gets himself adopted as a son by another. Śunaśśepa was got purchased from his father Ajīgarta by Hariścandra

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1. *Nir* 3.4. स्त्रीणां दानविक्रयातिसर्गा विद्यन्ते न पुंसः । पुंसोऽपीत्येके । शौनःशेपे दर्शनात् ।

2. *Op. cit.* p. 6., ... आजीगर्तिः शुनःशेपः स कृत्रिमो वैश्वामित्रो देवरातो...... ।

3. *Op. cit.* pp. 84-86.

4. *Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra* Ed. A. A. Führer, Bombay, 1916, p. 50. क्रीतस्तृतीयः । तच्छुनःशेपेन व्याख्यातम् । हरिश्चन्द्रो वै राजा सोजीगर्तस्य सौयवसेः पुत्रं चिक्राय । स्वयमुपागतश्चतुर्थः । तच्छुनःशेपेन व्याख्यातम् । शुनःशेपो वै यूपे नियुक्तो देवता-स्तुष्टाव । तस्येह देवताः पाशं विमुमुचुस्तमृत्विज ऊचुः । ममैवायं पुत्रोस्त्विति तान्ह न संपेदे । ते संपादयामासुः । एष एव य कामयेत्तस्य पुत्रोस्त्विति । तस्य विश्वामित्रो होतासीत्तस्य पुत्रत्वमियाय ।

through Rohita. Therefore, he was a *Krīta* son for Hariścandra. Subsequently, he approached Viśvāmitra and himself chose him as his father. He was thus an example also of a *Svayamupāgata* son.

This is a short survey of the story of Śunaśśepa, as it is found in some form or the other, in the Vedic literature and its ancillaries. We have seen that all these texts have drawn their inspiration from the *AB* narrative; although the seeds of the narration are found in the *ṚV Saṁhitā* itself. These texts have very carefully retained the soul of the main story. They have deviated from the main story only here and there and that too to a very little extent. But, as we shall see in the following paragraphs, the Epics and the Purāṇas have completely changed the outline of the srory. Hariyappa[1] has rightly observed in this connection.

"........... it must be observed, with a sense of surprise also that these veteran writers have not been drawn away by the Epic and the Purāṇic versions of the legend. Their business was, however, specific, that is, only to explain a given text. It is perfectly tactful and necessary for the commentator to confine himself to his province".

The *Sūtra* texts have given the Śunaśśepa-legend a place in religious rites. In has been mentioned in the *ĀśŚS*[2], in connection with the *Rājasūya* Sacrifice, that when the *Marutvatīya Sāman* has been recited the Hotṛ priest, seated on the golden seat at thc right side of the *Āhavanīya* fire, should relate the Śunaśśepa-legend before the king, who has duly taken the sacred bath and is surrounded by his sons and relatives.

It is also mentioned there[3], that the Śunaśśepa-legend is related before a king, who has conquered a battle, even though he may not be performing any sacrifice. Thereby, even the slightest evil does not remain in him.

The *KŚS*[4] mentions tnat at the end of the narration of the Śunaśśepa-legend, one hundred cows are given to Hotṛ and Adhvaryu each.

The *ApŚS* and the *Hir ŚS* mention that when the narration of the Śunaśśepa-legend is over, the sacrificer offers a golden seat to the Hotṛ and a cluster of golden grass to the Adhvaryu.[5]

1. *Op. cit.* p. 202.
2. *ĀŚŚS* 9.3.9.
3. *Ibid.* 9.3.13.
4. *KŚS* 15.6.5.
5. *ĀpŚS* 18.19.14; *HirŚS* 13.6.38

Thus, all these references show that the description of the Śunaśśepa-legend was considered to be a pious act when it was related just after the coronation of a king. All the same it was prescribed to be related also when some king returned after winning a battle.

In the *Rām*, we find quite a different version of the Śunaśśepa-legend. The great sage Viśvāmitra took Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to witness the sacrifice, for the marriage of Sītā, celebrated by King Janaka. Sage Satānanda, the son of Gautama and priest of Janaka, came forward to welcome them. He was much pleased to hear from Rāma the latter's visit to the hermitage of his father Gautama and the redemption of his mother Ahalyā, who was under curse. He came to know that all this happened because of the help of Viśvāmitra, who took Rāma to the said hermitage. Naturally, Satānanda felt a sense of gratitude towards Viśvāmitra. Therefore, he described before Rāma the past adventures of Viśvāmitra, in which came the story of Śunaśśepa's deliverance. That story runs as follows:[1]

Once upon a time, Sage Viśvāmitra observed penance at Puṣkara. At the same time, Ambarīṣa, the king of Ayodhyā was performing a sacrifice. The victim (*paśu*) was carried away by Indra. The priest accused the king of carelessness. He directed the king that either the stolen victim should be recovered or a human victim secured instead. The king started a search, all over the country, towns, forests and hermitages. On the heights of the Bhṛgu Mountain, he saw the great sage Ṛcīka seated with his wife and sons. He saluted the great sage with great reverence and asked whether he would be able to part with any one of his sons in lieu of hundred thousand kines. The father showed his unwillingness to part with his eldest son and the mother declined to give away the youngest, Śunaka. Then listening to the replies of his father and mother, the middle son Śunaśśepa himself came forward and said that the father did not want to give away the eldest, and the mother was reluctant to sell the youngest. Therefore, he himself would go with the king. Then Ambarīṣa gave away hundred thousand cows and went away with Śunaśśepa in his chariot.

At noon, the king stopped at Puṣkara for rest along with Śunaśśepa. There Śunaśśepa saw Viśvāmitra engaged in penance. With grief-stricken face and exhaustion due to thirst and fatigue he fell into the lap of the Sage and prayed for rescue in pathetic terms. The sage consoled him in many ways and ordered his sons to offer themselves instead of Śunaśśepa

1. *Rām* (Critical Edition, Oriental Institute, Baroda) I. 60.4 to I. 61.27.

as a victims at King Ambarīṣa's sacrifice. Listening this command of their father, the sons Madhucchandas and others retorted, "How do you forsake your own sons to save another man's son ? We think it is improper like the eating of dog's flesh." Furious at this reply Viśvāmitra cursed his sons to pass their lives on earth for one thousand years eating dog's flesh all the while like the sons of Vasiṣṭha. Turning towards the disgusted Śuneśśepa, the sage instructed him; "When you are bound to holy *yūpa*, recite these two songs (*gāthās*) and you will succeed". He taught him the *gāthās*. Having learnt them with the utmost attention, Śunaśśepa went to Ambarīṣa and urged him to resume the journey. Then they reached the place of sacrifice. With the consent of the members of the sacrificial *Sadas*, the victim was purified, adorned with red cloth and tied to the post. When bound, Śunaśśepa praised the gods Indra and Viṣṇu as he was instructed already. Then, Indra was much pleased and granted him long life. The sacrifice was concluded and King Ambarīṣa derived manifold benefit by the grace of Indra. Viśvāmitra continued his penance at Puṣkara for ten hundred years.

After a careful perusal of this story, one finds that this version is considerably different from that given in the *AB* and the *ŚŚS*. The difference can be summed up as follows :

1. In the *AB* the sacrificer king is Hariścandra but in the *Rām*. the performer is king Ambarīṣa.

2. In the former the sacrifice is arranged to appease Varuṇa's anger, but in the latter on account of the sacrificial victim having been stolen away by Indra.

3. In the *AB* version Śunaśśepa is said to be a son of Ajīgarta; but according to the *Rām*. he is a son of Ṛcīka.

4. In the former version Viśvāmitra comes on the scene only at the time of the sacrifice as one of the officiating priests; in the latter one he enters into the story before the sacrifice and at quite a different place. He also teaches Śunaśśepa two *gāthās* for being recited at the proper time in order to prevent the latter's death.

5. The revolt and degradation of Viśvāmitra's sons takes place in the *AB* after the sacrifice; while in the *Rām*. it precedes the same.

6. In the *AB* version only the first 50 sons of Viśvāmitra, out of the one hundred and one, revolt against their father and are cursed while the

remaining 51, of whom Madhucchandas is the leader, obey their father's command to accept Śunaśśepa's primogeniture; but in the *Rām.* all the sons, including Madhucchandas, take part in the revolt and bear its consequences. The command also seems to be strange and funny in the *Rām* version. It is to the effect that in order to save Śunaśśepa not only one but all the sons should offer themselves as victims at the sacrifice.

7. According to the *AB*, Viśvāmitra adopts Śunaśśepa as his son and makes him a member of his family. *Rām.* is completely silent as to what happens to Śunaśśepa after his deliverance.

Thus, we see that both these versions are quite different from each other in their texture as well as contents. It is quite clear that the author of the later version has made full use of fancy in introducing changes in the main theme of the legend. It is also possible that he might have taken into consideration the changed form of the legend as it was current in his contemporary society as a folk-tale. We already know how some decent form of a narrative changes its colour when it goes into the mouths of the common folk.

The *MBh.* gives a short outline of the Śunaśśepa legend at one place only. It forms part of the narration of numerous deeds performed by Viśvāmitra and narrated in the third chapter of the *Anuśasana Parvan.* The Śunaśśepa legend which is thus given a secondary treatment in this narration is as follows :—

Śunaśśepa, of austere penances, the son of Ṛcīka, having been sought to be slain as an animal in the sacrifice, obtained his deliverance (through Viśvāmitra). And he, in that sacrifice, which was performed by Hariścandra, pleased the gods by his own brilliance and became the son of wise Visvāmitra. The fifty sons were cursed and became Cāṇḍālas for not having honoured Devarāta (Śunaśśepa), their eldest brother, whom Viśvāmitra got as a son from the gods.

This narration in the *MBh.* seems to be based on both the *AB.* and *Rām.* versions of the story. As in the *Rām.* so also in the *MBh.* Śunaśśepa is a son of Ṛcīka; while according to the *AB.* he is a son of Ajīgarta. That the sacrifice was performed by Hariścandra is common to both the *MBh.* and the *AB.*; while in the *Rām.* the performer is Ambarīṣa. That the number of Viśvāmitra's sons was fifty and that they all were cursed by him is common to both the *MBh.* and the *Rām.* The *AB.* records one hundred and one sons of Viśvāmitra and says that the first fifty out of them were cursed.

It is worth noting that the *MBh*[1] gives only the bare outline of the legend and does not enter into any details.

In the *BhaP*[2], the Śunaśśepa legend has been narrated at two places, out of which the first one gives the first half and the second one the remaining half of the story. The most striking feature of this narration is that it follows the *AB* version in almost every detail At places it appears as if it was only a versified version of the prose narration in the *AB*. The relevant *AB* verses are recorded as they are in the original with only slight variations here and there. In *BhāP* the name of Hariścandra's father is given as Triśaṅku as against Vedhas of the *AB* narrative. Another notable difference is that Indra who is pleased with the performance of the sacrifice gives a golden chariot according to the *AB* to Śunaśśepa and according to the *BhāP* to Hariścandra.

The *HVP*, the *VāP* and the *BṛḍP* give the details about Śunaśśepa's adoption by Viśvāmitra[3]. The version in all these three texts is one and the

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1. *MBH* XIII. 3. 6-8.

ऋचीकस्यात्मजश्चैव शुनःशेपो महातपाः ।
विमोक्षितो महासत्रात्पशुतामभ्युपागतः ॥

हरिश्चन्द्रक्रतौ देवांस्तोषयित्यवात्मतेजसा ।
पुत्रतामनुसंम्प्राप्तो विश्वामित्रस्य धीमतः ॥

नाभिवादयते ज्येष्ठं देवरातं नराधिप ।
पुत्राः पञ्चशताश्चापि शप्ताः श्वपचतां गताः ॥

2. *BhāP* IX. 7, 7-27 and IX. 16. 29-37

3. *HVP* I. 27, 41-58; *VāP* 91. 84-97; *BṛḍP* III. 66.63-74; For instance the *HVP* version runs as follows

और्वस्यैवमृचीकस्य सत्यवत्यां महायशाः !
जमदग्निस्तपोवीर्याज्जते ब्रह्मविदां वरः ॥ ४१ ॥

मध्यमश्च शुनःशेपः शुनःपुच्छः कनिष्ठकः ।
विश्वामित्रं तु दायादं गाधिः कुशिकनन्दनः ॥ ४२ ॥

× × × ×

विश्वामित्रात्मजानां तु शुनःशेफोऽग्रजः स्मृतः ।
भार्गवः कौशिकत्वं हि प्राप्तः स मुनिसत्तमः ॥ ५४ ॥

विश्वामित्रस्य पुत्रस्तु शुनःशेपोऽभवत्किल ।
हरिदश्वस्य यज्ञे तु पशुत्वे विनियोजितः ॥ ५५ ॥

देवैर्दत्तः शुनःशेपो विश्वामित्रस्य वै पुनः ।
देवैर्दत्तः स वै यस्मद्देवरातस्ततोऽभवत् ॥ ५६ ॥

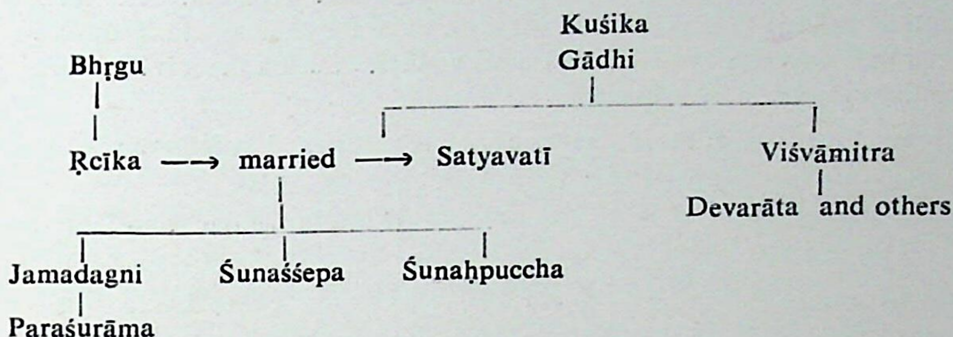
देवदत्तादयः सप्त विश्वामित्रस्य वै सुताः ।
दृषद्वतीसु तश्चापि विश्वामित्रात्तथाष्टकः ॥ ५७ ॥

same. Only the name Haridaśva of the *HVP* is substituted as Hariścandra in the *VāP* and *BṛdP* versions. Most of the verses are common in all the three texts. It is difficult to say which two are the borrowers. Among the sons of Viśvāmitra, Śunaśśepa is considered as the first born. Bhārgava by birth he attained the position of Kauśika. This became possible in the sacrifice instituted by Haridaśva (Hariścandra) where Śunaśśepa was yoked as a *paśu*. He became a son of Viśvāmitra when the gods, after granting him life, made him over to the latter. Devarāta and others are seven sons of Viśvāmitra, who had also an eighth one born of Dṛṣadvatī and called Aṣṭaka.

Those portions of the above-mentioned Purāṇa texts which deal with this particular episode only form part of the bigger story relating to the birth of Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra. It is a well-known fact that the families of Kauśikas and Bhārgavas were inter-related through Viśvāmitra's elder sister Satyavatī, who was married to Ṛcīka Bhārgava. It will be useful to peruse that whole story here.

King Gādhi gave his daughter Satyavatī to Ṛcīka, the son of Bhṛgu in marriage. Ṛcīka was quite satisfied with his wife. He prepared the holy *Caru* to get a son for himself and one for his father-in-law, Gādhi. He handed over both parts of *Caru* to his wife, Satyavatī, instructing her as to which she herself should take and which her mother, But, at the appropriate time by mistake the mother gave her portion to the daughter and took the daughter's portion herself. Ṛcīka, by divine instinct, discovered the mistake. In his dispensation, the *Caru* which was meant for mother-in-law was to produce a strong and valiant son, having the qualities of a Kṣatriya and that for his wife was to produce a son wise in thought and serene in temperament, bearing the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa-sage. That was alright, but fate changed the things completely. Satyavatī felt sorry because she always preferred a saintly son. A warrior son was suitable for her father who was a king. Therefore, she requested the sage Ṛcīka to change the foetus; because nothing was impossible for a divine sage like him. She also proposed an alternative viz. that only a saintly son should be conferred upon her, although her, grandson may be a warrior. Ṛcīka was moved by her fervent prayer and at once granted her request. Thus was born sage Jamadagni. As a result of the other portion of the sacred *Caru* Viśvāmitra was born. Here, only it is added that Śunaśśepa was the

middle son of Ṛcīka and Satyavatī, and Śunaḥpuccha was the youngest. Accordingly, the genealogy can be given as follows—



But this genealogy which is referred to in the above-mentioned Purāṇa texts is inconsistent and unreliable as we shall see below. Moreover it does not fit in with the context. Hariyappa[1] opines in this connection—

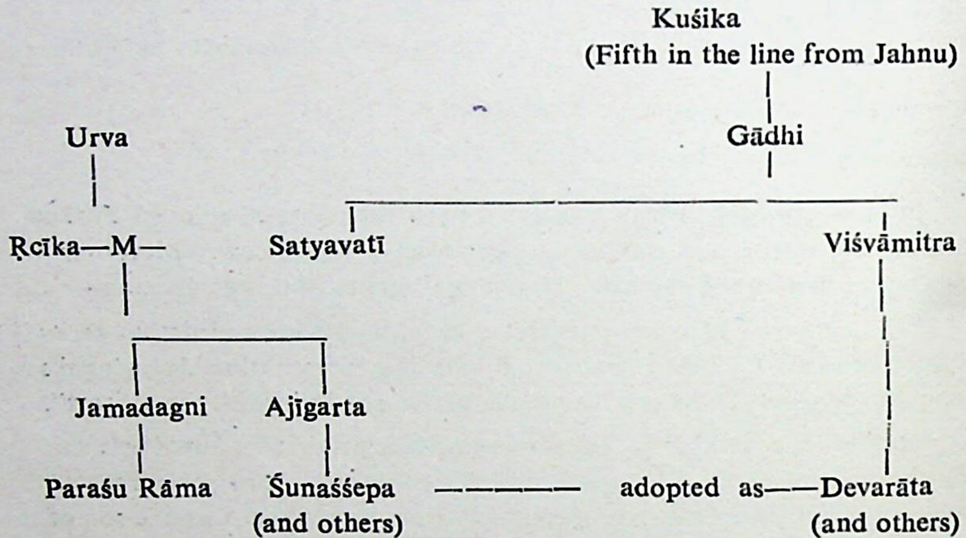
"The author of *Harivaṁśa*, whoever he is, simply appended that series of three brothers to this illustrious Bhṛgu line substituting Jamadagni's name for the eldest ! . At any rate the latter do not fit in with the context".

Pargiter has very ably opined in this connection that Śunaśśepa was not the son of Ṛcīka Bhārgava as is found mentioned in several texts.[2] These texts and even *Rām* have mentioned that Śunaśśepa was the son of Ṛcīka and Satyavatī, hence a nephew of Viśvāmitra. Pargiter thinks that he was a grandson of Satyavatī and Ṛcīka and therefore, a grand-nephew of Viśvāmitra. He has added that Ajīgarta, who is said to be the father of Śunaśśepa in the *AB* version, was a son of Ṛcīka and the younger brother of Jamadagni. His view is quite convincing and appears to be correct, because if we accept the same, the problem of Śunaśśepa's place in genealogy and contemporaneity is completely solved. He has set aside the doubt put forth by Hariyappa[3], according to whom there must have been two Ṛcīkas, one, the father of Jamadagni and the other, who sold a son for a price. The conclusion arrived at by Pargiter ends all the misgivings about the relationship inter se between Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni and Śunaśśepa. No doubt, in the *AB* and the *ŚŚS*, the name of Ajīgarta's father is given as Suyavās and not Ṛcīka and there is not a single text to show that Ṛcīka was the father of Ajīgarta, but it is quite possible that *AB* might have

1. *Op. cit.* p. 212.
2. *AIHT*, pp. 198, 206, 219.
3. *Op. cit.* p. 212.

committed a mistake in recording the name of Ajīgarta's father just as it has done in the case of Hariścandra, whose father's name it has given against all tradition as Vedhas instead of Satyavrata Triśaṅku. The *Rām*, the *MBh* and the Purāṇas all give with one voice the name of Hariścandra's father as Satyavrata Triśaṅku and not Vedhas. Such a thing is not very unlikely in the case of old texts.

The genealogy of these persons can be reconstructed as follows :



Now, it will be worthwhile to evaluate the views expressed by certain modern scholars in connection with the Śunaśśepa legend.

Max Müller[1] tackled this legend in the nineteenth century. He has translated into English the entire piece from the *AB* in his *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* and has commented on various questions arising out of this legend. He has observed that at that early time Brahmins were familiar with the idea of human sacrifices and that men who were supposed to belong to the Brahmin caste were ready to sell their sons for that purpose. But there is nothing to show that such a thing was a common custom amongst the Brahmins in those days. In the case of Ajīgarta it was only starvation due to acute poverty which compelled him to part with his middle son. In fact, Max Müller himself admits that it does not necessarily follow from this legend that the Ṛṣi-s, the authors of the Vedic hymns,

1. *Max Müller*, *HASL.* (Rev. Ed. by S. N. Shastri), Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 370-82.

offered human sacrifices. He has further affirmed in this connection that performance of human sacrifices is not incompatible with a higher stage of civilization, particularly among the people who never doubted the immortality of the soul and at the same time felt a craving to offer whatever seemed the most valuable on earth to the gods in whom they believed.[1]

Roth too has dealt with the Śunaśśepa legend but his is a merely literary study.[2] According to him, the *AB* version depends on an older metrical version. Roth is further of the opinion that the oldest form of the legend is that found in the *ṚV* (I. 24.13 V. 2.7).[3] It refers to his miraculous deliverance by divine help from the peril of death. This seed expands in the *AB* and the *Rām* into a narrative in which Śunaśśepa is made a sacrificial victim and is delivered to Viśvāmitra. In course of time the latter narrative became the prominent one; but its central point shifted from the deliverance of Śunaśśepa to his incorporation into the family of the Kuśikas. It latter became a legend of the descendants of Viśvāmitra.

Professor A. B. Keith[4] is of the view that Puruṣamedha, as it is depicted in the *Sūtras*, seems to be merely a theoretical thing and not a real sacrifice. According to him, the tale of Śunaśśepa does not approve of a sacrifice of this sort. Firstly, Ajīgarta, who was ready to sacrifice his son, was deprived of him as a punishment and, secondly, the priests, Jamadagni and others, who were engaged to perform the sacrifice, declined to slay Śunaśśepa.

As pointed out by Keith, the legend as given in the *AB* has three main episodes :—

(a) Varuṇa, Hariścandra and Rohita episode.

(b) Śunaśśepa and Ajīgarta episode.

(c) The episode of Śunaśśepa, Viśvāmitra and Viśvāmitra's sons.

Now, no details of any of these episodes, excepting a hint to the effect that Śunaśśepa was bound to three pieces of wood, can be traced to the Ṛgvedic

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1. *Ibid.* pp. 380-81.
2. A. Weber *Indische Studien*, I. 458-64; II.112-23.
3. As referred to by Hariyappa, *RLTA*, pp. 225-26.
4. *Rig-Veda Brāhmaṇas Translated*, (HOS, 25, 1920), pp. 61-68.

nucleus. Keith has further pointed out that in the *ṚV* there is no information regarding Hariścandra, Rohita, Ajīgarta and Viśvāmitra, a fact which goes to show that the *AB* narrative is a later invention than the *ṚV* narrative. We have already seen in this connection that in the opinion of Roth the *AB* version is based on an older metrical version[1]. According to him the legend took the present form when the collection of the Ṛgvedic hymns was in process[2]. In fact, it is difficult to come to any conclusion regarding the period of growth of the legend from the hymns of the *ṚV* to their ascription to Śunaśśepa.

Further, according to Keith the *AB* version that only half of the sons of Viśvāmitra accepted the new position of Śunaśśepa seems to be inconsistent with the Ṛgvedic verses. In fact, it does not stand to reason that Viśvāmitra should have addressed the midmost of his sons to the exclusion of the older ones when he wished to place Śunaśśepa at the very head.

Keith consequently advocates that the prose part of the *AB* narration is a later addition. He says : "It appears to me that, since, in the first place, the prose adds nothing to the verses that is necessary for the sense, and since, in the second place, it contains a notice which is not in harmony with the verses, it is only reasonable to conclude that the prose is later, and there was once a metrical version in Gāthas of this episode". He has also doubted the place of the verses in this narrative, saying "question must remain undecided whether the verses ever formed part of the narrative of Śunaśśepa".

Lastly, we should refer to another important observation made by Prof. Keith in this connection. We already know from the *AB* source that Viśvāmitra officiated as Hotṛ and Vasiṣṭha as Brahmā in this sacrifice. On the other hand, tradition presents us with a good account of the hostility between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. Keith has noted that no trace of the hostility between these two eminent sages is found in this narrative and that their relations appear to be amicable. Another point is that here we find traces of the royal character that is generally attributed to Viśvāmitra, since the young Śunaśśepa is said to succeed to the lordship of the Jahnus.

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1. *Ritualliteratur*
2. *Op. cit.*

Dr. Narhari[1] is of the view that there are three versions of the Śunaśśepa story as it is found in the various texts. The first one is the *AB* version, which says that Śunaśśepa, the son of Ajīgarta, was brought as a victim to the sacrifice performed by King Hariścandra. The second version is that of the *Rām* which makes Śunaśśepa, the son of Ṛcīka, a victim for the sacrifice arranged by King Ambarīṣa.[2] And the third version is that of the *MBh*, which follows the *AB* in accepting King Hariścandra as the performer of the sacrifice and the *Rām* in calling Śunaśśepa the son of Ṛcīka. Roth, on the other hand, is of the opinion that there are only two versions of the story, viz. one of the *AB* and the other of the *Rām* and that of these two, the latter one, in course of time, became the prevailing one. So far as the question of popularity is concerned, Dr. Narhari is of the opinion that the Vedic version contained in the *AB* appears to have been more popular, as it was followed by as many as six texts, viz. those of the *AB*, the *ŚŚS*, the *BHāP*, the *Devī Bhāgavata*, the *BD* and the *Sarvā.*

However, according to Hariyappa[3] there existed only two versions of this famous legend and both of them developed from the Ṛgvedic nucleus. He names them as the Orthodox Version and the Popular Version. In the Orthodox Version he includes the details given in the *AB*, the *BrahmaP*, the *BhāP* and the *Devī Bhāgavata* and in the Popular Version those contained in the *Rām*, the *MBh*, the *HVP* and the *VāP*. Contrary to the classification made by Narahari, he consideres the *MBh* story to be fitting in with that of the *Rām*. As we have already seen, the *MBh* narrative has been related only in three verses and that too very cursorily and merely as a secondary thing. One must, therefore, agree with the observations made in this connection by Roth and Hariyappa as against the conclusion arrived at by Narahari.

CONCLUSION :

In spite of the fact that several scholars have tackled this legend for the purpose of careful study, the same has always been attracting and challenging scholars. Being aware of this fact, I have attempted to deal with it from a different angle, laying stress especially on Śunaśśepa's being a Ṛgvedic seer as well as on his connection with the Viśvāmitra family. The present study can lead one to the following conclusions:—

1. Śunaśśepa is the seer of the *Ṛgveda* I. 24-30; IX.3. We come accross the verses attributed to him in the *VS*, tne *VS* and the *AV*. The

1. *Op. cit.* p. 307.
2. *Indische Studien*, II. 112-23.
3. *Op. cit.* p. 224.

verses *ṚV* I. 24. 12, 13 do not seem to be the composition of Śunaśśepa. Possibily, the descendants of Śunaśśepa may have been the seers of these verses. Their seership seems to have been wrongly ascribed to Śunaśśepa himself.

2. The story of the deliverance of Śunaśśepa is a Vedic fact. His deliverance is referred to in the *ṚV* I. 24. 12, 13 and V. 2. 7. The other Saṁhitās give only this much that he was seized by Varuṇa and was freed on praising the latter with the *ṚV* I. 24.15.

3. The *AB* for the first time narrated the story in a complete form. It was repeated by the *ŚŚS* with a slight change. The first part of the legend is provided by Hariścandra and his son Rohita. The latter discovered Śunaśśepa for being offered to god Varuṇa. The central theme constitutes Śunaśśepa's escape from the sacrificial immolation. The concluding event includes Viśvāmitra, who adopted Śunaśśepa as his eldest son and included him into his family. This narrative is a mixture of prose and *gāthā*. It is supposed by many that the legend existed before the *AB* in the form of a ballad.

4 The *Sarvā*, the *BD* and the *Sāyaṇa Bhāṣya* repeat the story as it is given in the *AB*. These works do not show any influence of the other version, which was certainly available in their times.

5. The *Rām*, the *MBh*, the *HVP*, the *Vāp* and the *BṛdP* give a different version of this legend which seems to have been a more popular version. The *BhāP* repeats the *AB* version, which can be called the Orthodox version.

6. From the Sociological point of view the story of Śunaśśepa is very important. Several scholars were attracted towards it on account of its having got a reference to human sacrifice. The theory about the prevalence of human sacrifice in those days is practically rejected by all scholars. It is submitted that the mention of human sacrifice is only theoretical.

7. The genealogical position of Śunaśśepa as envisaged by Pargiter seems to be more probable. Ajīgarta, the father of Śunaśśepa, may have been a younger brother of Jamadagni and a son of Ṛcīka and Satyavatī. Thus, Śunaśśepa becomes the grand-nephew of Viśvāmitra. Without this hypothesis it seems well-nigh impossible to bring the Vedic sources in line with the post-Vedic ones.

कारकीय व्याकरण : भाषा-विश्लेषण की एक नवीन पद्धति

डा० भोला नाथ तिवारी

दिल्ली

भाषाविज्ञान अपने मूल रूप में तो विश्व में लगभग तीन हज़ार वर्ष पुराना है, किन्तु आधुनिक काल में इसी शती के दूसरे चरण से ही इसमें विशेष प्रगति हुई है। इस प्रगति का आरम्भ वर्णनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान (Descriptive Linguistics) से हुआ। किसी भाषा के सम्यक् वर्णन के लिए सर्व प्रथम संरचनात्मक (Structural) भाषाविज्ञान सामने आया।

भाषा को विश्लेषित करने के एक माडल के रूप में संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान (Structural Linguistics) इस शती के पूर्वार्ध की एक महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि है। अमेरिका में यह धारा ब्लूमफ़ील्ड से चलकर मुख्यतः हॉकिट तथा हैरिस में आगे बढ़ी। चिन्तन की दृष्टि से इसके मूल में ससूर की बातें थीं। अमरीकी संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान हैरिस में ही अपने ऊर्ध्वबिन्दु पर पहुँचा। इसकी दूसरी धारा इगलैंड में मलेनोफ़्स्की, फ़र्थ में होते हैलिडे के व्यवस्थापक व्याकरण (Systemic Grammar) के रूप में विकसित हुई। तीसरी धारा प्राग में भाषाविज्ञान के प्राग-स्कूल के रूप में पनपी। इस धारा के मुख्य स्तम्भ मैथ्यूज, याकोब्सन तथा ट्रूंका आदि हैं। चौथी धारा के रूप में येल्मस्लेव के ग्लालोमैटिक स्कूल का नाम लिया जा सकता है, जो इन सबसे अलग ही है। संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान की पाँचवीं धारा का विकास रूस में हुआ। इसके मूल में कुर्तिने का कार्य और चिन्तन था। इस धारा के मुख्य भाषाशास्त्री शाउमैन तथा अवानोसफ़ हैं।

संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान की सबसे बड़ी शक्ति (और सीमा भी) यह थी कि वह भाषा के वस्तुपरक (object) अध्ययन पर बल देता रहा है। अर्थ को यथासाध्य दूर रखते हुए भाषा की संरचना का विश्लेषण उसका मुख्य उद्देश्य था। निकटस्थ अवयव के माध्यम से भाषा के वाक्यों का विश्लेषण उसके द्वारा खोजी गयी एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण पद्धति है जो आज भी प्रयुक्त हो रही है। यों बहिष्केन्द्रिक-अंतःकेन्द्रिक रचना आदि उसकी और भी कई देनें हैं।

इस धारा की सबसे बड़ी कमी यह रही है कि यह वक्ता द्वारा प्रयुक्त भाषा (performance) के ही अध्ययन में समर्थ है। किंतु व्यवहृत (Performance) के अतिरिक्त भाषा नई संरचना में भी सक्षम (competent) होती है और भाषाविद् के लिए उसकी जानकारी या उसका विश्लेषण भी अपेक्षित है। संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान के बाद विकसित

रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण में इस क्षमता का भी अध्ययन किया जाने लगा। संरचनात्मक पद्धति की इस बहुत बड़ी कमी को उसने पूरा किया।

भाषा में संरचना के दो स्तर होते हैं: बाह्य और आन्तरिक। संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान का विश्लेषण बाह्य संरचना तक ही सीमित रहा है। यह उसकी दूसरी कमी है। यद्यपि संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान के प्रसिद्ध आचार्य हॉकिट ने बाह्य संरचना, आन्तरिक संरचना की बात की है, किन्तु वे इस काम को आगे बढ़ा नहीं पाये। इस कमी को भी पूरा करने का श्रेय रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण को है।

संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान की पद्धति मुख्यतः आगमनात्मक (inductive) है, जबकि रूपातन्रक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण की निगमनात्मक (deductive) है। ऊपर संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान में भाषा के वस्तुपरक (objective) अध्ययन की बात कही गयी है। किन्तु भाषा यदि वक्ता और श्रोता की मानसिक यथार्थता (mental reality) है तो स्पष्ट है कि वस्तुपरक अध्ययन उसके साथ न्याय नहीं कर सकता। संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान की यह कमी भी रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण ने ही दूर की है। व्यक्ति के इण्ट्यूशन के आधार पर वह अध्ययन पर बल देता है। संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान यह कहता रहा है कि किसी भाषा का अच्छा अध्ययन वही कर सकता है जो उस भाषा को पहले से न जानता हो। रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण ने यह बात भी बदल दी है। उसका कहना है कि इस रूप में भाषा को उसकी पूरी गहराई के साथ विश्लेपित नहीं किया जा सकता।

इस तरह संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान काफ़ी शक्तिशाली रूप में उभरा था और लगभग १९६० तक उसका बहुत जोर था। किन्तु जैसा कि प्रायः होता है हर पद्धति की शक्ति के साथ अपनी सीमाएं भी होती हैं। संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान की इन्हीं सीमाओं के प्रति प्रतिक्रिया ने रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण (Transformational Generative Grammar) को जन्म दिया।

रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण के मुख्य आचार्य चॉम्स्की हैं। यों पोस्टल, हाले, मैकाफ़ आदि ने इसे आगे बढ़ाया है। इस सम्प्रदाय की मुख्य विशेषताएं नीचे दी जा रही हैं।

इस सम्प्रदाय के अनुसार भाषा में संरचना के दो रूप होते हैं: बाह्य संरचना (सरफ़ेस स्ट्रक्चर) और आन्तरिक संरचना (डीप स्ट्रक्चर)। दोनों संरचनाओं में अन्तर हो तो बाह्य संरचना की ठीक जानकारी आन्तरिक संरचना की जानकारी के बिना नहीं हो सकती। हर भाषा में ऐसे अनेक वाक्य मिलते हैं जिनके एकाधिक अर्थ होते हैं और जिन्हें सन्दिग्ध वाक्य (ambiguous sentence) कहा जा सकता है। ये एकाधिक अर्थ आन्तरिक

संरचना पर ही निर्भर होते हैं। या, बाह्य सरचना की सन्दिग्धता आन्तरिक संरचना में एकाधिक संरचना के कारण ही होती है। एक वाक्य लें—

सरला नाचनेवाली है।

इस वाक्य के दो अर्थ हैं, क्योंकि आन्तरिक संरचना में दो वाक्य हैं—

सरला नाचने का काम करती है।

सरला अभी नाचेगी।

इन दोनों ही आन्तरिक वाक्यों को हिंदी में वाह्य धरातल पर 'सरला नाचने वाली है' रूप में कहा जा सकता है। अर्थात् आन्तरिक धरातल पर दो या अधिक वाक्य वाह्य धरातल पर एक वाक्य के रूप में व्यक्त हो सकते हैं। इस तरह वाह्य धरातल पर किसी वाक्य के जितने भी अर्थ होंगे, आन्तरिक धरातल पर उसका सम्बन्ध उतने ही वाक्यों से होगा। अर्थात् आन्तरिक धरातल पर उसमें अलग-अलग उतने ही वाक्य होंगे।

मैंने भागते हुए साँप को मारा।

इसके दो अर्थ हो सकते हैं। अतः आन्तरिक धरातल हर इसमें भी दो वाक्य हैं—

जव मैंने सांप को मारा, मैं भाग रहा था।

जब मैंने सांप को मारा, सांप भाग रहा था।

एक अर्थ देने वाले एक वाक्य के भीतर भी एकाधिक वाक्य हो सकते हैं:—

राम रोता हुआ जा रहा है।

आन्तरिक संरचना पर विचार करें तो इसमें दो वाक्य हैं:—

राम रो रहा है।

राम जा रहा है।

दोनों वाक्यों को एक में अनुस्यूत करके ही 'राम रोता हुआ जा रहा है' रूप में हम कहते हैं। इस तरह रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण पद्धति ने वाह्य संरचना (surface structure), आन्तरिक संरचना (deep structure) तथा अनुस्यूत वाक्यों (embedded sentences) के द्वारा भाषा की अधिक सन्तोषजनक व्याख्या की। संरचनात्मक सम्प्रदाय की तरह ही निकटस्थ अवयव को इसने भी लिया, किन्तु वाह्य और आन्तरिक दोनों धरातलों पर।

इस पद्धति के अनुसार हर वाक्य दो खण्डों में विभाज्य है और फिर उसके आगे भी विभाजन किए जा सकते हैं :—

वाक्य = संज्ञा फ़्रेज़+क्रिया फ़्रेज़

संज्ञा फ्रेज = (निर्धारक) संज्ञा (वाक्य)

क्रियाफ़्रेज़ = (संज्ञा फ़्रेज़) क्रिया

इसे प्रायः वृक्ष चित्र (Tree diagram) द्वारा स्पष्ट किया जा सकता है।

इस सम्प्रदाय ने यह भी कहा कि भाषाशास्त्री का कार्य केवल भाषा के व्यवहृत रूप का ही विश्लेषण नहीं है। उसे भाषा (ओं) के ऐसे नियमों का भी पता लगाना चाहिए जिसके आधार पर न केवल वे सारे वाक्य बनाये (generate) जा सकें जो व्यवहृत हैं अपितु वे भी बनाये या निकाले जा सकें जो उस भाषा की क्षमता (Potentiality) के अनुसार व्यवहृत हो सकते हों।

इस सम्प्रदाय ने निगमनात्मक पद्धति अपनायी तथा भाषा के अवस्तुगत (subjective) अध्ययन पर वल दिया।

इस प्रसङ्ग में एक बात और भी जोड़ी जा सकती है। संरचनात्मक सम्प्रदाय के विद्वानों के पास सामग्री (data) बहुत थी, किन्तु इस सम्प्रदाय के विद्वानों में चॉम्स्की आदि कुछ को छोड़कर अधिकांश इस दृष्टि से असम्पन्न हैं। संरचनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान की तुलना में रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण में यह बहुत बड़ी कमी है।

रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक व्याकरण की कुछ कमियों ने इधर कारकीय व्याकरण (Case Grammar) को जन्म दिया है। कारकीय व्याकरण के अधिष्ठाता फ़िल्मोर हैं। मूलतः ये भी रूपान्तरक व्युत्पादक सम्प्रदाय के ही हैं, किन्तु लगभग १६६५ के वाद से यह पद्धति इनको अपर्याप्त लगने लगी और १६६६ में इन्होंने 'Towards a Modern Theory of Case' लेख प्रकाशित किया और फिर १६६८ में उनका प्रसद्धि लेख 'अ केस फ़ार केस' (A case for case) प्रकाशित हुआ। उन्होंने कहा कि चॉम्स्की ने जो 'वाक्य= संज्ञा फ़्रेज़+क्रिया फ़्रेज' कहा है वह वाक्य का अपेक्षित गहराई से विश्लेषण करने के लिए अपर्याप्त है। उदाहरण के लिए दो वाक्य लें—

राम ने छड़ी तोड़ी।

छड़ी टूटी।

चॉम्स्की के अनुसार दोनों 'छड़ी' एक नहीं है। पहले में वह क्रिया फ़्रेज़ में है जबकि दूसरे में संज्ञा फ़्रेज़ में। फ़िल्मोर ने कहा कि यह ग़लत है; कारकीय सम्बन्धों पर ध्यान न जाने से ही हमें ऐसा लगता है; वस्तुतः दोनों ही वाक्यों में छड़ी एक ही कारक में है; वह

कर्ता है। इसीलिए उनकी दृष्टि से भाषा के विश्लेषण में कारकीय सम्बन्धों पर ध्यान जाना आवश्यक है, क्योंकि कारकीय सम्बन्ध क्रिया और संज्ञा के बीच होते हैं और वाक्य में ये ही दोनों सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण हैं। फ़िलमोर के कारकीय व्याकरण के अनुसार कोई भी भाषा का वाक्य दो का योग है—

वाक्य = मोडालिटी + प्रोपोज़ीशन

फ़िलमोर 'मोडलिटी' (पूर्ण वाक्यीय तत्व) में वे चीजें मानते हैं जो पूरे वाक्य में हैं। जैसे नकारात्मकता, प्रश्नात्मकता, वाच्य, काल, पक्ष, क्रियार्थ (mood) तथा बहुत से क्रिया-विशेषण आदि। इनका सम्बन्ध पूरे वाक्य से होता है। मोडलिटी के अतिरिक्त जो वाक्य में शेष बचता है उसे वे प्रोपोज़ीशन की संज्ञा देते हैं। प्रोपोज़ीशन में दो चीजें आती हैं : क्रिया और कारकीय सम्बन्ध (case relation)। कारकीय सम्बन्ध क्रिया पर आधारित होते हैं। हर क्रिया या धातु के कुछ कारकीय सम्बन्ध होते हैं। वक्ता उस क्रिया से युक्त वाक्य में उन्हीं में से कुछ का या सबका प्रयोग करता है। उदाहरणार्थ—

देना—कर्ता, कर्म, सम्प्रदान

खाना—„ „ ×

राम ने मोहन को पैसे दिए।

× मोहन को पैसे दिए

राम ने × पैसे दिए। इत्यादि।

फ़िलमोर यह मानते हैं कि विश्व की सभी भाषाओं में आन्तरिक संरचना में कुछ मूलभूत कारक होते हैं, जिन्हें सभी भाषाओं की समान सम्पत्ति माना जा सकता है। भाषा की वाह्य संरचना में अलग-अलग भाषाओं में भिन्न-भिन्न रूपों में इन कारकीय सम्बन्धों की अभिव्यक्ति होती है।

क्रियापद और संज्ञापद में सम्बन्धों की ही संज्ञा 'कारक' है।

फ़िलमोर ने अपने कारकीय व्याकरण में निम्नलिखित कारक माने हैं—

(१) प्रकर्ता (Agentive)—यह किसी कार्य का कर्ता होता है। कर्ता का कर्तृत्व सक्रिय (Active) होता है, अक्रिय या निष्क्रिय (Passive) नहीं। उदाहरण के लिए 'राम दौड़ता है' में राम प्रकर्ता है, क्योंकि वह दौड़ने का काम करता है और सक्रियता से करता है। इसके विपरीत 'राम पछताता है' में वह स्थिति नहीं है। पछताने का काम वह जान-बूझकर नहीं करता, उससे हो जाता है, उसमें वह अक्रिय है, सक्रिय नहीं। प्रकर्ता प्राणिवाचक ही होता है, अप्राणिवाचक नहीं।

(२) अनुभवकर्ता (Experiencer)—फ़िलमोर ने पहले जिसे सम्प्रदान (Dative) कहा था और जिसे 'प्राणी जो स्थिति या क्रिया से प्रभावित हो' माना था, बाद में उसी के एक

अंश को अनुभवकर्ता कहा। अनुभवकर्ता उसे कहते हैं जो मानसिक स्थिति का अनुभव करता है या जो क्रिया (action) से प्रभावित होता है। कुछ उदाहरण हैं—

राम पछता रहा है।
चोर मारा गया।
तुम दुःखी हो।
मोहन प्रसन्न है।
मैं ऐसी बातों से घबराता हूँ।
सीता अंग्रेज़ी जानती है।
वह सिहर उठा।

(३) करण (Instrumental)—कोई भी अप्राणिवाचक, जो कार्य में कर्ता या साधन रूप में प्रयुक्त हो, करण है। जैसे—

आँधीने फ़सल नष्ट कर दी।
मैंने लाठी से मारा।
भूकम्प ने शहर बर्बाद कर दिया।
उसके आने से सब गड़बड़ हो गया।

बाद में फ़िल्मोर ने इन्स्ट्रुमेण्टल के स्थान पर प्रेरक (stimulus) कर दिया। इसमें प्राकृतिक चीज़ें (वर्षा, आँधी, भूकम्प), ठोस साधन (चाकू, लाठी, थप्पड़) तथा किसी मानसिक स्थिति को पैदा करने वाले (डाकू, श्मशान, सांप) मनोवैज्ञानिक कारण ओर प्राणी आते हैं--

वह कुत्ते से डरता है।

स्रोत (source)—गति का जहाँ से आरम्भ हो वह स्रोत है। विकाससूचक या गति-सूचक क्रियाओं (motion verb) के प्रसंङ्ग में यह कारक प्रायः मिलता है।

वही बढ़ते-बढ़ते बच्चे से आदमी हो गया।
सेब मेज़ पर से उठाकर आलमारी में रखो।
आटे से रोटी बनाओ।
लड़का घर से स्कूल आया।

लक्ष्य (Goal)—पहले फ़िल्मोर ने एक Factitive कारक माना था। किसी क्रिया से उत्पन्न वस्तु इसके अन्तर्गत थी—

राम ने कहानी लिखी।

बाद में इन्होंने फ़ैक्टिटिव को छोड़कर लक्ष्य कारक माना और फ़ैक्टिटिव तथा अंशत: सम्प्रदान को इसी में मिला लिया। विकार तथा गतिसूचक क्रियाओं का अन्त इसी कारक में होता है। लक्ष्य के कुछ उदाहरण हैं—

मैंने मोहन को किताब दी।

हम भुवनेश्वर से कोणार्क पहुंचे।

धीरे-धीरे वह संस्था एक छोटे स्कूल से विश्वविद्यालय बन गई।

इनके अतिरिक्त, इन्होंने अधिकरण (Locative), स्थान (Place), समय (Time), रीति (Manner), कमिटेटिव (comitative), बेनिफ़ैक्टिव (Benefactive), कर्म (Objective) आदि कुछ अन्य कारकों का भी उल्लेख किया है। कर्म को इन्होंने सर्वाधिक तटस्थ कारक माना है। एक ओर तो कर्म ये उसे कहते हैं जो क्रिया से परिवर्तित हो : मैंने छड़ी तोड़ दी, तुमने लाठी टेढ़ी कर दी। दूसरी तरफ़ ये यह भी कहते हैं कि जो कुछ अन्य कारकों से बच जाय उसे कर्म में रखा जा सकता है। इस प्रसंग में यह भी उल्लेख्य है कि पिछले चार वर्षों में ये कम से कम दो बार कारकों के नामों तथा उनकी संख्या में परिवर्तन कर चुके हैं। वस्तुतः ऐसा मानना अन्यथा न होगा कि अपने सिद्धान्त के बारे में ये अभी तक इतनी गहराई से नहीं सोच पाए हैं कि अन्तिम रूप से अपना मत व्यक्त कर सकें। इनके सिद्धान्त का अन्तिम रूप चिंतन में अभी विकसित हो रहा है। इसी लिए इनके कई वक्तव्य इनके दूसरे वक्तव्यों के विरोधी हैं तथा इनके सिद्धान्तों का पाठक कभी-कभी इस परेशानी में पड़ जाता है कि वाक्यविशेष में सिद्धान्तों के आधार पर कौन सा कारक माना जाय ; क्योंकि एक वक्तव्य में एक का संकेत मिलता है तो दूसरे में दूसरे का। १९६८ में इन्होंने मोडलिटी को अपने मॉडल में स्थान दिया था। १९७० में (Improvement in Case Grammer 1970—W.A. Cook, Language and Linguistics Working Papers No. 2, Georgetown University Press, Washington) इन्होंने मोडलिटी को अपने मॉडल से निकालने की घोषणा की और वाक्य को बिना मोडलिटी के क्रिया और कारक (ों) का योग कहा। इसके बाद इन्होंने अपना मत फिर बदला और 'मोडलिटी' इनके मॉडल में पुनः आ गयी है। इन सब का आशय यही है कि आचार्य अपने मत को परिपक्वता पर पहुंचाये बिना ही समय-समय पर परिवर्तन के साथ व्यक्त करते रहे हैं, जिसका कोई औचित्य नहीं है। इन अव्यवस्थाओं और कमियों के बावजूद इतना तो कहा ही जा सकता है कि फ़िल्मोर ने भाषिक विश्लेषण को कारकीय व्याकरण की दिशा में जो मोड़ दिया है वह निश्चित रूप से सम्भावनाओं से भरा है। आवश्यकता है उसपर पर्याप्त गहराई से सोचने की और अधिकाधिक भाषाओं पर उसे लागू करने की। उसके बाद ही उसे सार्वभाषिक रूप दिया जा सकता है।

मूल विषय पर पुनः आते हुए कुछ और बातों की ओर भी संकेत किया जा सकता है। कारकीय व्याकरण मानता है कि हर भाषा में क्रिया और संज्ञा के बीच सम्बन्ध होते है। ये सम्बन्ध ही कारकीय सम्बन्ध या कारक हैं। मूलतः ये सम्बन्ध भाषा की आन्तरिक संरचना (deep structure) में होते हैं। बाह्य संरचना में आने पर वे ज्यों-के-त्यों भी रह सकते हैं और उनमें परिवर्तन भी हो सकता है। परिवर्तन के कुछ उदाहरण हैं—

बाह्य —क्यारी भौंरों से गूंज रही है।

आन्तरिक —क्यारी में भौंरे गूंज रहे हैं।

बाह्य —पतंग उड़ रही है।

आन्तरिक —कोई व्यक्ति पतंग उड़ा रहा है।

बाह्य —ट्रेन चली।

आन्तरिक —ड्राइवर ने ट्रेन चलाई।

इसी प्रकार कारक-चिह्नों या परसर्गों को निरपेक्ष रूप से कारकों से नहीं जोड़ा जा सकता। अर्थात् यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि अमुक परसर्ग या कारक-चिह्न अमुक कारक का है। हिन्दी में कर्त्ता—ने, कर्म—को, करण—से कहने की जो परम्परा मिलती है, वह बहुत सतही है। एक तरफ तो एक ही कारक का द्योतन एकाधिक कारक-चिह्नों से हो सकता है, और दूसरी तरफ एक कारक-चिह्न एकाधिक कारकों को व्यक्त कर सकता है। उदाहरणार्थ—

प्रकर्ता

(क) से

उससे अब दौड़ा नहीं जाता।

(ख) द्वारा

यह काम एक संस्था द्वारा किया गया है।

(ग) के द्वारा

पिछले दशक में चीन के द्वारा भारत पर हमला किया गया।

(घ) को-ए-एं

विद्यार्थी को सुबह-सवेरे उठना चाहिए।

मुझे फिर बाजार जाना पड़ा।

उन्हें अपना काम भी तो करना ही है।

(ङ) ने

सीता ने कपड़े सिले।

(च) शून्य

किसान खेत जोतता है।

'से' परसर्ग

(क) प्रकर्ता

राम से इस बुढ़ापे में हल नहीं चलेगा।

(ख) करण

किसान ने बैल को लाठी से मारा।

(ग) स्रोत

लड़का पेड़ से जमीन पर गिर गया।

इत्यादि।

चॉम्स्की के मॉडल की कई चीजें फ़िल्मोर में भी हैं किन्तु उन्हें आन्तरिक स्तर (lower level) पर रखा गया है।

भारत में कारक-सिद्धान्त बहुत पुराना है। पाणिनि ने इसके सिद्धान्त पर तो विचार नहीं किया है किन्तु संस्कृत कारकों पर उन्होंने जो विचार किये हैं, उनसे उनका कारकीय सिद्धान्त भी एक सीमा तक स्पष्ट हुए बिना नहीं रहता। फ़िल्मोर के सिद्धान्त में पाणिनि का भी प्रत्यक्ष-अप्रत्यक्ष योगदान है, इस बात को नकारा नहीं जा सकता। अपने एक परवर्ती लेख में उन्होंने पाणिनि का नाम लिया भी है। इस तरह मूलतः यह सिद्धान्त (भाषा की बाह्य और आन्तरिक संरचना के साथ) एक सीमा तक भारत की देन है। भर्तृहरि में भी इसके संकेत हैं।

कारकीय व्याकरण का सिद्धान्त अभी काफ़ी नया है; इसीलिए इस पर या इसके आधार पर अन्य भाषाओं पर अभी तक विशेष काम नहीं हो सका है। फ़िल्मोर के चार-पांच लेखों के अतिरिक्त गोल्डिन (Goldin) का 'स्पैनिश केस ऐण्ड फ़ंक्शन' तथा ऐंडर्सन (Anderson) का 'द ग्रामर आफ़ केस' (१९७१) इस दृष्टि से पठनीय हैं। हिन्दी भाषा पर इस दृष्टि से लक्ष्मीबाई ने कार्नेल विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा पी-एच० डी० के लिए स्वीकृत अपने शोध-प्रबन्ध 'A Case Grammar of Hindi with a special reference to the Causative Sentences' (1976) में काम किया है।

भोक्त्रापत्त्यधिकरणतात्पर्यम्

डा० अशोक कुमार कालिया

लक्ष्मणपुरम्

उपनिषदस्तु न काञ्चिदपि नियतदार्शनिकसरणिमनुसृत्य प्रवृत्ताः। तासु दार्शनिका विचारा इतस्ततो न्यस्ता व्यस्ता वा दृश्यन्ते। अस्माद्धेतोः वेदान्तवाक्यानि कदाचित् निष्प्रयोजनानीव कदाचिदस्पष्टार्थानि कदाचिच्च परस्परं विरोधीनि प्रतीयन्ते। किं नाम वेदान्तानां दर्शनमिति निश्चित्य वक्तुं न शक्यते। ब्रह्मसूत्राणां तु वेदान्तदर्शननिर्णयार्थमेव प्रवृत्तिः।[1]

समग्राण्यपि ब्रह्मसूत्राणि विचार्य तद्भाष्याणामियत्तां वक्तुं नायमारम्भः। किन्तु तत्रस्थमेकमेवाधिकरणमधिकृत्य तत्परत्वं भाष्याणामस्ति नास्ति वेति विचार्यते। सर्वेऽपि भाष्यकारा अस्मिन्नधिकरणे परस्परं सर्वथा विरुद्धमर्थं प्रतिपादयन्तीति कृत्वा 'भोक्त्रापत्त्यधिकरण' मेव प्रस्तूयते। तत्रापि कतिपयान्यप्रमुखभाष्यकाराणां वक्तव्यं सङ्क्षेपतः प्रस्तूय

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१ सर्वेषामप्यैकमत्यमत्र। यथाहुः शङ्कराचार्याः —

"वेदान्तवाक्यकुसुमग्रथनार्थत्वात् सूत्राणाम्। वेदान्तवाक्यानि हि सूत्रैरुदाहृत्य विचार्यन्ते।"

इतिं शारीरकभाष्ये १.१.२

यथा च रामानुजाचार्याः:—

"पाराशर्यवचस्सुधामुपनिषद्दुग्धाब्धिमध्योद्धृतां
संसाराग्निविदीपनव्यपगतप्राणात्मसञ्जीवनीम्।
पूर्वाचार्यसुरक्षितां बहुमतिव्याघातदूरस्थिता—
मानीतां तु निजाक्षरैः सुमनसा भौमाः पिबन्त्वन्वहम्॥"

इति श्रीभाष्ये माङ्गलिकम्

मध्वाचार्यश्च,—

"द्वापरे सर्वत्र ज्ञाने आकुलीभूते तन्निर्णयाय ब्रह्मरुद्रेन्द्रादिभिरर्थितो भगवान् नारायणो व्यासत्वेनावततार। अथेष्टानिष्टप्राप्तिपरिहारेच्छूनां तद्योगमविजानतां तज्ज्ञापनार्थं वेदमुत्सन्नं व्यञ्जयंश्चतुर्धा व्यभजत् चतुर्विंशतिधैकशतधा सहस्रधा द्वादशधा च। तदर्थनिर्णयाय ब्रह्मसूत्राणि चकार।"

इति श्रीमदानन्दतीर्थविरचितब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्ये, १.१.१

रामानुजाचार्याणां मतं विस्तरेण प्रस्तूयते । तस्य यथार्थत्वमाधुनिकेषु विद्वत्सु सन्देहस्याल्पत्वात् ।[१]

भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागश्चेत्स्याल्लोकवत्[२]

शाङ्करमतम् —

अत्र शङ्कराचार्या इत्थं प्रतिपादयन्ति—ब्रह्मकारणतावादे ब्रह्मणोऽनन्यत्वे च स्वीकृते लोकप्रसिद्धो भोक्तृभोग्यविभाग एव न स्यात् । भोक्तुर्भोग्यत्वापत्तिस्स्याद् भोग्यस्य च भोक्तृत्वापत्तिरिति भोक्त्रापत्तेरित्यस्यार्थः । इति हेतोरविभागस्स्यात् । इति चेन्नास्ति तथा । विभागस्तूपपद्यत एव । कथम् ? लोकवत्—यथा लोके समुद्रात्मनाऽनन्यत्वेऽपि फेनवीचीतरङ्गबुद्बुदादीनां परस्परं विभागो भवति तद्वत् भोक्तारो जीवाः भोग्यञ्च विषयादिकं यद्यपि ब्रह्मणोऽभिन्नं तथापि भोक्तृभोग्ययोश्चेतनाचेतनयोः परस्परं विभागस्स्यादेवोपाधिनिमित्तः ।

"भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागः" इतीमं सूत्रार्धमेवं स्फोरयन्ति शङ्कराचार्याः—

"अत्रोच्यते—प्रसिद्धो ह्ययं भोक्तृभोग्यविभागो लोके—भोक्ता चेतनः शारीरो भोग्याः शब्दादयो विषया इति, यथा भोक्ता देवदत्तो भोज्यमोदनमिति, तस्य च विभागस्याऽभावः प्रसज्येत यदि भोक्ता भोग्यभावमापद्येत, भोग्यं वा भोक्तृत्वभावमापद्येत । तयोश्चेतरेतरभावापत्तिः परमकारणाद् ब्रह्मणोऽनन्यत्वात्प्रसज्येत । न चास्य प्रसिद्धस्य बाधनं युक्तम् ।[३]

स्याल्लोकवदित्यत्र शाङ्करभाष्यम्—

"स्याल्लोकवदिति । उपपद्यत एवायमस्मत्पक्षे विभागः एवं लोके दृष्टत्वात् । तथा हि—समुद्रादुदकात्मनोऽनन्यत्वेऽपि तद्विकाराणां फेनवीचीतरङ्गबुद्बुदादीनामितरेतरविभागः इतरेतरसंश्लेषादिलक्षणश्च व्यवहार उपलभ्यते । न च समुद्रादुदकात्मनोनन्यत्वेऽपि तद्विकाराणां

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1. 'Rāmānuja's way of taking the word '*Bhoktrāpatteḥ*' is the most natural, and the question he refers is also quite in place here'.

—Ghate, V.S , *Vedant*. page 97.

'The construction which Rāmānuja puts on the Sūtra is not repugnant either to the words of the Sūtra or to the context in which the latter stands and that it rests on earlier authority appears from a quotation made by Rāmānuja from the Dramiḍa-abhāṣyakāra'

—George Thiebaut, *The Vedant Sūtras*, Introduction, pp. xlviii-ix

२ ब्रह्मसूत्रम् २.१.१३ (शाङ्करभाष्ये, भास्करभाष्ये च)
२.१.१४ (रामानुजभाष्ये)

३ शाङ्करभाष्ये २.१.१३

फेनतरङ्गादीनामितरेतरभावापत्तिर्भवति, न च तेषामितरेतरभावापत्तावपि समुद्रात्मनोऽन्यत्वं भवति । एवमिहापि ।[१]

भास्करमतम्—

सूत्रार्थस्फोरणे शङ्कराचार्यमेवानुसरन्ति भास्कराचार्याः ।[२] किन्तु तथा कृत्वाऽपि स्वाभिमतं भेदाभेदवादं सामञ्जस्येवावतारितवन्त इमे । एभिः सम्पूर्णमपि सूत्रं तथैव व्याख्यातं यथा शङ्कराचार्यैः । यथा—

'ब्रह्मणोऽनन्यत्वाद् भोक्तृभोग्ययोरविभागः । कथम् भोक्तुर्जीवस्य भोग्यापत्तेः भोग्यस्य च शरीरेन्द्रियविषयलक्षणस्य भोक्त्रापत्तेः । आपत्तिरेकीभावः । ततश्चासमञ्जसं दर्शनं लोकप्रसिद्धविभागपरिलोपादिति चेन्नोच्यते—स्याल्लोकवत् भवेदस्मत्पक्षेऽप्यनयोर्विभागः परमात्मना वा विभागो लोके समुद्रेणानन्यत्वेऽपि फेनतरङ्गादीनां परस्परविभागो नाभेदापत्तिरेवमत्रापि स्यात् । भेदाभेदयोर्हि सर्वप्रमाणसिद्धत्वादुपपत्तिः ।[३]

वल्लभमतम्—

वल्लभाचार्या अपि शङ्कराचार्यपद्धतिमेव सर्वथाऽनुसरन्ति । द्वयोराचार्ययोः सूत्रार्थमधिकृत्य कश्चिद् विशेषो नास्ति । स्याल्लोकवदित्यत्र दृष्टान्तस्तु परं भिन्नः प्रदर्शितः श्रीवल्लभाचार्यैः । तदित्थम्—सुवर्णात्मजाऽनन्यत्वेऽपि कटककुण्डलादीनां यथा परस्परं विभागो भवति तथैव ब्रह्मकारणतावादे स्वीकृतेऽपि भोक्तृभोग्ययोः परस्परं विभागः सर्वथोपपन्नः, परस्परं सङ्करो न भवति । कटकस्य कुण्डलस्य च यद्यप्युभयोरपि स्वर्णविकारत्वं प्रसिद्धमेव तथापि कुण्डलं कटकं न भवति तद्वदेवेहापि । भोक्तृभोग्ययोरुभयोरपि ब्रह्मत्वम् तथापि भोक्तृभोग्ययोरविभागो न भवति । भोक्ता भोग्यं न भवति भोग्यं च भोक्ता न भवति ।

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१. शाङ्करभाष्ये २.१.१३

२. अत्रास्माभिर्भास्कराचार्याणां शङ्कराचार्यतः पश्चाद्भावित्वं स्वीकृतम् । अस्मिन् विषये सन्देहावकाशमपि नैव पश्यामः । भाष्यारम्भ एव भास्कराचार्याः शाङ्करभाष्यमुदाहृत्य खण्डयन्ति । यथा—अत्राहुः ।.........**धर्मजिज्ञासायाः प्रागप्यधीतवेदान्तस्य ब्रह्मजिज्ञासोपपत्तेः** । न चात्र क्रमस्य प्रतिपादकं प्रमाणमस्ति यथा हृदयस्याग्रेऽवद्यति अथ जिह्वायाः अथ वक्षस न चात्राङ्गाङ्गिभावः प्रयाजादिवत् नाप्यधिकृताधिकारो गोदोहनादिवत् । **फलजिज्ञास्यभेदाच्च । अभ्युदयफलं धर्मज्ञानं निःश्रेयसफलं मोक्षज्ञानं** साध्यश्च धर्मस्तत्र जिज्ञास्य सिद्धरूपं ब्रह्मात्र । चोदनाप्रवृत्तिभेदाच्च ।.........नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेकः.........सत्येतस्मिन् साधनचतुष्टये ब्रह्मजिज्ञासोपपत्तेः नान्यथेति । **अतः शब्दो हेत्वर्थः** यतः श्रुतिरेव कर्मणां क्षयित्वं दर्शयति । तद्यथेह कर्मचितो लोकः क्षीयते एवमेवामुत्र पुण्यचितो लोकः क्षीयते...... अत्र ब्रूमः ।' **भास्करभाष्ये** १.१.१॥ बहुत्र शाङ्करभाष्यं दूषयन्ति भास्कराचार्याः किन्तु तस्य सर्वस्योदाहरणेन सिद्धस्यैव साधनं स्यादिति कृत्वा विरम्यते ।

३. **भास्करभाष्ये**, २.१.१३

समालोचनम्—

सर्वेऽप्युपर्युदाहृताः भाष्यकाराः यद्यप्येकरीत्यैव सूत्रं स्पष्टयन्ति, तथापि भिन्नं भिन्नं दर्शनमनेन साधयन्तीति महदाश्चर्यम्। कश्चिदत्र अद्वैतवादमवतारयति, कश्चिद्भेदाभेदवादं, कश्चिच्च शुद्धाद्वैतवादम्।

कथं वा तत्तदाचार्यनिष्कृष्टार्थानां साधुत्वमसाधुत्वं वाऽवधारणीयमित्याकाङ्क्षायां साधनद्वयं पश्यामो वयम्—

(१) सूत्रमेवाऽवलोक्य—तद्गतसमासादिपर्यालोचनेनौचित्यानौचित्ययोः निर्णयः शक्यते कर्तुम्।

(२) पौर्वापर्यसङ्गतिञ्च विचार्य—सन्दर्भप्रसङ्गादिकं च वीक्ष्य सूत्रार्थनिर्णयस्य दृढत्वं ज्ञातुं शक्यते।

अतः प्रथमं तावत् प्रथमयैव दृष्ट्या विचार्यते—

(१) सर्वैरप्युपर्युदाहृतैः भाष्यकारैः "भोक्त्रापत्तेः" इत्येतस्यैवमर्थः कृत :—

"भोक्तुर्भोग्यत्वापत्तिर्भोग्यस्य च भोक्तृत्वापत्तिः। अत्रायं प्रश्नस्समुदेति भोक्त्रापत्तेरित्यस्य तादृशोऽर्थः सम्भाव्यते न वेति। नैव सम्भाव्यत इति ब्रूमः। कुतः इति चेत्—कः समासः स्वीकर्तव्योऽत्र? कमपि समासं स्वीकृत्य तादृशोऽर्थः प्रतिपादयितुं न शक्यते। षष्ठीतत्पुरुषसमासोऽत्र निर्विवादः। तथा सति "भोक्तुः आपत्तिः" इत्येवार्थो भवति। कथं वा भोक्तुर्भोग्यत्वापत्तिर्भोग्यस्य च भोक्तृत्वापत्तिरित्यर्थ आयाति? अयमर्थ : सूत्रकारस्याभिमतश्चेत् तदा सूत्रेणाऽन्यथा भवितव्यमासीत्। यथा—

"इतरेतरभावापत्तेः" इति

"भोक्तृभोग्यापत्तेः" इति वा।[१]

अत एव द्विधा स्थितिर्वर्तते—(१) भोक्तुर्भोग्यत्वापत्तिर्भोग्यस्य च भोक्तृत्वापत्तिरित्यर्थः सूत्रकारस्यानभिप्रेतः। (२) अभिप्रेतश्चेत् सूत्रमेव दुष्टं स्यात्, तस्य विविधविरोध्यर्थवत्वे सति सन्दिग्धत्वात्। असन्दिग्धत्वं सूत्रलक्षणम्।[२] सूत्राणां दुष्टत्वे न कश्चिदपि विश्वसित्यन्यथा तद्व्याख्यानरूपप्रयत्नस्य निरर्थकत्वापत्तिस्स्यात्

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१. द्रष्टव्यमत्र—Now it is quite evident that the first translation is not natural. The Sūtrakāra would rather have said इतरेतरभावापत्तेः or भोक्तृभोग्यापत्तेः

Ghate, V.S., *Vedant* p. 78

२. 'अल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम्।
अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदां विदुः॥

माध्वभाष्ये, स्कन्दपुराणत उदाहृतम् १.१.१

(२) लोकवदित्यस्यार्थः शङ्करपक्षे न समीचीनतया घटते। "यथा लोके" इत्येवास्यार्थः। परमार्थतो यद्यपि भोक्तृभोग्ययोर्विभागो नास्ति तथापि तादृशो विभागो लोके सम्भवति यथा लोके इति नेयं दृष्टान्तप्रक्रिया। अलौकिके पारमार्थिके वा विषये लक्षणतः ज्ञानं दुष्करमिति कृत्वा लौकिकदृष्टान्तमुखेन प्रायशस्तं विषयं स्पष्टयन्ति विद्वांसः। अतोऽस्मिन्नधिकरणेऽलौकिकी चर्चा प्रचलति, तदर्थं लौकिकं दृष्टान्तं प्रदर्शितम् इति वक्तव्यम्। तथा सति यथा लोके तथा परमार्थे इति स्वीकृतेऽनर्थस्स्यात्तेषां मते—यथा लोके विभागः तथैव परमार्थेऽपि।

अन्यच्च शाङ्करमतेऽधिकरणस्यैतस्य प्रयोजनवत्ता न ज्ञायते। यादृशो विभागः भोक्तृभोग्ययोर्दृश्यते तादृशो भवतीति वदद्भिः किमपूर्वं साधितं भाष्यकृद्भिः। प्रत्यक्षसिद्धस्यैव विभागस्य साधनं स्यात्। तथा सत्यधिकरणाऽऽनर्थक्यं प्रसज्येत।

(३) शङ्कराचार्यैरप्येकसूत्रात्मकमिदमधिकरणमिति स्वीकृतम्। तेषामर्थे स्वीकृतेऽधिकरणत्वमस्य दुष्येत। कथमिति चेत्? अधिकरणं नाम—

'विषयो विशयश्चैव पूर्वपक्षस्तथोत्तरम्।
निर्णयश्चेति पञ्चाङ्गं शास्त्रेऽधिकरणं स्मृतम्॥'

इति सिद्धान्तदृष्ट्याऽधिकरण पूर्ण भवति। एकस्मिन्नधिकरणे पूर्वपक्षोऽन्यस्मिंश्च सिद्धान्त इत्येवं न भवति। अस्मिन्नधिकरणे भोक्तृभोग्ययोर्विभागः साधितः, तञ्च विभागं ते पारमार्थिकं वदन्ति। अपारमार्थिकत्वं च तस्य नास्मिन्नधिकरणे प्रोक्तम्। अग्रिमेऽधिकरणे ते वदन्ति यद् भोक्तृभोग्ययोः यादृशो विभागः पूर्वस्मिन्नधिकरणे प्रतिपादितः परमार्थतः तादृशो विभागो नास्ति। यथोक्तं तैरग्रिम आरम्भणाधिकरणभाष्यारम्भे—

'अभ्युपगम्य चेमं व्यावहारिकं भोक्तृभोग्यलक्षणं विभागं स्याल्लोकवदिति परिहारोऽभिहितः, न त्वयं विभागो परमार्थतोऽस्ति यस्मात्तयोः कार्यकारणयोरनन्यत्वमवगम्यते।'[१]

अन्यथा पौर्वापर्यसङ्गत्यादिदृष्ट्याऽपि विचारे कृते उपर्युल्लिखितसर्वेषामपि भाष्यकाराणामर्थस्याप्रासाङ्गिकत्वमपरिहार्यं भवति। कार्यकारणयोः सम्बन्धस्य चर्चा प्रचलति। अस्मादधिकरणात् पूर्वमप्यासीत् पश्चादपि 'आरम्भणाधिकरणे' भवित्री। कारणकार्यसम्बन्धप्रतिपादकाधिकरणानां मध्ये कार्यभूतयोः भोक्तृभोग्ययोः सम्बन्धस्य चर्चाऽप्रासङ्गिकी नास्ति किम्?[२] अद्वैतवाद एव सूत्रकाराभिमतश्चेत् तर्हि भोक्तृभोग्ययोः द्वैतप्रतिपादनार्थं

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१. शाङ्करभाष्ये, २.१.१४

२. द्रष्टव्यमत्र—'And moreover, the question of the difference or non-difference between '*bhoktṛ* and *bhogya*' seems to be out of place. For we expect something regarding the relation between cause and effect (and this is the subject of the following *sūtra* also);

Ghate, V. S., *Vedant*. p. 79.

स्वतन्त्रस्याधिकरणस्य निर्माणं सप्रयोजनं प्रतिभाति वा ।[१]

माध्वमतम्—

सूत्रव्याख्यानस्य मध्वाचार्याणां पद्धतिस्तु सर्वाभ्यो विलक्षणा । जीवब्रह्मणोः द्वैतं प्रतिपादयन्तीमे । एते त्वित्थं वदन्ति—जीवब्रह्मणोरद्वैते स्वीकृते महतीयं शङ्काऽऽयाति यन्मुक्तावस्थायां जीवो ब्रह्मैव भवतीति श्रूयते । एवं भोक्तुर्जीवस्य ब्रह्मत्वापत्तौ अविभागस्स्या-दित्येव 'भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागः' इति सूत्रार्धस्यार्थः । यतो ह्येकदा द्वैते स्वीकृते द्वैतं साधयितुम-शक्यं स्यात् । स्याल्लोकवदित्यस्यायमर्थः—विभागस्तु स्यादेव यथा लोके एकस्मिन् पात्रे पूर्वतो विद्यमानजलस्य पश्चान्मिश्रितस्य (निक्षिप्तस्य) च जलस्याऽभेदः प्रतीयते । तथाप्य-भेदो न भवति, जलवृद्ध्याऽऽगन्तुकजलस्यानुमेयत्वात् । तथैवेहापि । परमार्थतो द्वैतं न भवति ।

समालोचनम्—

(१) 'भोक्त्रापत्तेः' इति पदस्य 'जीवस्य ब्रह्मत्वापत्तिः' इत्यर्थः कथमायाति ? सूत्राक्षरैस्तु नैव प्राप्यते ।

(२) प्रासङ्गिकत्वमप्यस्यार्थस्य न दृश्यते । अविरोधाध्यायो नामायमध्यायः । मुक्त्य ध्यायस्तु तुरीयः । मुक्तावस्थायां जीवब्रह्मणोः सम्बन्धः कीदृशो भवति, द्वैतं भवति, अद्वैतं वा भवतीत्यादिकं सर्वमपि तुरीयाध्यायस्य विषयः । तद्विषयस्यान्यत्राऽविरोधाध्याय उपन्यासे कृतेऽप्रासङ्गिकत्वमपरिहार्यं भवति । इति पर्यालोचनेन माध्वमतं सूत्रकारस्य सर्वथाऽनभिप्रेतमिति वक्तुं शक्यते ।

निम्बार्कमतम्—

सूत्रव्याख्याने रामानुजपद्धतिमनुसरन्ति निम्बार्काचार्याः । जगदुपादानकारणं ब्रह्मेति पूर्वं प्रतिपादितम् । तथा सति 'जीवरूपेण ब्रह्मण एव सुखदुःखभोक्तृत्वापत्तेर्वेदप्रसिद्धो भोक्तृनियन्तृविभागो न स्यादिति चेदविभागेऽपि समुद्रतरङ्गयोरिव सूर्यतत्प्रभयोरिव तयोर्विभागः स्यात् ।'[२] एवमेते द्वैताद्वैतमत्र प्रतिपादयन्ति ।

समालोचनम्—

एतन्मते कञ्चिद् दोषं नैव पश्यामः । सङ्गत्यादिदृष्ट्या समासादिदृष्ट्या च सर्वथा समञ्जसमेतत् । भोक्त्रापत्तेरित्यस्य भोक्तृत्वस्यापत्तेरित्यर्थे कश्चिद् दोषो नास्ति ।

रामानुजमतम्—

समन्वयाऽध्याये ब्रह्म, तल्लक्षणं, तत्प्रमाणादिकं च विचार्य लक्षणपरीक्षासमयेऽसम्भवो नाम दोषो निराकृतः । अत एवाऽयं पादोऽयोगव्यवच्छेदार्थपर इत्युच्यते । असम्भवेतरदोष-

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१. द्रष्टव्यमत्र—'And how is it conceivable that one who held the doctrine of absolute monism should devote a separate *adhikaraṇa* to the establishing of the difference between *bhoktṛ* and *bhogya* ?'

Ibid.

२. वेदान्तपारिजातसौरभे, २.१.१३

निराकरणात् त्रिपाद्यन्ययोगव्यवच्छेदार्थपरेत्युच्यते । अतो निखिलजगदेककारणं ब्रह्मैव वेदान्त-वेद्यमित्युक्तम् ।

अनन्तरमविरोधाध्याये विविधविरोधसद्भावान्नायं निर्णयस्समीचीन इत्याशङ्काया निरासः कृतः । अध्यायेऽस्मिन् त्रयाणां दोषाणां निरासः कृतः—स्मृतिविरोधः, तर्कविरोधः, वेदान्तवाक्यानां परस्परं विरोधश्चेति विरोधत्रयनिरसनादयमविरोधाध्याय इत्युच्यते । तस्य प्रथमः पादः स्मृतिपादः । स्मृतिपादे स्वपक्षस्थापनाऽवसरे प्रथमं तावद् वेदोपबृंहणरूपेण स्वीकृतकपिलस्मृत्युक्तं प्रधानमेव जगत्कारणं न तु ब्रह्मेत्याक्षेपस्य निराकरणं स्मृत्यधिकरणे कृतम् । अनन्तर कपिलस्मृतिवद् योगस्मृतेरप्यप्रामाण्यं योगप्रत्युक्त्यधिकरण उक्तम् । तदनन्तरं विलक्षणत्वाधिकरणे[१] 'न तु दृष्टान्तभावात्'[२] इति सूत्रे शरीरगतबालत्वयुवत्वादिधर्माणां शरीरिण्यप्रसङ्गं दृष्टान्तीकृत्य चिदचिद्वस्तुशरीरकत्वाद् ब्रह्मणि चिदचिद्वस्तुशरीरगतदोषा-प्रसक्तिरुक्ता । इदानीं तादृशदोषप्रसक्तिर्मा भूत्, शरीरनिबन्धनं सुखदुःखयोर्भोक्तृत्वं तु समान-मेवेति शङ्काया निवृत्त्यर्थमस्य भोक्त्रापत्त्यधिकरणस्य[३] प्रवृत्तिः । अत एवोक्तम्—'भोक्त्रा-पत्तेरविभागश्चेत्स्याल्लोकवत्' ।[४]

संशयस्त्वेवं वर्तते—सर्वशरीरिणो ब्रह्मणः स्वशरीरभूताज्जीवान् निरतिशयानन्द-भोक्तृतया यादृशो विभागः, स उपपद्यते न वा । तादृशो विभागो नैव सम्भवतीति पूर्वपक्षिणामाशयः । पूर्ववदत्रापि साङ्ख्या एव पूर्वपक्षिणः । ते कथयन्ति यच् चिदचिद्वस्तुशरीरकं ब्रह्मेत्युक्तम् । सशरीरस्य सुखदुःखभोक्तृत्वं भवत्येव । अतो जीववद् ब्रह्मणोऽपि सुख-दुःखभोक्तृत्वं प्रसज्यते । यद्यत्रैवमुच्यते—'सम्भोगप्राप्तिरिति चेन्न वैशेष्यात्'[५] इत्यस्मिन् सूत्र ईश्वरस्य सुखदुःखभोक्तृत्वं पूर्वमेव निरस्तमिति । तथा वक्तुं न शक्यते यतो हि तत्र हृदयायतन उपविष्टस्य ब्रह्मणः शरीरान्तर्वर्तित्वमात्रेण सुखदुःखभोक्तृत्वं निराकृतम् । अत्र तु जीवस्येव ब्रह्मणोऽपि सशरीरकत्वात् सुखदुःखयोः प्रसक्तिर्भवति । श्रुतिरपि सशरीरत्वनिबन्धनं सुखदुःख-भोक्तृत्वं वदति—'न ह वै सशरीरस्य सतः प्रियाप्रिययोरपहतिरस्ति, अशरीरं वाव सन्तं न प्रियाप्रिये स्पृशतः ।'[६] अतः तादृशदोषाणां स्वीकारापेक्षया प्रधानकारणवाद एव स्वीकरणीयः । इति भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागश्चेदिति सूत्रभागेन पूर्वपक्ष उक्तः ।

सूत्रस्योत्तरखण्डात् सिद्धान्त उच्यते—स्याल्लोकवदिति । जीवेश्वरयोः यादृशो विभागः स तु सम्भवत्येव । यत् सशरीरत्वनिबन्धनं सुखदुःखयोर्भोक्तृत्वं पूर्वपक्ष उक्तं तदसङ्गतं, यतो

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१. ब्र० सू०, २.१.४
२. तदेव, २.१.६
३. तदेव, २.१.१४
४. तदेव
५. तदेव, १.२.८
६. छान्दोग्य, ८.१२.१

हि सुखदुःखयोर्भोक्तृत्वं पुण्यपापरूपकर्मकृतं, न तु सशरीरत्वमात्रनिबन्धनम्। अथ च या श्रुतिः 'न ह वै सशरीरस्य सतः प्रियाप्रिययोरपहतिरस्ति' इत्युदाहृता सा खलु कर्मारब्धदेहविषया। ईश्वरस्तु कर्मबन्धविनिर्मुक्तः। तत्र बहूनि सन्ति प्रमाणभूतानि श्रुतिवाक्यानि—'स एकधा भवति त्रिधा भवति,' 'स यदि पितृलोककामो भवति स तत्र पर्येति जक्षत्क्रीडन्रममाणः' इत्यादीनि। अतोऽपहतपाप्मा परमात्मा स्थूलसूक्ष्मचिदचिच्छरीरकः सन्नपि सुखदुःखाभ्यां सर्वथाऽस्पृष्टः।

अनन्तरं दृष्टान्तमुखेन सिद्धान्ताभिप्रायमभिव्यनक्ति सूत्रकारः—लोकवदित्यनेन पदेन। अयमभिप्रायः—लोके यथा ये राजशासनानुवर्तिनोऽतिवर्तिनश्च तेषामेव राजानुग्रहनिग्रहनिमित्तसुखदुःखान्वयो भवति, न तु शरीरित्वमात्रेण राजन्यपि, तद्वदत्रापि सशरीरित्वमात्रेण ब्रह्मणि सुखदुःखप्रसक्तिर्नास्ति। अत्र भाष्यकारो द्रमिडभाष्यकारमप्युदाहरति—

'यथा लोके राजा प्रचुरदन्दशूके घोरेऽनर्थसङ्कटेऽपि वर्तमानः व्यजनाद्यवधूतदेहो दोषैर्न स्पृश्यते अभिप्रेतांश्च लोकान् परिपालयति, भोग्यांश्च गन्धादीनविश्वजनोपभोग्यान् धारयति, तथाऽसौ लोकेश्वरो भ्रमत्स्वसामर्थ्यचामरो दोषैर्न स्पृश्यते, रक्षति च लोकान् ब्रह्मलोकादीन् भोग्यांश्चाविश्वजनोपभोग्यान् धारयति[1]।' इति

अनेन द्रमिडभाष्यकारमतोपन्यासेन रामानुजमतं कल्पितं नास्ति, परम्पराप्राप्तमस्तीति सिद्ध्यति।

समालोचनम्—

प्रथमं तावत् सूत्रार्थे कञ्चिद् विरोधं नैव पश्यामः। समासादिदृष्ट्या सर्वमपि समञ्जसं वर्तते। (भोक्त्रापत्तेरित्यस्य भोक्तृत्वस्यापत्तिरित्यर्थस्तु सर्वैरप्युपपादितम्। तथा सति 'भोक्तृत्वापत्तेरित्यनेनैव सूत्रे भवितव्यमासीद्, भोक्त्रापत्तेरिति कुत उक्तमिति केनापि भाष्यकारेण नोत्तरितम्) शरीरशरीरिसम्बन्धस्यानुवृत्तौ स्वीकृतायां पौर्वापर्यसन्दर्भादिदृष्ट्यापि कश्चिद् विरोधो नास्ति। शरीरशरीरिसम्बन्धः सूत्रकाराभिमत इत्यत्र सन्देहस्य सुतरामवकाशः।

इत्थं सति द्वैताद्वैतप्रतिपादनपरमिदं सूत्रमिति प्रतीयते। किन्तु किंविधमिदं द्वैताद्वैतमिति तद्विशेषविषये न किञ्चिदपि निश्चित्य वक्तुं शक्यते। एतच्च रामानुजाचार्याणां विशिष्टाद्वैतमपि भवितुमर्हति निम्बार्काचार्याणाञ्च द्वैताद्वैतमपि।

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१. श्रीभाष्य, २.१.१४

काव्यशास्त्रीय 'रति' भाव का मनोवैज्ञानिक विवेचन

हरिदत्त शर्मा

इलाहाबाद

संस्कृत काव्य शास्त्र में रति को सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण भाव मानकर उसकी समस्त भावों में सर्वप्रथम गणना की गई है तथा रतिभाव से निष्पन्न रस श्रृङ्गार रस को रसराज की संज्ञा प्रदान की गई है। भावप्रकाशनकार ने 'श्रृङ्गार' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति ही इस प्रकार की है—'क्योंकि वह समस्त भावों में उत्तम और शिखरभूत है इसीलिये श्रृङ्गार कहलाता है।'[१] भोजराज ने भी 'श्रृङ्गम् उच्छ्रयो रीयते इति श्रृङ्गारः' यह व्युत्पित्त कर इसका श्रेष्ठत्व प्रतिपादित किया है। रतिभाव या श्रृङ्गार रस की प्राथमिकता तथा श्रेष्ठता का कारण यही है कि काम संसार के प्राणिमात्र की समस्त जातियों में सुलभ है। अतः सभी इससे परिचित हैं तथा यह सर्वजनसंवेद्य एवं हृद्य है। ध्वन्यालोककार के शब्दों में 'श्रृङ्गार रस समस्त संसारियों का नियमतः अनुभव विषय होने से अपनी कमनीयता के कारण सब रसों में प्रधानभूत है।' साथ ही इसकी परिधि भी व्यापक है। श्रृङ्गार के संयोग और वियोग दो पक्ष होने के कारण उसमें सुखात्मक और दुःखात्मक दोनों प्रकार के मनोविकार सम्मिलित हो जाते हैं। अतः रति भाव की अन्य भावों की अपेक्षा प्रधानता, श्रेष्ठता तथा व्यापकता सिद्ध है।

जब हम रति स्थायी भाव के स्वरूप की व्यवस्था करते हैं तो ज्ञात होता है कि संस्कृत आचार्यों ने इसके लक्षण बहुत व्यापक अर्थों में भी किये हैं और सङ्कुचित अर्थ में भी। और इस प्रकार इसके स्वरूप का विकास तीन रूपों में हुआ है—

सर्वप्रथम, अत्यन्त व्यापक सन्दर्भ में रति को एक आमोदात्मक भाव माना गया है तथा उसे इष्ट विषय का प्राप्तिरूप कहा गया है। भरत की दृष्टि यही है।[२]

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१. भावनामुत्तमं यत्तु तच्छृङ्गश्रेष्ठमुच्यते।
इयन्ति श्रृङ्गं यस्मात्तु तस्माच्छृङ्गार उच्यते॥

भावप्रकाशन, अधि० २ पृ० ४८

२. रतिर्नाम आमोदात्मको भावः..........
इष्टार्थविषयप्राप्त्या रतिरित्ययुपजायते।

नाट्यशास्त्र, अ० ७

साहित्यदर्पणकार ने मनोनुकूल विषय में मन के प्रेमपूर्ण उन्मुखीभाव को रति कहा है।[१] कुछ अन्य आचार्यों ने मनोनुकूल विषयों में सुख के संवेदन को रति की संज्ञा प्रदान की है।[२]

इस प्रकार आचार्यों द्वारा केवल सुख या आनन्द तत्त्व को रति का मूलभूत प्रवर्तक माना गया है। आधुनिक युग में आचार्य रामचन्द्र शुक्ल ने इस मन्तव्य का नवीन रीति से समर्थन किया है। अपने 'लोभ और प्रीति' नामक निवन्ध में आचार्य जी ने प्रतिपादित किया है कि प्रेम का प्रथम संघटक तत्व है लोभ और लोभ का प्रथम संवेदनात्मक अवयव है किसी वस्तु का बहुत अच्छा लगना, उससे बहुत सुख या आनन्द का मिलना। जब तक यह अच्छा लगने एवं सुखपाने की प्रवृत्ति सामान्योन्मुख रहती है वह लोभ कहलाती है, परन्तु जब वह विशिष्ट वस्तु या व्यक्ति के प्रति निवद्ध होती है तव सात्त्विक रूप धारण करती है तथा प्रीति या प्रेम की संज्ञा प्राप्त करती है। आचार्य शुक्ल ने लोभ या प्रेम में संवेदनात्मक अवयव के साथ इच्छात्मक अवयव का संयोग भी आवश्यक बताया है। शारदातनय ने भी इसी दृष्टि को ध्यान में रखते हुए रति को 'सुखसंवेदानात्मिका इच्छा' कहा है।

इस प्रकार आचार्य शुक्ल ने व्यापक सन्दर्भ में ही 'प्रेम' भाव की व्याख्या की है। संस्कृत आचार्यों के एक वर्ग ने भी रति भाव को सामान्यरूप से संसार की किसी भी वस्तु से प्राप्त होने वाले सुखानुभव रूप में व्याख्यायित करके उसे व्यापक परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखा है।

दूसरे अर्थ में रति शब्द का प्रयोग काव्यशास्त्र में 'प्रेम' मनोवृत्ति के पर्याय के रूप में हुआ है। वैसे शृङ्गार रस के स्थायी भाव के रूप में रति का अभिप्राय केवल स्त्री-पुरुष विषयक रति से ही है, परन्तु रति का प्रयोग सर्वसामान्य व्यापक प्रेम के लिए भी किया गया है। जब मम्मट देवादिविषयक रति को भाव तथा कान्ताविषयक रति को शृङ्गार कहते हैं तब यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि कान्ता ही नहीं, देव, गुरु, मुनि, नृप, पुत्र, देश आदि सबके प्रति होने वाला प्रेम भी 'रति' के नाम से बोधित होता है। अतः द्वितीय अर्थ में रति सर्वसमामान्स रूप से प्रेम का पर्याय है।

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१. रतिर्मनोनुकूलेऽर्थे मनसः प्रवणायितम्।

—साहित्यदर्पण ३.१७५

२. मनोनुकूलेष्वर्थेषु सुखसंवेदनात्मिका।
इच्छा रतिः सा द्विधा स्याद् रतिप्रीतिविभागतः॥

—भावप्रकाशन, अधि० २
पृ० ३४ (गायकवाड सं०)

मनोनुकूलेष्वर्थेषु सुखसंवेदनं रतिः

साहित्यदर्पण ५.१३८

तृतीय सङ्कुचित अर्थ में 'रति' का प्रयोग केवल स्त्री-पुरुष विषयक अथवा युवक-युवती विषयक प्रेम के पर्याय के रूप में किया गया है और इसी अर्थ में यह शृङ्गार रस का स्थायी भाव भी माना गया है। रसगङ्गाधरकार का कहना है कि 'स्त्री-पुरुष दोनों की परस्पर आलम्बनरूप प्रेम नामक चित्तवृत्तिविशेष ही रति स्थायी भाव है'।[१] सुधासागरकार ने इसका और अधिक स्थूल लक्षण दिया है कि 'काम से पीड़ित हृदय वाले स्त्री-पुरुषों की परस्पर रमण करने की इच्छा रति कहलाती है'।[२] शारदातनय ने भी इसी प्रकार का मन्तव्य व्यक्त किया है—'नवयौवन-सम्पन्न, समृद्धिशाली, सुन्दर और प्रेमयुक्त दो युवक-युवतियों की परस्पर-संवेद्य सुख-संवेदन रूप अनुभूति ही रति है। दोनों की उभय प्रार्थनात्मिका इच्छा रति है। युवक-युवती दोनों की परस्पर आह्लाद तथा एकान्त विस्रम्भकारी सुखकारी मनोवृत्ति रति कहलाती है'।[३]

वस्तुतः 'रति' शब्द का उद्भव क्रीडार्थक 'रमु' धातु से हुआ है। यह क्रीडा या रमण करना युवक और युवती के साथ निबद्ध होकर, युवक-युवती की केलि-क्रीडा के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होकर ही रति के शृङ्गार रस का स्थायी भाव बनने का कारण है। रति का कामदेव की पत्नी के रूप में परिज्ञान भी उसके युवजन विषयक काम का प्रतीक है। शारदातनय ने 'रति' के पर्याय 'प्रेम' शब्द की भी व्युत्पत्ति इसी अर्थ में की है—प्र—प्रकर्ष रूप से, इ—कामदेव, म—मान होना अर्थात् जहाँ कामदेव का प्रकष्ट रूप से मान हो वह प्रेम है।[४]

रति के काव्यशास्त्रीय स्वरूप पर विचार करने के पश्चात् यह प्रश्न स्वाभाविक है कि रति का वास्तविक स्वरूप क्या है ? क्या इससे अभिप्राय प्रेम के उत्कृष्ट विशुद्ध मानसिक

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१. स्त्रीपुंसयोरन्योन्यालम्बनः प्रेमाख्यश्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषो रतिः स्थायीभावः।
—रसगङ्गाधर, आनन-१

२. स्मरकरम्बितान्तःकरणयोः स्त्रीपुंसोः परस्परं रिरंसा रतिः स्मृता।
—सुधासागर

३. परस्परस्त्रसंवेद्य सुखसंवेदनात्मिका।
यानुभूतिर्मिथः सैव रतिर्यूनोः सरागयोः॥
रतिरिच्छा भवेद्यूनोरुभयप्रार्थनात्मिका।
यूनोः परस्पराह्लादरहोविस्रम्भकारिता।
सुखात्मिका मनोवृत्ती रतिरित्यभिधीयते॥
—भावप्रकाशन, अधि० पृ० ७८
(गायकवाड सं०)

४. इ-शब्दवाच्यो मदनो माति यत्र प्रकर्षतः।
तत्प्रेम तदधिष्ठानं रतिर्यूनोः परस्परम्॥
—भावप्रकाशन, अधि० ४ पष्ठ ७८

तथा दैविक स्वरूप से है अथवा काम के नितान्त स्थूल शारीरिक तथा मांसल रूप से ? साथ ही, युवक-युवती-विषयक प्रेम के अतिरिक्त अन्य कोई प्रेम भी रतिवृत्ति के अन्तर्गत आता है या नहीं ?

जहाँ तक अन्तिम प्रश्न की बात है, डा० भगवान दास ने अपना एक अलग ही अभिमत दिया है। उनका कहना है—'क्योंकि स्त्री-पुरुष-सम्बन्ध के अन्तर्गत माता-पिता, भाई-बहन, पुत्र-पुत्री आदि सभी सम्बन्ध आ जाते हैं, इसलिये आत्मिक तथा शारीरिक उभयविध प्रेम के सभी सम्भव रूप शृङ्गार में अन्तर्भूत हो सकते हैं।'[१] इसी सन्दर्भ में उनका कथन है कि वात्सल्य और भक्ति शृङ्गार के उत्कृष्ट पक्ष कहे जा सकते हैं तथा काम और रति निकृष्ट पक्ष।[२] यहाँ डाक्टर साहब ने प्रेम को सर्वमान्य व्यापक सन्दर्भ में ग्रहण किया है। यह तो समीचीन है; परन्तु प्रेम के समस्त रूपों को शृङ्गार रस के अन्तर्गत मानना उचित नहीं जान पड़ता हैं, क्योंकि आचार्यों की रति-भाव तथा शृङ्गार रस की समस्त परिकल्पना केवल कान्त-कान्ता-विषयक प्रेम पर ही केन्द्रित है और इस रस का 'शृङ्गार' यह नामकरण भी इसी विशिष्ट उद्देश्य से किया गया है। कामदेव के अनुकरण को 'शृङ्ग' कहते हैं। गत्यर्थक 'ऋ' धातु से व्यवस्थित 'आर' का अर्थ है प्राप्ति। अतः शृङ्गार का अर्थ है–'कामवृद्धि अथवा कामोद्रेक की प्राप्ति।'[३] साथ ही शृङ्गार को उत्तम यौवन की प्रकृति के अनुकूल, पवित्र, उज्ज्वल तथा दर्शनीय बताया गया है। इन सब दृष्टियों से शृङ्गार के अन्तर्गत केवल यौवन विलासमय तरुण-तरुणियों या कान्त-कान्ताओं का ही प्रेम अर्न्तभूत हो सकता है, अन्य कोई प्रेम नहीं। आचार्यों की दृष्टि में शृङ्गार का केवल यही स्वरूप है। परन्तु फिर भी यहाँ एक प्रश्न फिर अटक जाता है कि जीवन में प्रेम के अन्य भी क्षेत्र हैं जो इस कान्तविषयक-प्रेम से कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं। माता-पिता का सन्तति के प्रति प्रेम कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। इस तरह के कुछ प्रेमरूपों को भी आचार्यों ने रति की संज्ञा दी, परन्तु उनके रसकोटि तक पहुँचने में खिचाव ही रहा। मम्मट आदि आचार्यों ने पूज्य, आराध्य तथा स्नेहपात्र पुत्रादि के प्रति होने वाली रति के समस्त रूपों को एक भाव नामक कोटि में रखा तथा उसमें भी भाई और बहन की अन्योन्यविषयिणी रति और मित्र की मित्र के प्रति रति का कहीं भी परिगणन नहीं हुआ। फिर भी जिन भावों में अनुभूति की उत्कटता थी उन्होंने अन्ततः वात्सल्य और भक्ति रस के रूप में स्वतन्त्र स्थान पा ही लिया।

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1. Because 'husband-wife' includes all relationships, 'father-mother', 'brother-sister,' 'son-daughter' etc., therefore, all possible shades and grades of spiritual as well as physical affection may be included in Śṛṅgāra.

   The Science of the Emotions, Chap. X, p.362.

२. वही पृष्ठ ३६१

३. शृङ्गं हि मन्मथोद्भेदस्तदागमनहेतुकः।
उत्तमप्रकृतिप्रायो रसः शृङ्गार इष्यते ॥

—साहित्यदर्पण, ३.१८३

गुरु, मुनि तथा किसी अन्य महान् पुरुष के प्रति होने वाले हृदय के शुद्ध भाव को 'श्रद्धा' नाम दिया जा सकता है, जिसे आचार्यों ने कहीं भी स्थान नहीं दिया है। आचार्य शुक्ल ने अपने 'श्रद्धा और भक्ति' निबन्ध में श्रद्धा के स्वरूप का बड़ा सुन्दर विश्लेषण किया हैं। श्रद्धा की परिभाषा देते हुए आचार्य कहते हैं—'किसी मनुष्य में जनसाधारण से विशेष गुण या शक्ति का विकास देखकर उसके सम्बन्ध में जो स्थायी आनन्दपद्धति हृदय में हो जाती है उसे श्रद्धा कहते हैं। श्रद्धा महत्त्व की आनन्दपूर्ण स्वीकृति के साथ-साथ पूज्य बुद्धि का सञ्चार है'। इस प्रकार पूज्य के विषय में होने वाली रति को वस्तुतः रति न कह कर 'श्रद्धा' नाम दिया जा सकता है और इसको व्यभिचारी की कोटि में रखा जा सकता है।

डा० भगवानदास का वात्सल्य और भक्ति को शृङ्गार का उत्कृष्ट पक्ष तथा कान्ता-विषयक रति को शृङ्गार का निकृष्ट पक्ष कहना उचित नहीं है। पहले तो भक्ति और वात्सल्य शृङ्गार के अन्दर ही नहीं आते हैं, दूसरे, यदि वे सब रति के ही विभिन्न रूप हैं तो इसका यह अभिप्राय नहीं है कि केवल पुत्र तथा आराध्यविषयिणी रति ही पवित्र है और पति-पत्नी, प्रेमी-प्रेमिका के प्रेम में कोई महानता नहीं है। वस्तुतः प्रेम का जितना महान्, दिव्य और पावन रूप इस कान्ताविषयक प्रेम का हो सकता है उतना और किसी का नहीं। यह प्रेम ही आत्मा-परमात्मा के चिरमिलन का प्रथम सोपान है। प्रेम का यह दिव्य रूप बाल्मीकि के राम तथा कालिदास के यक्ष में देखने को मिलता है। परन्तु लक्षण-ग्रन्थों के रचियता आचार्यों ने ही इस स्थान पर आकर यह कुरूपता फैलायी है। उन्होंने शृङ्गार रस के उदाहरण-रूप में, प्रेम के दिव्य स्वरूप का नितान्त परित्याग कर, केवल मांसल तथा दैहिक व्यभिचारात्मक रूप को ही ग्रहण किया है। लक्षण ग्रन्थकारों का समस्त नायिका-भेद कामुकता का एक खुला विलास तथा व्यभिचार का एक नग्न चित्रण है। लक्ष्य ग्रन्थों में प्रेम के बड़े भव्य और उदात्त चित्र मिलते हैं। परन्तु नायिका-भेद में तथा शृङ्गार के वर्ग भेद में कहीं भी प्रेम के इस उदात्त रूप का चित्रण नहीं है। इसीलिए यह प्रश्न स्वभावतः ही उठ खड़ा होता है कि शृङ्गार रस अथवा रति-भाव का रूप वस्तुतः है क्या ?

मनोविज्ञान की दृष्टि से इस प्रश्न को देखा जाय तो यह ज्ञात होगा कि मेक्डूगल ने मनुष्य की चौदह मूल प्रवृत्तियों में एक प्रवृत्ति यौन प्रवृत्ति (Sexual Instinct or Instinct of Reproduction) को भी माना है तथा उससे सम्बद्ध मूल वेग को 'लस्ट' (Lust) की संज्ञा दी है। 'लस्ट' निश्चित रूप से कामवासना का पर्याय है। 'लस्ट' के स्पष्टीकरण में मेक्डूगल ने लिखा है—'Sexual emotion or excitement is sometimes called love—an unfortunate and confusing usage.'[1]

'लस्ट' के पर्याय-रूप में प्रेम को मेक्डूगल ने भ्रमात्मक प्रयोग ही बताया है। अर्थात् उसने कामभावना के केवल शारीरिक रूप को ही स्वीकार किया है।

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1. *An Outline of Psychology*, Ch. XI, p.324.

प्रसद्धि मनोविश्लेषण-शास्त्री फ्रॉयड भी काम को जीवन की मूलभूत सञ्चालिका वृत्ति मानकर चलता है। उसने जिस लिबिडो (Libido) नाम की वृत्ति का प्रतिपादन किया है वह मेक्डूगल के इस 'लस्ट' का ही पर्याय मानी जा सकती है। फ्रॉयड ने अपने विवेचन में 'Oedipus Complex' को बहुत अधिक महत्व दिया है। उसका मन्तव्य है कि माता-पिता, भाई-बहन आदि का जो पारस्परिक आकर्षण है उसके भी मूल में किसी न किसी प्रकार की लैङ्गिक प्रेरणा ही रहती है। पुत्र के प्रति माता का तथा पुत्री के प्रति पिता का अधिक प्रेम भिन्न लैङ्गिक आकर्षण का ही प्रतीक है। फ्रॉयड के अनुसार स्पर्श, चुम्बन आदि बड़ों की क्रियाओं द्वारा यह दमित वासना व्यक्त होती है। यहाँ तक कि शिशु के स्तनपान में भी उसे काम दिखायी पड़ता है। फ्रॉयड का यह विश्लेषण नितान्त मौलिक एवं क्रान्तिकारी अवश्य है, परन्तु वह नितान्त ऐकान्तिक तथा आदिवादी भी है। युवक-युवती के प्रेम का हेतु लैङ्गिक आकर्षण या काम वासना अवश्य मानी जा सकती है, परन्तु प्रेम के सभी सम्बन्धों को कामवृत्ति से प्रेरित नहीं माना जा सकता। वस्तुतः युवक-युवती के प्रेम तथा अन्य प्रेमों में यही सबसे बड़ा अन्तर है। यही कारण है कि संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्री आचार्य रति के समस्त रूपों को एक घेरे में न समेट सके, अपितु उन्हें पृथक् पृथक् कान्ताविषयक रति स्थायी भाव तथा शृङ्गार रस की कल्पना करनी पड़ी।

प्रेम का वास्तविक स्वरूप क्या है, काम और प्रेम में क्या अन्तर है? इस प्रश्न का एक स्पृहणीय समाधान हमें प्रसिद्ध मनोविज्ञानशास्त्री जी० एच० रिवट की व्याख्या में मिलता है। रिवट का कथन है कि काम की मूल प्रवृत्ति ही प्रेम-मनोवेग को जन्म देती है। वह इस प्रेमवृत्ति को तीन रूपों में विभाजित करता है – (१) सहज प्रवृत्यात्मक (Instinctive), (२) भावनात्मक (Emotional) तथा (३) बौद्धिक (Intellectual) प्रेमवृत्ति में कुछ ऐसी शारीरिक विशेषताएँ होती हैं जो एक ओर इसे हर्ष से सम्बद्ध करती हैं, दूसरी ओर कोमल भावना से। लैङ्गिक प्रेम (Sexual love) मूलप्रवृत्ति से ऊपर कोमल भावना की एक निश्चित मात्रा को अपने में समाहित करता है। प्रत्येक प्रेम के मूल में आदर्श के लिए एक अचेतन खोज निहित रहती है, परन्तु वह आदर्श भी एक स्थूल व्यक्तिगतवस्वरूप का होता है और वह व्यक्तिगत स्वरूप ही एक धारणा, एक चरम आदर्श में परिणत हो जाता है। तब उस भावना का पूर्ण रूप से बौद्धिकीकरण हो जाता है और हम उसे विशुद्ध रूप से बौद्धिक, आत्मिक तथा रहस्यात्मक प्रेम (Intellectual, Platonic & Mystical love) कहते हैं। प्रेम कभी भी विशुद्ध रूप से आत्मिक नहीं हो सकता। इस धारणा की प्रतिष्ठा करते हुए रिवट कहते हैं कि विशुद्ध आत्मिक तथा रहस्यात्मक प्रेमी सदा यह स्थापित करते आये हैं कि उनकी मनोवृत्ति नितान्त पवित्र है, उसका बाह्य इन्द्रियों से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं हैं। विपरीत विचार उन्हें ईश्वरविरुद्ध प्रतीत होता है। परन्तु प्रेम शारीरिक दशाओं के बिना अस्तित्व ही कैसे ग्रहण कर सकता है, वे कितनी

भी कम क्यों न हो। यदि शारीरिक दशाएँ कम ही है तो वह प्रेम की विशुद्ध बौद्धिक दशा तथा आदर्श अवस्था होगी।

डा० वाटवे ने अपने 'रसविमर्श' में इसी धारणा का विवेचन किया है। उनका मन्तव्य है कि शृङ्गार की प्राथमिका अवस्था में शारीरिक भावना का बहुत महत्त्व है। शारीरिक अवस्था का उससे भिन्न कोई अस्तित्व नहीं है। लैङ्गिक आकर्षण की संगति दोनों प्रकार से होती है, मानसिक तथा रासायनिक (chemical)। कुछ शास्त्रज्ञों के मत में प्राथमिक अवस्था में केवल रासायनिक क्रिया का ही महत्त्व होता है; क्योंकि प्रजोत्पादन उसके कारण होता है। प्राथमिक स्वरूप की क्रिया आवेगपूर्ण, विचारशून्य और अल्प मानसिकतावाली होती है। सब प्राणियों में लैङ्गिक भावना ही प्राथमिक अवस्था से रहती है। प्राथमिक अवस्था शृङ्गार रस के अनुकूल नहीं है। काम-भावना के परिणत रूप अर्थात् उसके मध्य से ही कोमल भावना का प्रादुर्भाव होता है। कोमल भावना की (१) अनात्मस्वातन्त्र्य (२) स्वयंनिर्णय (३) सौन्दर्य भावना आदि अनेक भावनाओं से ही शृङ्गार भावना का निर्माण होता है। उसके मूल में से सहज प्रवृत्ति के स्वरूप की कमी होती जाती है और शृङ्गार भावना उन्नत होती जाती है। इसी प्रसङ्ग में वाटवे ने पश्चिमी विद्वान् हेवलॉक एलिस के मत को उद्धृत करते हुए लिखा है कि मानव-चरित्र के सौन्दर्य तथा उदात्त के जो भी रूप हैं उनका उद्गम काम प्रवृत्ति से ही हुआ है (Sex-activity is the source of Beauty and Art) ।[२]

इस प्रकार मनोवैज्ञानिक रिबट की प्रेम को तीन भागों में विभाजित करने की भावना से यह समाधान हमें अवश्य मिल जाता है कि प्रेमवृत्ति जो अपनी भावनात्मक दशा में प्रेम है सहज प्रवृत्त्यात्मक दशा में 'काम' होगी। वस्तुतः अभिप्राय यही है कि प्रेम का मूल उद्गमस्थान 'काम' ही है। वस्तुत: प्रेम का क्षेत्र बहुत विशाल है। वह संसार के किसी भी सम्बन्ध पर लागू हो सकता है। परन्तु मनोवैज्ञानिकों ने जिस कामप्रवृत्ति तथा तत्सम्बद्ध मनोवेग प्रेम ('लव' या 'लस्ट') का विवेचन किया है तथा संस्कृत आचार्यों ने जिस रति स्थायी भाव तथा 'शृङ्गार रस' का स्वरूप स्थापित किया है वे अपने अर्थ में व्यापक होते हुए भी यहाँ एक विशिष्ट सम्बन्ध को लेकर ही उपस्थित हुए हैं और वह सम्बन्ध है युवक-युवती अथवा कान्तकान्ताविषयक प्रेम। यह प्रेम भी दोनों की कामभावना, रिरंसा अथवा लैङ्गिक आकर्षण से लेकर प्रेम के दिव्य, निर्लिप्त, निःस्वार्थ, अन्योन्यसमर्पणमय, उत्कट पावन रूप तक व्याप्त है। वह स्थूल शरीर से आरम्भ होकर आत्मा तक पहुँचता है। यहाँ तक कि

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1. Platonic and mystic lovers have always maintained that their sentiment is perfectly pure, and has nothing in common with the senses; the contrary opinion seeming to them a profanation and sacrilege. Yet how could love exist without physical conditions, however attenuated we may suppose them?
—*The Psychology of the Emotions*, Ch. VI

२. रसविमर्श निकष, ७ पृ० ३१६-२०

विश्व के सबसे बड़े विराट् द्वन्द्व आत्मा-परमात्मा का प्रेम भी इस परिधि में आ जाता है। यही कारण है कि भागवत के महारस का घोर शृङ्गार आत्मा-परमात्मा की दार्शनिक ग्रन्थियों में गुँथकर व्याख्यायित हुआ है और हिन्दी के रहस्यवादी एवं छायावादी कवियों के प्रेमिका आत्मा तथा प्रेमी परमात्मा के मिलन और विरह के गीत विशुद्ध शृङ्गारिक प्रतीकों और उपमानों में बाँधकर ही गाये गये हैं। इस प्रकार 'प्रेम' भाव का स्वरूप अत्यन्त व्यापक है। संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्रीय 'रति' स्थायी भाव का स्वरूप भी व्यापक और मनोविज्ञान-सम्मत है।

वैयाकरणैः पदकारा अनुवर्त्या अनुवर्त्यं वा व्याकरणं पदकारैः

का० वा० अभ्यङ्कर

पुणे

'न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्त्यं यथालक्षणं पदं कर्तव्यम्' इति महता कण्ठरवेण त्रिरुद्घोषितं भिन्नभिन्नेषु सन्दर्भेषु व्याकरणमहाभाष्यकारैः। प्रथमं तावत् तैः 'एतिस्तुशास्वृदृजुषः क्यप्'[1] इत्यस्य सूत्रस्य व्याख्याने 'अञ्जेश्चोपसंड्ख्यानं संज्ञायां कर्तव्यम्' इति वार्तिकं पठित्वा आङुपसर्गपूर्वादञ्जेराज्यशब्दः साधितः। तत्र च 'न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्त्यम्' इत्युक्त्वा 'आऽअज्यम्' इति पदं सावग्रहं कर्तव्यमिति सूचितम्। अनन्तरम् 'आशितः कर्ता'[2] इत्यस्य सूत्रस्य व्याख्याने तथैव 'न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः, पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्त्यम्' इत्यादि पठित्वा आऽअशितः इति सावग्रहं पदं पठितव्यमित्युक्तम्। ततोऽनन्तरम् 'अनो नुट्',[3] इत्यस्य सूत्रस्य व्याख्याने नुक् कर्तव्यो नुड्वा कर्तव्यः इति विचारमारभ्य नुट् कर्तव्य इति प्रतिपाद्य 'न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः…' इत्याद्युक्त्वा अक्षऽण्वन्तम् इति पदपाठो युक्तः, न 'अक्षऽण्वन्तम्' एवं पदपाठकृद्भिः पठ्यमानः इति सूचितम्। पारम्परिके पदपाठे तु आज्यम्, आशितम् इत्यत्रावग्रहो नोपलभ्यते ॥ एवमेव अवसाय पद्वते रुद्र मृड'[4] इत्यत्रापि 'अवसायाश्वान्'[5] इत्यत्र यथा अवऽसाय इत्यवग्रहयुक्तं पठ्यते तद्वदेव धनुःकर्मकमवसायेति ल्यबन्तं गृहीत्वा अवऽसाय पद्वते इति पठनीयम् इति निरुक्तटिप्पणीषु प्राध्यापकराजवाडे महोदयैरुक्तम्।

पाणिनिप्रणीतव्याकरणप्रणालीमनुसृत्य दुःसाध्यान्यनेकानि शब्दस्वरूपाणि पदपाठे दर्शयितुं शक्येरन्—(१) अभ्यासस्येण्कवर्गाभ्यां परस्य षकारकापन्नस्य सकारस्य पदपाठे 'पुनः सकारापादनम्—यथा संहितायां पठितस्य सुषमे इत्यस्य स्थाने पदपाठे 'सुसुम' इति। एवंप्रकाराणि सुसुपतुः, सुसुपुः इत्येतानि बहूनि प्रदर्श्येरन्। (२) नञ्समासे अवग्रहाभावो न

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१. महाभाष्य ३.१.१०९

२. तदेव ६.१.२०७

३. तदेव ८.२.१६

४. ऋक्सं० १०.१६९.१

५. तदेव १.१०४.१

केवलम् 'अक्षरम्', 'अमर्त्यम्' इत्यादिषु नञो नलोपस्य स्थलेषु, किन्तु नपान्नासत्यनक्नामादिषु दृष्टनकारेष्वपि स्थलेषु । (३) एवमेव बृहस्पतिसरस्वतीविश्वामित्रादिषु स्पष्टद्विपर्वसु स्थलेष्वेकपद्यमवग्रहाभावश्च । (४) तथैव देवताद्वन्द्वेषु इन्द्रवायू मित्रावरुणा इत्यादिषु सत्यप्युदात्तद्वययुतत्वे ऐकपद्यवद्भावोऽवग्रहाभावश्च (५) तथा अञ्चेर्धातोरुत्तरपदस्थत्वे अवग्रहाभावो यथा घृताची, उरूची इत्यादिषु । (६) स्वरविपर्ययस्तु बहुषु स्थलेषु दृश्यते यत्र 'व्यत्ययो बहुलम्'[१] इति सूत्रेण विहितं व्यत्ययं विना नान्यामुपपत्तिं सूचयितुं प्रभवन्ति वेदभाष्यकाराः सायणाचार्याः । समधीतपाणिनीयव्याकरणैर्यदि समीचीनतया बहुपरिश्रमपूर्वकं पदपाठस्याध्ययनं क्रियेत तर्हि बहव उपरिनिर्दिष्टसदृशा अन्ये चापाणिनीयाः प्रयोगाः समुपलभ्येरन् । समयाभावात् स्थलाभावाच्च नात्र विस्तरः कर्तुं पार्यते ।

किमसम्यगधीतव्याकरणाः पदकारा इति न सर्वथा पदपाठः प्रामाण्यमर्हति इति महाभाष्यकारवचनस्वारस्यमुतान्यत् किमपि इत्यस्मिन् विषये किं वक्तुं प्रकल्पेत इति विचारे कृते भगवतः पतञ्जलेर्वचनं यथावद् गृहीत्वा 'न सर्वथा पदपाठः प्रामाण्यमर्हति पदकाराश्च वैयाकरणश्रुवाः' इति वक्तुं वागेवास्माकं नाभिधेयविषयमवतरति मनःसम्भ्रमेण । 'वेः शालच्छङ्कटचौ'[२] इति सूत्रे भाष्ये 'उपसर्गाश्च पुनरेवमात्मका यत्र कश्चित् क्रियाशब्दः प्रयुज्यते तत्र क्रियाविशेषमाहुर्यत्र हि न प्रयुज्यते ससाधनां तत्र क्रियामाहुः' इति ब्रुवन् भगवान् पतञ्जलिः स्पष्टमेव 'न निर्बद्धा उपसर्गा अर्थान्निराहुः', 'उच्चावचाः पदार्था भवन्ति', 'नामाख्यातयोः कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्ति' इत्यादीनि पूर्ववैयाकरणानां शाकटायनगार्ग्यादीनां मतानि सिद्धान्तरूपाणि सम्यगालोच्यैव तथोक्तवान् । महेश्वरोऽपि निरुक्तटीकायां पदकार-शब्देन महाभाष्यकारं परामृश्य 'उपसर्गाश्च पुनरेवमात्मकाः······ ससाधनां तत्र क्रियामाहुः' इमामेव फणिभाषितभाष्यफक्किकामुद्धरन् नूनं पदकारवैयाकरणयोः पर्यायशब्दत्वं संसूचयति । एवं च शौनकात्रेयादयः पदकाराः समधीतव्याकरणा विद्वांस आसन्नित्यत्र नास्ति शङ्का-लेशावकाशः । 'न लक्षणैः पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्त्यम्' इति केवलं प्रौढिवादः पतञ्जलेरिति प्रतिभाति ।

अन्यच्च—इन्द्रशाकटायनगार्ग्यादीनां वैयाकरणानां बहवो व्याकरणग्रन्थाः पदपाठ-निर्मितिकाले समुपलभ्यमाना आसन् यान् सम्यगधीत्यैव पदकारैः पदपाठः प्रवर्तितः स्यात् । दौर्भाग्यमेवेदमस्माकं यत्र ते ग्रन्था अधुना समुपलभ्यन्ते । तथापि तेषु प्रतिपादिताः केचिद् व्याकरणकृतान्ता निरुक्तादिग्रन्थेषूद्धृताः सङ्गृह्येरन् याननुसृत्योपरिनिर्दिष्टेषु स्थलेषु दर्शिताः प्रमादसंज्ञापरिभाजो दोषाः अपह्नियेरन् । तथा हि—'चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याता-पसर्गनिपाताश्च । भावप्रधानमाख्यातम् । सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि ।' अर्थः पदम् । संहित

१. अष्टाध्यायी ३.१.८५

२. तदेव ५.२.२८

आसः समासः इत्यादयः सिद्धान्तास्तथैव केचित् सङ्केता अनुद्धता अप्रतिपादिता अप्यनुमातुं शक्याः । ते यथा (१) विकृतस्य पदस्य विकृतत्वादर्थाववोधाक्षमस्य न पृथक्पदावधारणं न चावग्रहकरणम् । अत एव देवाभ्याम्, देवेषु, अन्नेषु, अस्मासु इत्यादिष्वनेकेषु पदेषु नावग्रहः । अग्निऽभिः ऋषिऽभिः, अङ्गिरःऽभिः, पृत्ऽसु, अश्विऽभिः इत्यादिषु विकृतेरभावात्स दृश्यत एव । (२) आवन्तेभ्यश्च ईवन्तेभ्यश्च पदेभ्यः सत्यपि पदसंज्ञाविधायके विभक्तिप्रत्यये परे नावग्रहो दृश्यते यथा ज्येष्ठाभिः, दक्षिणाभिः, ओषधीषु, गर्भिणीषु, नदीभिः इत्यादौ नावग्रहः । तथैव गोभिः, गोषु इत्यादावपि नावग्रहः, द्युऽभिः, अक्तुऽभिः इत्यादौ स क्रियत एव । (३) विशेषनामानि संज्ञारूपाणि सरस्वतीविश्वामित्रबृहस्पतीत्यादीनि पर्वरहितानीति परिकल्पनया नावगृह्यन्ते । (४) तथैव देवताद्वन्द्वपदानि मित्रावरुणा इन्द्रवायू इत्यादीनि द्विवचनान्तत्वात्स्पष्टतया अवयवद्वययुतान्यपि समुच्चीयमानयोर्देवतयोः फलदानार्थमापन्नैकरूपतया एकशब्दत्वेन नावगृह्यन्ते । (५) तथैव कृतद्वित्वस्य धातोः प्रथमो भागोऽभ्याससंज्ञकः पृथक्तया गृह्यते, सुषुमसुष्वाप इत्यादिषु च द्विःप्रयोगो द्विर्वचनमिति व्याख्यानादभ्यासात्परं शब्दस्वरूपं पृथक्तयावधार्यते एवं रूपं च समापाद्यते । अभ्यासस्य विकृतया न तदनन्तरमवग्रहः क्रियते । तथा च सुषुम-सुष्वाप-इत्यादयः संहितासु पठ्यमानाः शब्दाः पदपाठे सुसुम-सुष्वाप इति पठ्यमानाः श्रूयन्ते । (६) आज्यम् आशितमित्यादिषु णिजन्तस्याञ्जेरशेश्च ग्रहणान्नावग्रहः । (७) घृताची समीची इत्यादिषु अञ्जेर्धातोर्विवतत्वान्नावग्रहः । (८) स्वरविपर्ययस्तु बहुषु स्थलेषु तेषां तेषां शब्दानामव्युत्पन्नत्वं प्रकल्प्य समाधेयः ।

व्याडिमुनिना स्वविरचिते विकृतिवल्लीनाम्नि लघुग्रन्थे संहितापाठपदपाठयोर्विरोध एकस्मिन् स्थले प्रदर्शितः । तथा च तस्य ग्रन्थः- 'आदित्यैर्यानमित्यस्मिन्पादे चाष्टाक्षरे भवेत् । पदध्यायेनुदात्तः स्यात् संहितायामुदात्तवत् ।[१] अत्राभिप्रेतमृगर्धम्-'सजोषसा उषसा सूर्येण चादित्यैर्यातमश्विना'[२] इति । पदपाठस्तु—सऽजोषसौ । उषसो । सूर्येण । च आदित्यैः । यातम् अश्विना । इति पठ्यते । अत्र चादित्यैरिति संहितापाठे चा इत्यत्र वर्तमान आदित्य-शब्दस्य आकार उदात्त एव ग्राह्यः । अन्यथा अनुदात्तेन तेन संधिमापन्नोनुदात्तस्य च इत्यस्याव्ययस्य अकार उदात्तो न स्यात् । आदित्य इति शब्दो ण्यप्रत्ययान्तोदात्त एव । इत्थं संहितापदपाठयोर्विरोधो दर्शितो व्याडिमुनिना, परन्तु, न स दूरीकृतः । अयं त्वत्र समाधिः । चादित्यैरित्यत्र च आ आदित्यैः इति पदविभागेन भाव्यम् । आङ उपसर्गस्याकारस्य उदात्तत्वाच्चकारोत्तरस्य अकारस्य आङुपसर्गस्य आदित्यैरित्यस्यादेराकारस्य चैकादेशः संहितायामुदात्त एव भवेत् । पदपाठस्तु च । आ । आदित्यैः । इति पठनीयः तथैव च

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१. विकृतिवल्ली १६

२. ऋक्सं० ८.३५.१३, १४, १५.

तेन भाव्यम् । आदित्यैर्यातमश्विना इत्यस्य समयत्वान्नाम गलितत्वान्नैवात्र पदपाठः संदृश्यते हस्तलिखितेषु ॥

व्याख्यानं विषयस्यास्य कार्यं विस्तरशो बुधैः ।
प्रवृत्यर्थं विचाराणां दिङ्मात्रमिह दर्शितम् ॥
कुर्वन्ति यत्र पदपठाकृतामवज्ञां सङ्क्षेपतः सपदि तान्प्रति किञ्चिदुक्तम् ।
उत्पत्स्यतोस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा यो व्याक्रियात्समुचितं पदपाठमार्षम् ॥

काव्यप्रतिभाविमर्शः

पं० राम नारायण त्रिपाठी

लक्ष्मणपुरम्

साहित्यशास्त्राचार्याः कविकर्मणः प्रधानकारणं प्रतिभामेवामनन्ति । या शक्तिकल्पनाभावनासंस्कारविशेषादिपर्यायशब्दैरभिधीयमाना सर्वत्र लक्षणग्रन्थेषु दरीदृश्यते । यद्यपि शास्त्रान्तरेष्वपि बहुशश्चर्चिता विवेचिता चास्ते प्रतिभा किन्त्वत्र विस्तरभयात् प्रस्तुतविषयबाह्याच्च सर्वशास्त्रीयां तामविमृश्य केवलं लेखविषयानुसारं काव्यप्रतिभामेव स्वचर्चाविषयत्वेनोपस्थापये । वक्ष्यमाणा सा काव्यप्रतिभा कविषु सहृदयेषु भावुकेषु चोभयत्र विद्यमानापि विशेषतः कविगतैव सर्वत्र गीयमाना लक्ष्यते । ययोपार्जितं प्रातिभं लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणकविकर्म सदानन्दधाराभिरापूरयति लोकान् । यथा कविकर्मकरणशीलया प्रतिभया कृतं कर्म प्रातिभं भवति तथैव काव्यबोधकरणशीलया प्रतिभयोपार्जितं सहृदयहृदयसंवेद्यतत्तद्रसादिविज्ञानमपि प्रातिभं भवितुमर्हति । इत्येमुभयत्रास्तित्वेऽपि चर्च्यतेऽत्र कविप्रतिभा । सा कीदृशी कथं च काव्यं प्रति प्रधानहेतुमित्यत्र पूर्वं समेषामाचार्याणां मतं सङ्क्षेपेणाकलय्य किञ्चिद् वच्मि ।

तत्र प्रतिभा नाम किमित्यत्राह वाग्भटालङ्कारे —

प्रसन्नपदनव्यार्थयुक्त्युद्बोधविधायिनी ।
स्फुरन्ती सत्कवेर्बुद्धिः प्रतिभा सर्वतोमुखी ॥[1]

सत्कवेर्बुद्धिः सर्वतोमुखी स्फुरन्ती प्रतिभेति कथ्यते ।

सैव कारणं काव्यस्येत्युक्तं तत्रैव —

प्रतिभा कारणं तस्य व्युत्पत्तिस्तु विभूषणम् ।
भृशोत्पत्तिकृदभ्यास इत्याद्यकविसङ्कथा ॥[2]

चन्द्रालोके जयदेवेनापि तस्या एव प्रधानकारणत्वं सूचितम् —

प्रतिभैव श्रुताभ्याससहिता कवितां प्रति ।
हेतुर्मृदम्बुसम्बद्धा बीजमाला लतामिव ॥[3]

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१. वाग्भटालङ्कारः १।४

२. तदेव १।३

३. चन्द्रालोकः १।६

अत्र सामान्यरीत्या प्रतिभा गृहीता न तु नैसर्गिकी अनैसर्गिकी इति विशेषिता तथा चेतरयोः श्रुताभ्यासयोः सहायकारणत्वमेवोक्तं श्रुतपदेनात्र व्युत्पत्तिरेव गृह्यते —

काव्यादर्शे दण्डिनेत्थं प्रत्यपादि—

नैसर्गिकी च प्रतिभा श्रुतं च बहु निर्मलम् ।
अमन्दश्चाभियोगोऽस्याः कारणं काव्यसम्पदः ।।[1]

अत्रैव रत्नश्रीज्ञानकृतायां तट्टीकायां नैसर्गिकी स्वाभाविकी जन्मान्तराभ्याससम्भाविनी सहजेति यावत् । प्रतिभा हेयोपादेयपरिच्छेदलक्षणा । सा च प्रकरणात् काव्यविषया सहजा शक्तिरियमित्यङ्गीक्रियते । तथाप्यग्रिमकारिकया कृत्रिमाया अपि कारणत्वं स्वीक्रियते । तद्यथा—

न विद्यते यद्यपि पूर्ववासना गुणानुबन्धि प्रतिभानमद्भुतम् ।
श्रुतेन यत्नेन च वागुपासिता ध्रुवं करोत्येव कमप्यनुग्रहम् ।।[2]

तत्रैव तट्टीकायां 'ननु केचिदेव सहजशक्तियुताः तत् किमिदानीं माभूदन्येषामिह प्रवृत्तिर्येनोच्यते नैसर्गिकी च प्रतिभेत्यत्राह' इत्यवतरणप्रदानपूर्वकं श्लोकममुं विस्तरेण व्याख्यातवन्तस्तट्टीकाकाराः । एतेनेदमायाति यत् काव्यकारणत्वमुभयनिष्ठं किन्तु सहजाया बहुवायासो नापेक्षितः कृत्रिमा तु तदधीनेति । सहजा तु पूर्वाभ्यासबलाद्यत्नेनापि सिध्यतीति जातकमालायामुक्तम्—

अभ्यासयोगेन शुभाशुभानि कर्माणि सात्म्यानि भवन्ति पुंसाम् ।।
तथाविधान्येव यदप्रयत्नाज्जन्मान्तरे स्वप्न इवाचरन्ति ।।[3]

यदीयमपि दृढाभ्याससहिता चेत्तदैव पुष्यति ।

नैसर्गिक्याः प्रतिभायाः कारणत्वं वदता दण्डिनापि कृत्रिमाया उपादेयत्वं स्वयं सूचितम् —

तदस्ततन्द्रैरनिशं सरस्वती श्रमादुपास्या खलु कीर्तिमीप्सुभिः ।
कृशे कवित्वेऽपि जनाः कृतश्रमा विदग्धगोष्ठीषु विहर्तुमीशते ।।[4]

अतो यत्नजा भ्राष्ट्रभर्जितबीजवदप्ररोहेति कथमपि न वाच्यं केवलं तत्र यत्नाधिक्यस्यावश्यकता प्रतीयते । काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तौ वामनेन नैसर्गिक्याः प्रतिभायाः कारणत्वमगादि ।

१. काव्यादर्शः १।१०३
२. तदेव १।१०४
३. जातकमाला पृ० ९५
४. काव्यादर्शः १।१०५

सा च संस्कारविशेषरूपेत्यप्युक्तम्—'कवित्वबीजं प्रतिभानम्[१]' कवित्वस्य बीजं कवित्वबीजम्, जन्मान्तरागतसंस्कारविशेषः कश्चित् । यद्विना काव्यं न निष्पद्येत निष्पन्नं वा हास्यायतनं स्यात् इति । अत्रैव भट्टगोपालेनोक्तम्—'कवित्वस्य लोकोत्तरवर्णनानैपुण्यलक्षणस्य बीजमुपादानस्थानीयसंस्कारविशेषः । कविकल्पनीया काचिद् वासनाशक्तिः[२]' इति । श्रीमता मम्मटाचार्येण काव्यप्रकाशे कवित्वकारणं शक्तिरिति सा च संस्कारविशेषरूपेत्यङ्गीकृतं किन्तु अत्र शक्तिपदं प्रतिभापर्याय एव नान्या काचन शक्तिरिति स्पष्टं प्रदीपोद्योतयोः । तद् यथा —

'शक्तिर्निपुणता लोककाव्यशास्त्राद्यवेक्षणात् ।
काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाऽभ्यास इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे' ॥[३]

शक्तिः कवित्वबीजरूपः संस्कारविशेषः कश्चित् । यां विना काव्यं न प्रसरेत् । प्रसृतं वोपहसनीयं स्यात् ।[४] अत्र प्रदीपे—'शक्तिः कवित्वबीजभूतो देवताप्रसादादिजन्मा संस्कारविशेषः प्रतिभाव्यपदेश्यः' इति । उद्योते च—'संस्कारविशेषः देवताराधनादिजन्यविलक्षणादृष्टम् । शक्नोति काव्यनिर्माणायानयेति योगाच्छक्तिरित्युच्यते । तत्तद्रसादिवासना वा' इति । सम्प्रदायप्रकाशिन्यां टीकायाञ्च शक्तिमभिव्यक्तां प्रतिभामाचक्षते । तथाहि—शक्तिः कवित्वबीजरूपः संस्कारविशेष इति । एनेन सिद्धं यत् संस्कारविशेषः, शक्तिः, वासना, इत्यादिपदैः प्रतिभैवोच्यते यद्यपि नाम्ना प्रतिभाया नैसर्गिकत्वं नोक्तं किन्तु संस्कारवासनादिपदेन देवताप्रसादजन्येति पदेन च नैसर्गिकी, अर्जिता इत्युभया प्रतिभा ग्रहीतुं शक्येत । अत्र केचन केवलं प्रतिभायाः कारणत्वं केचित्त्रयाणामिति मन्यन्ते परन्तु अत्र काचिद् विप्रतिपत्तिर्नास्ति । यतोऽत्र समेषामैकमत्यं यत्प्रधानकारणत्वं प्रतिभायाः सहायिकारणत्व श्रुताभ्यासयो । काव्यप्रकाशस्य सुधासागरटीकायामत्र भीमसेनेनेत्थं विचारितम्—'यत्तूक्तं काव्यप्रदीपकारैः प्रतिभाव्यपदेशः' इति । तत्तुच्छम् । अनन्यपरतन्त्रामित्यत्र कवेस्तत्प्रतिभायाश्चान्यो य आत्मनः पर इति व्याख्यानविरोधात् । नहि रसोद्बोधसमर्था कविनिर्मितिः संस्कारमात्रमपेक्षते किन्तु शक्त्यादित्रयम् । एवञ्चैतत्कारणत्रयविशिष्टा धीः प्रतिभा । कवीतरे प्रतिभावत्त्वव्यवहारस्तु स्तुतिपर इति सहृदयैर्ध्येयम् इति । एतावतेदं स्पष्टं यदयं शक्तिः, अभ्यासः शास्त्रम् एतत्त्रयं प्रतिभापदवाच्यमिति स्वीकरोति ।

काव्यमीमांसायां राजशेखरेणास्मिन् विषये एवं निरूपितं यत् कवित्वे समाधिरेवोत्कृष्टत्वेन व्यापार इति श्यामदेवमतं तथा च अभ्यास इति मङ्गलमतं व्यवस्थाप्य उभाभ्यामपि प्रयत्नाभ्यामुद्भासिता शक्तिकर्तृका प्रतिभा 'या शब्दग्राममर्थसार्थमलङ्कारतन्त्रमुक्तिमार्गमन्यदपि तथाविधमधिहृदयं प्रतिभासयति सा प्रतिभा । अप्रतिभास्यपदार्थसार्थः परोक्ष इव ।

१. काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तिः १।३।१६
२. का० सू० वृ० टीका १।३।१६
३. काव्यप्रकाशः १।३
४. तत्रैव १।३

प्रतिभावतः पुनरपश्यतोऽपि प्रत्यक्ष इव । यतो मेधाविरुद्रकुमारदासादयो जात्यन्धाः कवयः श्रूयन्ते[१]' । एवं प्रतिभास्वरूपं तच्छक्तिञ्च निरूप्य प्रतिभाभेदेन वर्ण्यते—'सा च द्विधा कारयित्री भावयित्री च तत्राद्या त्रिविधा सहजा जन्मान्तरसंस्कारापेक्षणी, आहार्या जन्मसंस्कारयोनिः, औपदेशिकी मन्त्रतन्त्राद्युपदेशप्रभवा अपरा त्वेकविधा' । एवं प्रतिभाभेदमाख्याय तेन आद्यप्रतिभाभेदमवलम्ब्य कवीनां त्रयो भेदाः, द्वितीया प्रतिभया भावकानां चत्वारो भेदा विस्तरेण प्रतिपादिताः । एतेषां मतस्य विचारणया प्रतिभाति यदयं सहजायाः कृत्रिमायाश्च प्रतिभायाः कवित्वहेतुमभिमनुते ।

काव्यकौतुके भट्टतौतेन प्रतिभां लक्षयित्वा (परिभाष्य) काव्यहेतुत्वमपि तस्या वर्णितम्—'स्मृतिर्व्यतीतविषया मतिरागामिगोचरा । बुद्धिस्तात्कालिकी प्रोक्ता प्रज्ञा त्रैकालिकी मता । प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता । तदनुप्राणनाज्जीवद्वर्णनानिपुणः कविः । तस्य कर्म स्मृतं काव्यम्' इति । स्पष्टञ्चैतद् यत् त्रैकालिकज्ञानविशिष्टा प्रतिक्षणनवनवोद्भावनसमर्था बुद्धिरेव प्रतिभासैव कवित्वस्य कारणम् । अन्यत्राप्युक्तम् —

'द्वे वर्त्मनी गिरो देव्याः शास्त्रं च कविकर्म च ।
प्रज्ञोपज्ञं तयोराद्यं प्रतिभोद्भवमन्तिमम्' ।। इति[२]

काव्यानुशासने हेमचन्द्ररचिते तद्वृत्तौ च काव्यप्रयोजनमुक्त्वा काव्यकारणमाह—प्रतिभास्य हेतुः[३], प्रतिभा नवनवोल्लेखशालिनी प्रज्ञा । अस्य काव्यस्येदं प्रधानं कारणम् । व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासौ तु प्रतिभाया एव संस्कार इति वक्ष्यते । सा च सहजौपाधिकी चेति द्विधा । सहजामाह—

'सावरणक्षयोपशममात्रात् सहजा '।[४]

सवितुरिव प्रकाशस्वभाव आत्मनोऽभ्रपटलमिव ज्ञानावरणीयाद्यावरणं तस्योदितस्य क्षयेऽनुदितस्योपशमे च यः प्रकाशाविर्भावः सा सहजा प्रतिभा । मात्रग्रहणं मन्त्रादिकारणनिषेधार्थम् । सहजा प्रतिभावलाद्धि । द्वितीयामाहः—

—'मन्त्रादेशैरौपाधिकी'[५] ।

मन्त्रदेवतानुग्रहादिप्रभवौपाधिकी प्रतिभा । इयमप्यावरणक्षयोपशमनिमित्ता, एवं दृष्टोपाधिनिबन्धनत्वात्तु औपाधिकीत्युच्यते ।

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१. का० मी० ४
२. दत्ता० २४१ पृ० १३
३. काव्यानुशासनम् १.४
४. तदेव १.५
५. तदेव १.६

'सा चेयं द्विविधापि प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासाभ्यां संस्कार्या।'[1]

व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासौ वक्ष्यमाणौ। ताभ्यां संस्करणीया। अत एव न तौ काव्यस्य साक्षात्कारणं प्रतिभोपकारिणौ तु भवतः। दृश्येते हि प्रतिभाहीनस्य विफलौ व्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासौ इति।

उक्तं हि आनन्दवर्धनाचार्येण ध्वन्यालोके —

'सरस्वती स्वादु तदर्थवस्तु निःष्यन्दमाना महतां कवीनाम्।
अलोकसामान्यमभिव्यनक्ति परिस्फुरन्तं प्रतिभाविशेषम्'॥[2]

भारती तद्वस्तुतत्वं निःष्यन्दमाना महतां कवीनाम् अलोकसामान्यं प्रतिभाविशेषं परिस्फुरन्तमभिव्यनक्ति। येनास्मिन्नतिविचित्रकविपरम्परावाहिनि संसारे कालिदासप्रभृतयो द्वित्राः पञ्चषाः वा महाकवय इति गण्यन्ते इति।

अस्यायं भावः—प्रतिभातिशयेनैव कवीनां वाणी अलौकिकम् अतिभासनं, सरसकाव्यरचनानिदानं, प्रतिभाधिक्यं सूचयति। अतः सुतरां सिद्धं यत् प्रतिभैव काव्यस्य हेतुरिति। तत्रैव लोचनेऽभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्येण अभिव्यनक्ति परिस्फुरन्तमिति प्रतीकमादायैवं व्याख्यातम् —

प्रतिपत्तॄन् प्रति सा प्रतिभा नानुमीयमाना, अपि तु तदावेशेन भासमानेत्यर्थः। यदुक्तमस्मदुपाध्यायभट्टतौतेन —

'नायकस्य कवेः श्रोतुः समानोऽनुभवस्तत इयं प्रतिभा अपूर्ववाक्निर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा तस्या विशेषो रसावेशवैशद्यसौन्दर्यकाव्यनिर्माणक्षमत्वम्।' यदाह मुनिः—'कवेरन्तर्गतभाव' इति। येनेति—अभिव्यक्तेन स्फुरता प्रतिभाविशेषेण निमित्तेन महाकवित्वगणनेति यावत्। अभिनवभारत्यां प्रथमखण्डे अभिनवगुप्तेन—

'अनादिप्राक्तनसंस्कारप्रतिभानमयः' इत्यपि प्रतिपादितम्।

पण्डितराजजगन्नाथस्तु काव्यस्य कारणं केवलं प्रतिभा एवेति मन्यते तदुक्तं रसगङ्गाधरे :—

'तस्य च कारणं कविगता केवला प्रतिभा। सा च काव्यघटनानुकूलशब्दार्थोपस्थितिः। तद्गतं प्रतिभात्वं काव्यकारणतावच्छेदकतया सिद्धो जातिविशेषः उपाधिरूपं वाऽखण्डम्।[3]

१. तदेव १.७

२. ध्वन्यालोकः १.६

३. रसगङ्गाधरः, पृष्ठ २५ (चौखम्बा)

एवं प्रतिभां निरूप्याग्रे तस्याश्च कारणं ब्रूते —

'तस्याश्च हेतुः क्वचिद् देवतामहापुरुषप्रसादादिजन्यमदृष्टम्, क्वचिच्च विलक्षण-व्युत्पत्तिकाव्यकारणाभ्यासौ' इति ।

रुद्रटस्तु काव्यालङ्कारे —

'मनसि सदा सुसमाधिनि विस्फुरणमनेकधाऽभिधेयस्य ।
अक्लिष्टानि पदानि च विभान्ति यस्यामसौ शक्तिः' ॥[१]

असौ शक्तिः प्रतिभेत्यपरैरुदिता प्रतिभाप्रौढिरेव प्राधान्येनावतिष्ठते इत्युक्तवान् ।

अत्र शक्तिव्यपदेश्यं कवित्वबीजभूतं भावनामयं वासनास्वरूपं वा देवताप्रसादादिजन्यं संस्कारविशेषं काव्यकारणीभूतप्रतिभात्वेनाङ्गीकृतम् ।

प्रणिधानसहकृते चेतसि यो झटित्युद्बुध्येत क्लिष्टपदपदार्थगोचरः संस्कारः सा प्रतिभा विद्वदादिपदप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् इति तद्व्याख्यानम् ।

व्यक्तिविवेकी महिमभट्टाचार्येणोक्तम् —

'रसानुगुणशब्दार्थचिन्तास्तिमितचेतसः ।
क्षणं स्वरूपस्पर्शोत्था प्रज्ञैव प्रतिभा कवेः ॥

सा हि चक्षुर्भगवतस्तृतीयमिति गीयते ।
येन साक्षात्करोत्येष भावास्त्रैकाल्यवर्तिनः' ॥[२]

इत्यादिपद्यैः प्रतिभां निरूप्य तदनुपदमेव तत्कार्यं सत्कविकाव्यं वैचित्र्यापादकमेवावोचत् । आचार्यकुन्तकेनैकत्र क्वचन प्रतिभाया विचारो न कृतोऽपि तु वक्रोक्तिजीविते यत्र कुत्रचित् सङ्क्षेपेण सङ्केतः कृतः । तदनुसारमत्र वच्मि । अयमप्याचार्यः । काव्यस्य प्रधानकारणं प्रतिभा-मेव समनुमनुते । तदुक्तम् —'यद्यपि द्वयोरप्येतयोस्तत्प्राधान्येनैव वाक्योपनिबन्धः, तथापि कविप्रतिभाप्रौढिरेव प्राधान्येनावतिष्ठते' ।[३]

'यत् किञ्चनापि वैचित्र्यं तत्सर्वं प्रतिभोद्भवम् ।
सौकुमार्यपरिस्पन्दनिष्यन्दि यत्र विराजते ॥'[४]
'अम्लानप्रतिभोद्भिन्ननवशब्दार्थबन्धुरः ।'[५]

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१. काव्यालङ्कार १.१५:
२. व्यक्तिविवेक २.११७,११८:
३. वक्रोक्तिजीवितम् १.७० या०
४. तदेव १.२८
५. तदेव १.२५

इत्यनयोः कारिकयोर्व्याख्यायाम्—'स च कीदृशः, यत्र—यस्मिन् किञ्चनापि कियन्मात्रमपि। वैचित्र्यम्—विचित्रभावो वक्रोक्तियुक्तत्वम्। तत्सर्वम्—अलङ्कारादि। प्रतिभोद्भवं—कविशक्तिसमुल्लसितमेव न पुनराहार्यं कथञ्चित् प्रयत्नेन निष्पाद्यम्। अम्लानप्रतिभा—अम्लाना यासावदोषोपहता प्राक्तनाद्यतनसंस्कारप्रौढा काचिदेव कविशक्तिः इत्यादि। एवम् —

'प्रतिभा प्रथमोद्भेदसमये यत्र वक्रता।
शाब्दाभिधेययोरन्तः स्फुरतीव विभाव्यते॥'[१]
'भाव्यते प्रतिभोल्लेखमहत्त्वेन महाकवेः।'[२]

यस्मात् कविप्रतिभानन्त्यान्नियतत्वं न सम्भवति, इत्याद्युल्लिखितं वर्तते। इत्थं यत्र तत्र स्वग्रन्थे प्रसङ्गतः प्रतिभायाः स्वरूपादिकं निरूपितम्। अनेन मन्ये यद्ययमाचार्यः कविकर्मणि प्रतिभैव प्राधान्येन हेतुः सा चानन्तरूपेण कविमनसि वर्तते कविशक्तिरूपा प्राक्तनाद्यतन-संस्काररूपास्तीति मन्यते। अस्या मुख्यं कार्यं शब्दार्थयोरपूर्वसौन्दर्यस्फुरणमेव। तच्च निर्वचनी-यातिशयजनकत्वं सहृदयहृदयहारि रमणीयतारोपकत्वं वा।

महामहोपाध्यायगङ्गाधरशास्त्रिणस्तु विशिष्टकाव्यं प्रति प्रतिभा (निपुणता) व्युत-पत्यभ्यासेतित्रितयस्यैव कारणत्वं स्वीकुर्वन्ति। तथाहि —

'शक्तिर्हि द्विधा उत्पादिका व्युत्पादिका च। आद्यया पदसङ्घातस्य योजनेऽपि द्वितीयस्या अभावे विनेयसमवेतविलक्षणवाक्यार्थधियो असम्भवेन लोकोत्तरवर्णनानैपुण्यस्य कविगतस्या-भावाद् विशिष्टकविकर्मतायास्तत्सत्व एव सम्भवात्। तत्र द्वितीयैव निपुणता नाम। अभ्यासो लोकोत्तरत्वं प्रत्येवोपयुज्यते। तथा च लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणताविशिष्टकविकर्मरूपकाव्यं प्रति त्रितयस्यैव कारणत्वमुचितम्'।

इति शास्त्रिणामुक्तिः केभ्यो न रोचते यतो हि—सर्वेषामेव मतेन अलौकिकचमत्कार-कारिण एव गुम्फनस्य नाम काव्यं न पुनश्छन्दोलयनिबन्धनमात्रस्य अर्थाद् भवन्मते यद् विशिष्टं काव्यं तदेव हि सामान्यतः काव्यम्। या ह्युत्पादिका शक्तिरभ्युपेयते सा हि काव्य-स्योत्पादिका तदैव भवेद् यदा सा विशिष्टकविकर्मोत्पादिका सिध्येत्। अत एव प्रकाशकारोऽपि अनुपहसनीयकाव्यनिर्माणशक्तिं प्रतिभामाह। अत एव विशिष्टकाव्यशक्तिरेव प्रतिभेति काव्यं प्रति तस्या एव कारणत्वम्। प्रतिभाविकासं प्रति च व्युत्पत्यभ्यासाविति।

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१. तदेव १.३४

२. तदेव १.३६

अन्येऽप्याचार्या विषयेऽस्मिन् बहु वर्णयन्ति तेषां मतं सङ्क्षिप्य निगदामि —

'प्रतिभातश्च पश्यन्ति सर्वप्रज्ञावतां धियः।'[१]

उक्तञ्च अलङ्कारमहोदधौ नरेन्द्रप्रभसूरिणा —

'कारणं प्रतिभास्यैव, नवनवोल्लेखप्रेङ्खितः प्रज्ञाविशेषः।'[२]

नीलकण्ठेनाप्युक्तम् —

'प्रतिभा सकलशास्त्रार्थभानम्' इति ।

प्रतिभावैशिष्ट्ये मङ्गल एवं कथयति यत् —

'प्रसरति किमपि कथञ्चन नाभ्यस्ते गोचरे वचः कस्य ।
इदमेव तत् कवित्वं यद्वाचः सर्वतोदिकाः ।।'[३]

भामह आह काव्यालङ्कारे —

गुरूपदेशादध्येतुं शास्त्रं जडधियोप्यलम् ।
काव्यं तु जायते जातु कस्यचित् प्रतिभावतः ।।[४]

तरुणवाचस्पतिनैवमुक्तम्—

पूर्वजन्मकृतविद्या या श्रुतोत्पन्नज्ञाना ।

त्रिकदर्शनम् —

यदुन्मीलनशक्त्यैव विश्वमुन्मीलति क्षणात् ।
स्वात्मायत्तनविश्रान्ता तां वन्दे प्रतिभां शिवाम् ।।[५]

काव्यस्यापूर्वरमणीयताप्राप्तौ कविप्रतिभैव प्रधानहेतुः । असत्यां च तस्यां कविषु किमपि वर्णनीयमेव नास्ति येनापूर्वचमत्कृतिजनकं काव्यं रचयितुं प्रभवेत्, वर्णनीयपदार्थानां प्राचीनकविपरम्पराभिरेवोक्तत्वात् । यदि नास्त्यपूर्वत्वं तर्ह्यपि उक्तिवैचित्र्येण नूतनसौन्दर्यमुत्पद्येत, इत्यपि न वाच्यं प्रतिभाया अभावे ध्वनिगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यानिवेशनेन रमणीयार्थाभिव्यञ्जकशब्दसन्निवेशाभावे केवलमुक्तिवैचित्र्यस्य सहृदयैरनपेक्षितत्वात् । न ह्यर्थानपेक्षचतुरमधुररचनायां

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१. कथा स० सा० १५.६६
२. अलङ्कारमहोदधिः १.६
३. काव्यमीमांसा ५.२.१६
४. काव्यलङ्कारः १.५
५. ध्वन्यालोकः ५.६०
द्रष्टव्यम् अभि० भा० १.१५.४

काव्यव्यपदेशो भवति। कैश्चिदुक्तिवैचित्र्येऽपि नवत्वमङ्गीक्रियते तदपि नववाच्यार्थं विना न सम्भवेत् वाच्यवाचकयोरविनाभावसम्बन्धात्। अतः सिद्धमेतद् यन्नवीनार्थसापेक्षमेव शब्दविन्यसनं काव्यत्वम्। स च नवनवार्थो यथा व्यङ्ग्यार्थापेक्षयानन्त्येन जायते तथैव वाच्यार्थापेक्षयापि बहुत्वेनोपपद्यतेऽवस्थादेशकालस्वरूपभेदैः। एतेनाङ्गिरसाद्याश्रयेण काव्ये क्रियमाणे नवनवार्थलाभो भवति बन्धच्छाया च महती सम्पद्यते तदुक्तम्—

'दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात्।
सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः॥ ध्व० ४.१०८

एव ध्वनिभेदाश्रयेण रसवस्त्वलङ्कारात्मकगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यभेदाश्रयेण च काव्यवस्तूनां नवत्वं भवति। तथा व्यङ्ग्यभेदवत् व्यञ्जकभेदाश्रयेणापि काव्यार्थानां नवत्वमुपपद्यते। अस्माद्धेतोः पुरातनकविनिबद्धार्थसंस्पर्शवती अपि नवीनकविवाणी ध्वन्यादिभेदसमाश्रिता नवत्वमायाति। एवं हि कवीनां प्रतिभागुण आनन्त्यमश्नुते। विद्यमाने च तादृशे प्रतिभागुणे काव्यार्थविरामोऽपि न स्यात्।

प्रतिभाप्रसादाददृष्टपदार्थानां देशान्तरकथानां च वर्णनं सत्कविः प्रत्यक्षद्रष्टेव करोति। यद्यप्यदृष्टवस्तु वर्णयन्त्यन्येऽपि किन्तु चमत्कारस्तत्रैव वर्तते यत्र स्वाभाविकताऽस्ति न तु काल्पनिकता। इयानेव भेदोऽपरजनसत्कविमध्ये। कविकल्पितं वस्तु तात्त्विकं प्रतीयते न तु कल्पितं यथाभिनयकालेऽभिनयः। अपि च प्रतिभया कविगतदोषा आच्छाद्यन्ते तद् यथा दोषोऽत्र द्विविधोऽव्युत्पत्तिकृतोऽशक्तिकृतश्च तत्र प्रतिभावता कविना कृता अव्युत्पत्तिकृतदोषाः कवितोपयोगिसकलवस्तुसङ्कलननैपुण्यरूपास्तदीयप्रतिभया संव्रियन्ते किन्तु केवलव्युत्पत्तिशालिना कविना प्रतिभाविरहात् कृता अशक्तिकृतदोषाः शब्दार्थस्खलनरूपा आशुतरेण सहृदयानां हृदि भासन्ते। प्रतिभावशेनैव रसास्वादानुगुणप्रयोगावहितचेतसः कवेर्विद्याचमत्कारातिशयलाभो न हि शुष्कशब्दव्युत्पत्त्या प्रतिभारहितस्य अभिधेयप्रतीतिवैचित्र्यविवेककौशलशालिनः। उदाहरणमुखेन विशेषतः प्रतिभामाहात्म्यवैशिष्ट्यं ध्वन्यालोकतृतीयचतुर्थोद्योतयोः काव्यमीमांसादिग्रन्थेषु द्रष्टव्यं विस्तरभयान्नेहोद्ध्रियते। क्वचिच्च कविषु भेदमुपकल्प्य विषयविशेषमनुसृत्य तत्र कविभेदतो नामानि निर्दिष्टानि तत्र प्रतिभाकविः प्रतिभानकविर्वा इत्यास्ते। मन्येऽयं कविः प्रतिभाविशेषशाली भवति योऽसौ स्वप्रतिभाबलेन काव्ये नूतनविषये पुरातनवस्तुविन्यासे वा सौन्दर्यातिशयं द्योतयतीति।

अत्रायमभिसन्धिः—सृष्टिनियमानुकूलात् सर्वेषु प्राणिषु तत्रापि तत्रापि विशेषतया सर्वेषु मानवेषु पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वात्मकेषु स्वाभाविकतया बुद्धितत्त्वं वर्तत एव नात्र मनागपि सन्देहलेशावसरः, अन्यथा विकलाङ्गत्वापत्तिः स्यात्, लिङ्गशरीरस्य सर्वेषु स्थूलशरीरेषु विद्यमानत्वात्। अतोऽस्मिन् बुद्धितत्त्वे सर्वत्र योनिषु सर्वास्ववस्थासु च विद्यमानेऽपि नैव सर्वत्रैकसदृशं स्फुरितं बुद्धितत्त्वमवलोक्यते, स्थानभेदाद् बीजाङ्कुरवद् विभिन्नमेव च प्राक्तनकर्मवशात् परिलक्ष्यतेऽधिष्ठानभेदेषु। किन्तु न तस्य क्वाप्यत्यन्ताभावः सर्गाचारविरोधात्। तदेव उत्तममध्यमाधमाधमतरनिकृष्टतमकुण्ठिताकुण्ठितभेदेन प्राक्तनकर्मवासनाप्रारब्धादिवशात्

सर्वत्र विद्यमानं कार्यकारि बहुविधं प्रत्यूहनिवारणशक्तमशक्तमेकविषयात्मकमनेकविषयात्मकं नरीनर्ति शैलूष इव जनमानसेषु । तत्र ये पुण्यवन्तो जन्मान्तरेषु कृतदृढतराभ्यासजन्यवासना-वासितान्तःकरणास्तेषामिह जन्मनि शुभकृत्युदयादल्पीयसीं महतीं वा साधनसामग्रीमपेक्ष्य झटिति बुद्धितत्त्वं जार्गति । क्वचित् साधनमन्तरेणापि वासनाप्राबल्यान्निसर्गत उद्योतते । ये तु जन्मान्तरे न कृतवन्तो दृढाभ्यासं न तेषां तादृशः संस्कार उदितो न ते तादृशपुण्यवन्तः किन्तु मध्यपथानुयायिनः किञ्चित्सम्पृक्तास्त इह जन्मनि कृतभूरिपरिश्रमास्तादृशसंस्कारं तादृशीं वा वासनां समुपार्ज्य समीचीनमेव बुद्धितत्त्वं भजितुमर्हति । मा शङ्कीरत्र यत् संस्काररहित्याद् अस्मिन् जन्मनि तत्कथमपि न संभाव्येत । पूर्वजन्माचरिताभ्यासजो हि संस्कारः स किमैहिकाचरिताभ्यासान्नोत्पद्येत ? का तत्र विनिगमना, यत्कारणसत्वे कार्यानुत्पत्तिः कारणस्योभयत्र सत्त्वात् । भेदस्त्वियानेव तत्रेति मन्ये यदत्र यादृशः परिश्रमोऽपे-क्षितो न तावान् संस्कारवत्सु । अत्र संस्कारेऽल्पमहत्त्वभेदोऽभीष्टः । ये तु जन्मान्तरे नितान्तं संस्काररहितास्तेऽपीह जन्मनि दृढतराभ्यासेन घोरतपोभिरुपासितेष्टदेवतोपलब्धवरप्रसादात् पौनःपुन्योपदेशैः सततं मन्त्रयन्त्रौषधियुक्ताहारविहारप्रयोगेण च बुद्धितत्त्वं तादृशं लब्धुं शक्नुवन्ति निष्प्रत्यूहं यदा स्यात्तदाऽन्यथा जन्मान्तरे तत्स्यात् । यथेह समानमधीयमानेषु छात्रेषु केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते सद्यः, केचिद् द्वित्रिवारश्रुतेन, केचित् सहाध्यायिभिः सहानेकवार-पाठपरिशीलनेन गुरुमुखश्रवणानन्तरं, केचिन्निरन्तराभ्यासीयदीर्घकालेन, न निर्बीजं किञ्चि-ज्जायेत अतो बीजरूपेण सर्वत्रास्ते । अन्यथा सत्कार्यवादसिद्धान्तो भज्येत । अस्तु भङ्गोऽपरेण सिद्धान्तेन निर्वाहो भवेदिति मा वद, सदेव सौम्येदमग्र आसीत्, धाता यथापूर्वमकल्पयत्, इत्यादिश्रुतीनां तात्पर्यमत्रैवावसेयम् । एतदेव नहि अपि तु सर्वैरेव वादिभिः वैषम्यनैघृण्यप्रसङ्ग-भयात् सृष्टीनामनादित्वं कल्पयन्ति, तथा प्रलयकाले ब्रह्मणि सविकाशमासानानां सूक्ष्मदेहान्वि-तानां वा जीवानां सर्गादागतं बीजं प्रलयान्तं यावत् सुस्थिरमेव वर्तते न केवलं बीजमेव अपि तु यथावद्रूपमपि । यतो हि स्रष्टव्यालोचनपूर्विका सृष्टिः । आलोचनन्तु कृताकृताभ्याम् । एतावता इदमायाति यत्तद्‌बुद्धितत्त्वं क्वचिद् विकासि क्वचिदविकासि सुप्तमसुप्तं वा सुप्तं प्रबोधयितुं यत्नः करणीयः । असुप्तन्तु कथनमात्रेण कार्ये व्यापृतं भवेन्न सुप्तवदत्र प्रबोधनो-द्बोधनयोरावश्यकता ।

अनयापि रीत्या विचारणीयम्—शुद्धसत्त्वात्मिका मलिनसत्त्वात्मिका च बुद्धिः, सापि मात्राभेदतारतम्येनानेकविधा सती जनेषु सत्त्वातिशयं प्रकटयन्ती अविभासयन्ती च विराजते । इत्थञ्च नित्यनैमित्तिककर्मोपासनादिशास्त्रविहितकृत्यकलापकरणाकरणाभ्यां यादृशी तादृशी वा विधेया भवेत् । तत्र या सत्त्वात्मिका सा द्राक् प्रसरति, या संमिश्रा सा विलम्बेन, आक्रान्ता तु दीर्घकालनैरन्तर्याभ्यासेन । अत्रावधेयम्—यद् यथा पूर्वाचरितकृत्येन सत्त्वात्मिका शेमुषी यथाधुना जाता, किं तथैव क्रियमाणकृत्येन करिष्यमाणकृत्येन मलिनापि सत्त्वात्मिका न जायते न जनिष्यति वा । को हि हेतुरत्रापवादरूपो भवितुमर्हति येन बाध्यते । मन्ये ये तथाविधं कर्मैव न कुर्वन्ति, आलस्यं च भजन्ते, विपरीतञ्चाचरन्ति, प्रत्यूहैर्हन्यमाना मध्ये विरमन्ति ते यथावस्थितां ततोऽपि निकृष्टतरां वा प्रज्ञां लभन्ते । दृश्यते च पाप्मनां प्रतिहतत्वं

प्रैति प्रज्ञा। अतः सिद्धं यद् बुद्धिविशेषसामान्यरूपेणोभयविधा तत्र विशिष्टा बुद्धिरेव ऊहापोहात्मिका सर्वतोमुखी स्फुरन्ती हेयोपादेयपरिच्छेदलक्षणा प्रेक्षात्मिका तर्कवितर्ककुशला भवितुमर्हति न तु सामान्या सा तु दैनन्दिनं कार्यमेव चालयितुं पर्याप्ता।

तत्र प्रतिभा नाम का किं बुद्धितत्त्वं तदतिरिक्तमन्यतत्त्वं वेति विचारे बुद्धितत्त्वमेव सा यतो हि साङ्ख्यनये पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वात्मके योगनये षड्विंशतितत्त्वात्मके शैवनये षट्त्रिंशत्-तत्वात्मके वल्लभादिनये अष्टाविंशतितत्त्वात्मके सङ्घाते न्यायवैशेषिकनये पदार्थतदवान्तर-सङ्घाते वेदान्तनये कारणसूक्ष्मस्थूलसङ्घाते च प्रतिभानामकं न किञ्चित्तत्वं कीर्तितम्। नापि बुद्ध्यतिरिक्तानामन्येषां केषाञ्चिदपि संज्ञा, आन्तरबाह्येन्द्रियव्यतिरिक्तानामचेतनत्वात्, बाह्येन्द्रियाणां जडत्वात् संपृक्त- (संनिकृष्ट) विषयज्ञानवत्त्वाद् मनोयोगं विनैव कुत्रचित् प्रवृत्त्यभावात् आन्तरेऽपि न तावदहङ्कारस्य तस्य केवलमहङ्कर्तृधर्मवत्वाद् नापि मनसः तस्य सङ्कल्पविकल्पात्मकत्वाद्, निश्चयात्मकत्वाभावाच्च। ये केचन वेदान्तिनः श्रुत्यनुरोधिनः स्मार्ताः पौराणिकादयश्च मनसो वृत्तिभेदे एव बुद्धिरिति सङ्गिरन्ते तत्र किमपि वक्तव्यमेव न तथापि तत्र तादृशभेदमादाय बुद्धिरेवार्थात् तादृशवृत्तिरेव मनसः, प्रतिभा। ये भेदमाचक्षते तत्र बुद्धयः प्रतिभया सङ्गृह्यन्ते अपि तु बुद्ध्यवस्थाविशेष एव। सैवानेकनाम्ना कोशशास्त्रादिषु व्यवह्रियते। प्रातिभात् सर्वमिति योगसूत्रे आचार्यमिश्रपादाः प्रतिभा ऊहः, इति व्याख्यातवन्त ऊहश्च तर्कः, आगमाविरोधिन्यायेनागमार्थपरीक्षणम् परीक्षणञ्च संशयपूर्वपक्षनिराकरणेनोत्तर-पक्षव्यवस्थापनम् तदिदं मननमाचक्षते आगमिनः सा तृतीया सिद्धिस्तारतारम् उच्यते, इति। रुद्रकोशे नवनवोन्मेषशालिना प्रज्ञा प्रतिभेत्युक्तम्। सैव कल्पनापदाभिधेयापि पाश्चात्यैस्त्वेतेन शब्देन प्रायस्तां ब्रुवन्ति। यथा सुव्यवस्थितधिया अदृष्टविषयकज्ञानं कर्तुं पार्यते साबुद्धि-विशेषः प्रतिभा स। चानेकविधा यथोदकमेकरसं विविधफलाश्रयवशादनेकरसात्मकं जम्बीर-जम्बूनिम्बकदम्बकपित्थाम्रनारिकेलमीर्चादिफलाश्रयवशादनेकमधुराम्ललवणकटुकषायतिक्त-षड्रसात्मकं तत्राप्येकरसात्मके चिरभट्टिकाम्रेक्षुसन्तरानारिकेलादिस्थानभेदाद् मन्द-मध्योत्तमतीव्रतीव्रतररूपेण मधुरात्मकमुदकं वर्तते। वर्तमानमपि तथाविधरसात्मकमुदकं विपरीतपृथिवीजलवायुवशादागन्तुकाकास्मिकदोषवशाद् गलितजीर्णादिदोषवशाच्च प्रतिहतं विपरीतं च जायते। यथा स्वातीविन्दुराश्रयभेदाद् बहुविधः, यथा विद्या विनेयभेदाद् यथा सौगतशिक्षा व। तथैव हेयोपादेयगोचरा अदृष्टादिविवेचनी बुद्धिविशेषा प्रतिभापि देवर्षि-सिद्धिमुनिप्राड्विवाकवाक्कीलतार्किकवैज्ञानिककविवादिप्रतिवादिशास्त्रार्थधुरन्धरसूक्ष्मविचार-कगायकपण्डितकथाकारकलाविदादिषु सैवैका आश्रयभेदाद् भिन्नभिन्नमुखी अनेकविधा तत्र एकवर्गेष्वपि उत्तमाधममध्यमादिभावेन आश्रयवशादनेकरूपा नैसर्गिकी परिलक्ष्यते। वर्तमानापि तादृशी प्रतिभा क्वचिद् अनभ्यासवशाद् अव्यवस्थादोषात् कुसङ्गाद् दुराचाराच्च कुण्ठिता विपरीता च जायते। क्वचिदलक्षितापि सुसङ्गाच्छुभाचारादभ्यासाच्च क्रमशः शनैः शनैर्विकसिताविर्भवति। अत्र पूर्वरीतिरेवानुसन्धेया यथा समस्तशङ्कापङ्ककलङ्कप्रक्षालनं समीचीनतया भवेत्। सैव क्वचित् कार्योन्मुखी यथा प्रतिभया तादृशं कार्यं कृत्वा लोकाभि-मुखमभिव्यञ्जितुं क्षमते। क्वचिच्च ज्ञानोन्मुखी यया केवलमवबोद्धुमेव स्वयं शक्नोति जनः।

इयता सिद्धमिदं यत् सृष्टिविधौ सर्वत्र समरसं नैसर्गिकं केवलं बुद्धितत्वम् बुद्धिवैष्ट्यिञ्च कारणविशेषवशात् कारणविशेषञ्च व्यवस्थापयितुं सृष्टैरनादित्वमेवैकः पन्थाः समेषां विचारकाणाम्। अन्यथा नैर्घृण्यादिरापतेत् । अथ च विशिष्टबुद्धिर्स्वाभाविकी अपितु कर्मजा किन्तु सा कर्मजा जन्मान्तरे नैसर्गिकी पदवाच्या वर्तते । तत्र कर्मणोऽभावान्नैसर्गिकत्वम् । यतो हि कर्मकरणादृतेपि तदभिलक्ष्यते । न तु सुतरां नैसर्गिकी यद्यस्ति सा तु हरौ हरेरंशावतारेषु चैव, तत्र स्वतः कर्मणोऽप्रतिबन्धकत्वात् केवलं नैसर्गिकी एवाभाति नान्यत्रेति ।

बहवस्त्वित्थं मन्यन्ते—यद् यथा नैसर्गिकं बुद्धितत्वं तथैव बुद्धिवैशिष्ट्यञ्च नैसर्गिकमेव, नात्र बुद्धिवैशिष्ट्ये कर्तुः पक्षपातादिदोषो नापि समदर्शित्वं तस्य विहन्येत । यथा समानेऽपि वपने स्वाभाविकतया क्वचिदधिकवीजप्रक्षेपे क्वचिन्न्यूने च न वप्तू राणपक्षपातादिजन्यो दोषः । यथा मेघवृष्टौ समानदानवितरणे च । तथैवात्रापि बोध्यम्, स्वभाव एव शरणम्, अत एषां मते कापि न विचारणा ।

सा च प्रतिभा केन प्रकारेणाविर्भवतीति प्रश्ने नैसर्गिक्यास्तु विचार एव न कार्यस्तत्र तु प्रारब्धादिकर्म एव हेतुः । अपरासां मन्त्र-तप-औषधजानां कृते तु वर्णितो विविधोपायो घण्टापथे शास्त्र एव । समाधिजायां गर्जन्ति योगशास्त्राणि सिद्धग्रन्थाः पुराणानि च । त उपाया अपि निरभ्रसूर्यवद् वर्तन्ते अतोऽत्र किमपि न वक्तव्यम् । ते तु तत्र कथितरूपैर्ग्राह्याः । केचन त्वित्थं वदन्ति यत् प्रतिभोपलब्धये बुद्धिवैशद्यकरणस्यावश्यकता, तत्तु सात्विकवृत्त्या एकाग्रचित्तेन, मननात्, सततादृशीच्छाशक्तिदार्ढ्याद्, निरन्तराभ्यासाद् भवति एतानि सर्वाणि तत्प्रतिमिलित्वा हेतुर्न त्वेकैकशः । सात्विककर्मणा बुद्धौ शुद्धता कालुष्याभावो, मत्सरादिदोषजन्यापायाद्यसंपृक्तता, ततो मननाद् असम्भावनाविपरीतभावना च दूरेऽपगते भवतः । इच्छाशक्तेश्च सङ्कल्पसिद्धिः, यदेव कामयते तदेकपदे भवति । अभ्यासादेकतानता दृढता च समायातः । एवं सति बुद्धिवैशद्ये जाते समष्टिबुद्ध्या ऐक्ये स्थापिते सति तत्र प्रतिविम्बितं सर्वमतीतमनागतं सूक्ष्मं व्यवहितं विप्रकृष्टं च प्रत्यक्षं भवति ।

एतदुक्तं हरिणा—

आविर्भूतप्रकाशानामनुपप्लुतचेतसाम् ।
अतीतानागतज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षान्न विशिष्यते ।। १.३७

इति वाक्यपदीयस्वोपज्ञटीकायाम्—अथ च तपसा निर्दग्धदोषा निरावरणख्यातयः शिष्टा प्रतिविम्बकल्पेन प्रत्यक्षमिव स्वासु ख्यातिषु सङ्क्रान्ताकारपरिग्रहमव्यभिचरितं सर्वं पश्यन्ति इति । अथ प्रसङ्गवशात् कतिपयपाश्चात्यविचारकाणां मतमिह काव्यकारणविषये समासत उपस्थाप्यते । रोमदेशनिवासिनो होरेसमहोदयस्य मतम्—अयं हि काव्येऽनुकरणात्मकतामेवानुमोदते । काव्यं जीवनस्यानुकरणं मन्यमानः स कवीन् निर्दिशति यत्ते यूनानीसाहित्यिकादर्शपरिपालनाय काव्येऽनुकरणे सततं ध्यानं देयम् ।

सिडनीमहोदयः—एष खलु काव्यम् अरस्तूसदृशवद् अनुकरणमूलकममन्यत। एतदनुसारं काव्यं तु एकया शब्दायमानया प्रतिभया सदृशं भवति यस्य प्रयोजनम्—उपदेशः आनन्दसर्गश्च स्तः। सिडनीमहोदयेन काव्यस्यानुकरणमेव हेतुं मन्वानेनापि सदैव काव्य-प्रेरणा ईश्वरीया भवतीत्यङ्गीकृतम्। अतः कविरन्यसर्वविचारकापेक्षया उच्चतरं स्थानं लब्धुमधिकृतो भवति। एतेन स स्पष्टं निर्दिशति यत् प्रतिभाया अभावे कस्मिन्नपि काव्य-शक्त्युद्भवः सर्वथा न सम्भवति। केवलेन परिश्रमेण, अभ्यासेन, अध्यापनेन वा कोऽपि कविर्न भवति।

बेकनमहोदयः—काव्ये कल्पनातत्वं विशेषतः प्रधानमस्तीति स्वीकृतवान्। तदनुसारं काव्यं प्रकारान्तरेण अन्तस्तोषजन्यप्रतिक्रियामात्रम्। प्रतिक्रिया चैषा कविमेतदर्थं सततं प्रेरयति यत् सा कविः स्वकल्पनां केनचिदपि मनोऽभिलषितेन रूपेणालङ्क्रियेत। अतो बेकन-महोदयः कल्पनां मानसिकशक्तिरूपेणैवामन्यत।

जानसनमहाशयस्तु—कविषु नैसर्गिक्याः प्रतिभाया अस्तित्वमनिवार्यरूपेणाङ्गीकृतवान्। एवं कविषु काव्यकलां प्रति जन्मजाता प्रेरणापि भवितुमावश्यकी यतो हि यदि स प्रौढावस्था-प्राप्त्यनन्तरम् अन्येनापि केनचित्प्रकारेणाकृष्टः सन् अस्मिन् क्षेत्रे आगच्छेत तदानीमिदं सम्भवेद् यत् शीघ्रतया काव्यरचनां कर्तुं शक्नुयात् किन्तु श्रेष्ठकाव्यलेखकोऽत्र न भवेत्। ड्राइडन महोदयस्तु—काव्ये कल्पनातत्त्वस्य समावेशे विस्तरेण व्यचारयत्। स कल्पनामेता-दृशीमेकां शक्तिं मनुते या मानवहृदयस्यानुभूतीनामभिव्यक्तिं कर्तुं पूर्णतया शक्नोति। कल्पनातत्त्वस्य समावेशस्येदमुद्देश्यं यत् कविः स्वाभीष्टं कलात्मकरूपेण प्रस्तोतुं समर्थः स्यात्।

ग्रीकविचारकः पिण्डारकमहाभागस्तु साहित्यिकविचारपद्धतौ कलानियमे स्तुतिगीतेष्वपि च चर्चां विधाय काव्यरचनायां कलायां आन्तरिकप्रेरणायाश्च महत्त्वोपरि स्वाभिप्रायं प्रकटितवान्। तेनेदं प्रतिपादितं यत् प्रेरणाद्वारारचितमेव काव्यं वस्तुतः श्रेष्ठं सिध्यति। पिण्डारकरचनायां कलायां प्रवेशो यद्यप्याधारोऽस्ति तथापि तेन स्पष्टमुद्घोषितम्—"कलाकारे यदि नैसर्गिकी प्रेरणाऽस्ति तदा केवलं कलां विजानतामन्येषां कलाकाराणामपेक्षयोच्चतमः" इति। इटलीदेशनिवासिन इसिडोरमहाशयस्य मतमिदम्—काव्यरचनायाः प्रेरणास्रोतांसि मूलतो धर्मेण ईश्वरीयमान्यताभिश्च सह सम्बध्नन्ति। अतः स एव कविः श्रेष्ठं काव्यं रचयितुं शक्नोति य एकेश्वरवादी। यतो हि य एकेश्वरवादी तस्य भावना अनन्यतामयी भवति तद् विपरीतं यः कविर्बह्वीश्वरवादी स काव्यसौन्दर्यस्य स्थायिषु तत्वेषु विहीनः सन् केवलं निःसारैर्बाह्यैराकर्षणैर्युक्तं काव्यं रचयितुं प्रभवेत्।

प्लेटोमहोदयस्तु—कविस्तावद् युक्तिहीनः शक्तिहीनो स्वगूढोक्तिप्रकाशनासमर्थश्च भवति यावद् दैवीं प्रेरणामुपलभ्य स्वयमिन्द्रियशून्यो बुद्धिविहीनो न भवति। तामेवावस्थामवाप्य स्वाभिप्रायमाविष्कर्तुं सशक्तो भवति। कलया नहि अपि तु दैव्या प्रेरणयैव कवीनां चेतांसि

अग्रे सरन्ति। अयं खलु काव्यमनुकृतिमूलक मन्यते। "यत्किञ्चिदपि वयमस्मिन् पार्थिवे संसारे पश्यामः शृणमोऽनुभवामस्तत्सर्वस्य मूलं रूपं स्वर्गे तिष्ठति। मानवस्यात्मा यदा स्वर्गे वसति तदैतानि मूलरूपाणि निसर्गतः प्रत्यभिजानाति अथ च तत्सम्पर्के वर्तते। किन्तु यदा वयम् अस्मिन् पार्थिवे जगति एषां मूलरूपाणामनुकरणं कुर्मस्तदाऽस्मान् प्रति तच्छाया-मात्रमेव प्राप्स्यति, अपि च यदा साहित्यकारः स्वकीयरचनायामेतान्यनुकरिष्यति तदा स मूलरूपादतिदूरं गमिष्यति। एतद्दृष्ट्या काव्यं बहुदूरमस्मान् नयति। काव्यद्वारा सत्यानुभूतिर्न सम्भविष्यति" इति।

अरस्तू महाभागः समस्तकलानां मूलं तत्वमनुकरणं मन्यते स्म। एतदेव नहि अपि तु काव्यस्य आत्मैवानुकरणममन्यत। किन्तु अनुकरणात्मकप्रवृत्तिविषये स्वपूर्ववर्तिनः प्लेटो-महाभागाद् मतवैषम्यमप्रकटयत्। अरस्तूमहोदयमतानुसारं काव्यस्योद्देश्यं ध्येयं वा उपदेश आनन्दानुभूतिश्च। अत्र द्वितीयस्य प्रथमापेक्षया वैशिष्ट्यं वर्तते।

यवनसाहित्याचार्यविचारेण प्रतिभायाः किं स्वरूपं किं स्थानं कारणत्वञ्चेति विषये मौलाना शिवली नुअमानी महोदयेन[1] यत्प्रत्यपादि तदेव सङ्क्षेपेणेह कथ्यते—

मनुष्येषु मूलरूपेण शक्तिद्वयं वर्तते तत्रैका बोधात्मिका 'इदराक' अपरा संवेदना 'अहसास' नाम्नी। प्रथमायाः शक्तेर्वृत्तिः—पदार्थज्ञानं, तर्केण युक्त्या वा कार्यकरणं च। एतस्या एव परिणामाः—विविधा आविष्काराः, अन्वेषणं, रहस्योद्घाटनं, सर्वाः कलाः, सर्वा विद्याः सन्ति। द्वितीयायाः शक्तेः कार्याणि न कस्यचिद् वस्तुनो ज्ञानं, नापि तर्केण तत्करणं, नापि आविष्कारान्वेषणादि, नापि गम्भीरविषयस्य सौविध्यापादनं, नापि कस्मिंश्चिद् विषये विचारणा ऊहापोहो वा, अपि तु तत्कार्यं केवलमेतदेव यद् यदा किञ्चित् प्रभावकारि वृत्तं प्रस्तौति तदा स तेन प्रभावितो भवति। शोकमये वृत्तान्ते दुःखानुभूतिः, सुखमये हर्षोन्मादो, विस्मयमये आश्चर्यं च भवति एनां 'अहसास' शक्तिमेव 'अहसास', 'फ़ीलिङ्ग', 'संवेदना' आदिशब्दैर्व्यवहरन्ति। इदमेव कविताया द्वितीयं नामेति। इयमेव 'अहसास' नाम्नी शक्तिर्यदा शब्दमयं परिधानं परिदधाति तदा 'शेर' कविताकारेणाविर्भवति। यदि 'मन्तकी' न्यायशास्त्रीयशैल्यां 'शेर' इत्यस्य कवितायाः परिभाषां कर्तुं वाञ्छेत्तदेत्थं निगदितुं प्रभवेद् यद् या भावना 'जज़बात' शब्दद्वारा आत्मानं प्रकटयति सा कविता। अपि च यद्ययं शब्दः श्रोतॄणां भावनोपरि स्वप्रभावं स्थापयति तदा कवितालक्षणमित्थमपि कर्तुं शक्नोति यद् यो मानवीयशब्दग्रामो भावनामन्दोलयति गतिशीलताञ्च सम्पादयति सा कविता।

अखिला आचार्या मन्यन्ते यत् काव्यस्य मुख्यं प्रयोजनम्—मानवीयभावनानामान्दोलनम्, अर्थात् कवितां श्रुत्वा हृदये शोकानां हर्षाणामुत्साहानां वा प्रभावः समुत्पद्यते। कवीनामियं प्रतिभा कवितां विज्ञानकलाविद्येत्याद्यपेक्षया श्रेष्ठतामापादयति। काव्यस्य सम्बन्धो भावनाभिः सहास्ति, विज्ञानस्य च विश्वासेन। विज्ञानं युक्तिभिः कार्यं करोति कविता भावनास्पन्दनं

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१. शेर-उल-आजम, इति पुस्तकस्य ४ भागे।

प्रयोजयति । विज्ञानं बुद्धिसविधे विद्यासम्बन्धिनीं समस्यामुपस्थापयति किन्तु कविता शब्दबन्धनेन भावनाया: पुरो मनोरञ्जकं दृश्यमुपस्थापयति ।

काव्यस्य वास्तवं तत्त्वद्वयं वर्तते तत्रैकं चित्रणं प्रस्तुतीकरणं वा 'महाकात' द्वितीयं कल्पनाशक्ति: 'तख़य्युल' इति । अनयोर्द्वयो: समन्वयेन कविषु कवितां निर्मातुं या शक्तिरुदेति सा प्रतिभेति कथ्यते । किन्तु अनयोर्मध्ये यद्येकोऽपि गुण: कश्चित् कवावुपलभ्येत तदा स कवि: कविपदवाच्ययोग्यतामाधातुमवश्यमेव शक्नुयात् । अन्ये गुणा:—प्रसादादयो,भाषासौष्ठवम्, रमणीयालङ्कारनिवेशो, मनोहरवृत्तबन्धनम्, वृत्तयो रीतयश्च, भाषापूर्णता, लोकोक्ति:, शब्दविन्यासविदग्धता इत्यादय: कविताया: कृते न मौलिकतत्त्वेनापेक्षन्ते अपि तु गौणा: सहायकाश्चैते ।

कविप्रतिभाया: प्रथमतत्त्वस्य चित्रणस्य (महाकात) इत्यस्य स्वरूपन्तु कस्यचिद् वस्तुन: कस्यचिद् वृत्तान्तस्य वा इत्थं शब्दग्रामैरुपस्थापनं येन वस्तुनो वृत्तस्य वा तस्य प्रतिभा दृष्टिसविधे नरीनृत्येत । यथा—

खा खा के ओस और भी सब्ज़ा हरा हुआ ।
था मोतियों से दामने सेहरा भरा हुआ ।।

ईदृक् प्रभावकारि चित्रं चित्रकार: स्वतूलिकया चित्रयितुं न शक्ष्यति यादृक् शब्दै: कविश्चित्रितवान् ।

अस्मिन् हि चित्रणतत्त्वेऽधोनिर्दिष्टविषया उपन्यसनीया वर्तन्ते—

१—विभिन्ना भावना अभिव्यञ्जयितुमुपयोगिनां विभिन्नानां छन्दसां प्रयोग: ।

२—यद् वस्तु वर्णनीयं स्यात् तस्य निखिला अवयवा इत्थं प्रस्तोतव्या यत् परिपूर्णस्य तस्य वस्तुनश्चित्रं दृष्टिसविधे समागच्छेत् ।

३—स एवोपयुक्त: शब्द: प्रयोक्तव्यो य: पात्रविशेषस्य परिस्थितिविशेषस्य च चित्रणं स्वाभाविकरीत्या कुर्यात् । यथा 'हज़रत इमाम हुसेन' इत्यस्य कन्याया: 'सकीना' इति नाम्न्या: शिबिकास्थिताया: करबलाक्षेत्रे बहि:स्थितं स्वपितृव्यं 'हज़रत अब्बास' नामकं प्रति वागियम्—

साया किसी जगह है न चश्मो न आब है ।
तुम तो हवा में हो मेरी हालत खराब है ।।

४—गम्भीरस्य सूक्ष्मविषयस्य प्रकटनम् ।

५—परस्परविरोधिनां पक्षाणां प्रदर्शनम् ।

द्वितीयं तत्त्वन्तु 'तख़य्युल' कल्पनाशक्तिर्वर्तते तस्या लक्षणं हेनरी लुई इति नामकेन विदुषेत्थं प्रत्यपादि—या शक्तिरलौकिकानि स्वानुभवपराणि इन्द्रियागोचराणि वस्तून्यपि स्वदृष्टिसविधे समुपस्थापयति सैव कल्पना 'तख़य्युल' शक्तिः। परन्त्विदं लक्षणं न पूर्णं नापि सर्वमान्यमस्ति यतो हि एतादृशानां वस्तूनां यथार्थतस्तर्कपूर्णा सर्वमान्या परिभाषैव न सम्भवति। कल्पनाशक्तिः (तख़य्युल) वस्तुतोऽन्वेषणशक्तिरस्ति। सामान्यजनदृष्ट्या तर्कशास्त्रस्य दर्शनशास्त्रस्य चारम्भकर्ता पुरुषः कल्पनाशक्त्याः स्वामी भवितुं नार्हति। अपि च यदि कमपि दार्शनिकं पुरुषमेतदुपाधिविभूषितं कुर्यात् तदा स स्वं प्रति तदुपाधिमपमानजनकमनुभविष्यति। परन्तु वास्तवमेतद् यत् काव्ये दर्शने च कल्पनाशक्त्या उपादेयता समानरूपेणास्ति। इयमेव कल्पनाशक्तिः (तख़य्युल) या एकत्र दर्शनेऽन्वेषणाविष्काररूपेण फलिता भवति, अपरत्र काव्य-विषयान् जनयति। यतो हि बहुधा वैज्ञानिकाः काव्ये सहृदया न भवन्ति तथा कवयो दर्शने विज्ञाने चानभिज्ञा भवन्ति। अत एवेदृशी भ्रान्तिर्जायते यत् कल्पनाशक्तेर्नहि सम्बन्धः कश्चन् विज्ञानदर्शनाभ्यां सहास्ति। परन्त्वेतन्नोचितम्। निःसन्दिग्धमेतद् यत् साधारणे वैज्ञानिके दार्शनिके चाविष्कारशक्तेर्न्यूनता वर्तते किन्तु ये जनाः कस्याश्चित् कलायाः समस्याया वा आरम्भकर्तारस्तेषां कल्पनाशक्तिर्नकारात्मिका नास्ति। न्यूटन-अरस्तूनामकयोर्विदुषोस्त-तख़य्युलशक्तिः (कल्पनाशक्तिः) तावन्मात्रात्मिका आसीद् यावती होमर-फिरदौसी इत्यनयोः प्राज्ञयोरवर्तत। यद्यप्यनयोः कक्षयोर्द्वयोरुद्देश्यमावश्यकताश्च भिन्नास्तथा द्वाभ्यां प्रयुक्तायाः कल्पनाशक्तेर्विधिरपि भिन्नोऽस्ति। विज्ञाने दर्शने च कल्पनाशक्तिप्रयोगस्योद्देश्यन्तु एकज्ञान-सम्बन्धिन्याः समस्यायाः समाधानकरणम्। परन्तु काव्ये कल्पनाशक्तेरुपयोगो मानवभावना-मान्दोलयितुं वर्तते। दार्शनिकाः केवलं तान्येव वस्तूनि पश्यन्ति येषां वास्तविकमस्तित्वं वर्तते परन्तु कवयस्तान्यपि वस्तूनि प्रयुञ्जन्ति येषां किमप्यस्तित्वं नास्ति। दर्शने हुमा-सीमुर्ग-गावज़मी-इत्यादि खगानां तख्तेसुलेमान इति वस्तुनः किमपि स्थानं न वर्तते किन्तु इमान्येव वस्तूनि कविसमीपे तदीयकाव्यस्य शोभादायकानि भवन्ति। यदि दार्शनिकाः सीमुर्ग-ज़र्री-इत्यादीनां प्रयोगं कुर्वन्ति तदाऽस्मिन् विषये प्रमाणमुपस्थापयितुं ते जनैरनुरुध्यन्ते परन्तु कवयस्तादृशैः काल्पनिकैर्वस्तुभिः स्वकीयं कल्पनामयं लोकमलङ्कुर्वन्ति किन्तु केऽपि जनास्तस्मिन् विषये प्रमाणं दातुं तान् न प्रेरयन्ति। यतो हि ते कवयो दार्शनिकवत् कामपि समस्यां समाधातुं स्वाधिकारं न चक्षते। अपि तु ते हि केवलम् अस्मान् सहृदयानानन्दयितुं वाञ्छन्ति यस्मादस्मिन् कार्ये निर्विघ्नमसन्दिग्धं साफल्यं भजन्ते। वैज्ञानिकाः पुष्प-मेकमालोक्य तस्य सम्बन्धे जिज्ञासन्ति यदिदं पुष्पं वनस्पतेः कस्मिन् परिवारे सम्बध्नाति ? अस्य वर्णे केषां वर्णानां सहयोगः ? अस्य खाद्यं पार्थिवैः कैः पदार्थैरुपलभ्यते ? अस्मिन् स्त्रीपुंसयोर्द्वयोरणवोऽथवैकतरस्य वा ? परन्तु कवीनां कृते एभिः सर्वैरपि प्रश्नैः सह न कश्चन् सम्बन्धः। पुष्पं विलोक्य तेषां मनस्यकस्मादेवैष विचारः समायाति—

'अय गुल वतु सन्दम तु बुई किसे दारी'

चन्द्रमसं प्रति कस्यचिदन्तरिक्षवैज्ञानिकस्य मनसीत्थं प्रश्ना जायन्ते यदेष कैस्तत्त्वै-र्निर्मितः ? निर्जनः सजनो वा ? प्रकाशमयोऽन्धकारमयश्च ? समुद्रतरङ्गाणां तेन सह कः सम्बन्धः इत्यादि किन्तु कवय इयदेव जानन्ति यत् स प्रेयस्याः कान्तिमयं मुखमण्डलमस्ति। कवीनां सांमुख्ये सर्वाणि जडवस्तूनि चेतनवत् प्रस्तुतानि भवन्ति। तेषां कर्णेषु हर्षनादो विष्वक् श्रूयते। पृथिवी, गगनं, चन्द्रो, अणवोऽणवो वदन्तः प्रतिभान्ति कविसविधे।

कल्पनाशक्तिमाधृत्य प्रायः कविर्नवीनमेकं वस्तु काल्पनिकतर्कं च प्रस्तौति। मन्ये यत् कोऽपि तार्किकः कविकृततर्कं न स्वीकुर्यात्, परन्तु कल्पनाशक्त्या स यत्र जयति तदङ्गीकर्तुं कदापि न संशेते। यथैकस्य कवेर्भणितिरियम्—

दोश अज़ बरम चौरफ्ती आगाह नग शतम आरे।
उम्रे बरफ्तन उम्र आवाज़ पान्दारद ॥

अस्यायं भावः—अङ्कान्निःसृत्य प्रेयसी गतवतीति नावोधिषं यतो हि प्रेयसी प्रियस्य प्राण एवास्ति प्राणनिःसरणसमये तु न भवति तावद् अनुभवाभासः। अस्मिन् तर्के द्वे प्रस्तावने वर्तेते—

१—प्रेयसी प्रेयसो जीवनमस्ति।

२—प्राणप्रयासस्यानुभवाभासो न भवति।

अनयोर्द्वयोर्मध्ये त्वं कां न स्वीकुर्याः। तर्कोपस्थाने कल्पनाशक्तेर्यो विधिः स पूर्णतया सामान्यरीतेर्भिन्नः। अपरप्रकारेण सिद्धान् तथ्यान् कविः स्वकीयेन परेण नवीनविधिना साधयति यद्यपि कविकृत एष तर्कोपस्थापनविधिर्भ्रम एवास्ति तथापि कविः कल्पनाशक्त्या ईदृशेन विधिना तान् प्रस्तौति यत्र श्रोतारस्तेषां विधीनां सत्यतायामसत्यतायां वा ध्यानं दातुमसमर्था अपि तु तेषां चमत्कारेण मुग्धा भवन्ति तथा स्वयमेव तत्र विश्वसन्ति।

अधिभूमि (कब्रे) गत्वा राजानो रङ्काश्च सर्वे समाना भवन्ति तथा सर्वेषां तत्र निर्धनतापि समानाऽस्ति। एतां वार्तां कविरित्थं साधयति यत् पश्य पृथिवी सर्वेभ्यः स्थानं ददाति।

रौशन्द लान सुशमद शावान न करदाह अन्द।
आईना पोश सिकन्दर नमी शुद ॥

अस्यायं भावः—ये प्राणिनः स्वच्छमनसः सरलस्वभावाः सन्ति ते राज्ञां धनिनां च कदापि चाटुकारितां नाचरन्ति। अत्रैतत् प्रमाणं यद् दर्पणः सिकन्दरनाम्नो राज्ञो दुर्गुणान् नह्यन्तर्दधौ। यद्यपि कविमते दर्पणस्याविष्कारं सिकन्दर एवाऽकरोत्।

यद्यपि चित्रणशक्तिः (मताकात) कल्पनाशक्ति-(तख़य्युल) श्चेमे द्वे काव्यस्याङ्गे स्तस्तथापि काव्यं वस्तुतः कल्पनाशक्तेरेव द्वितीयं रूपमस्ति। चित्रणशक्तौ यज्जीवनमायाति तत्कल्पनाशक्तेरेव प्रभावात्। अन्यथा चित्रणशक्तिरनुकरणमात्रमेवास्ति चित्रणशक्तेरिदं कार्यं यत् किमपि दृष्टं श्रुतं वा तत्सर्वं शब्दद्वारा तथैव प्रस्तुतीकरणम्। किन्तु एषु वस्तुषु विशेषेण रूपेण क्रमेण च समानानुपातिकतां तदनुरूपतां च विधातुम् आकर्षणोन्मुखीं च कर्तुं कल्पनाशक्तेरेव कार्यमस्ति।

अत्रेदमवधेयम्—एतावता प्रायः समस्तप्राच्यपाश्चात्यविचारकविचारपद्धत्यवलोकनेन निःसन्दिग्धमेतत् प्रतिभाति यत् प्रतिभा मूलं कारणं काव्यस्य, सर्वमन्यदवान्तरकारणं सहायकं पुष्टिकरञ्च। किन्तु नहि तत्र विश्वस्य निर्माणेच्छुभिर्विरामः कार्यः, अपि त्वभ्यासमवलम्ब्य तत्र प्रयतनीयम्। पूर्णेऽभ्यासे प्रतिभाद्वारप्रवेशः कविकर्मसाफल्यञ्च स्याताम्। मन्येऽनेन महाकवयो भवितुं नार्हन्ति किन्तु कवित्वं तु लभन्त एव। अभ्यासो व्युत्पत्तिमवश्यमपेक्षते। अतस्तत्सहकृत अभ्यासोऽपि सर्वदा प्रवलेच्छुभिर्न हेयः किन्तु सर्वथोपादेयस्तस्य मूलकारणजनकत्वात्।

PĀṆINI IN DĀRILA IN *KAUŚIKASŪTRA*

Acharya V. P. Limaye

POONA

Among the ancillary texts of the *Atharva Veda* (*AV*) two *Sūtra*-books belonging to it are well known—the *Vaitāna Sūtra* (*VS*) and the *Kauśika-Sūtra* (*KS*). Of two, the *KS*. which is primarily a *Gṛhya-Sūtra* as opposed to *VS* which is a *Śrauta-Sūtra*, is more important. Some scholars are of the view that the *VS* and even the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (*GB*) of the *AV* are posterior to and, therefore, indebted to it. Be that as it may, it goes to show the high regard in which the *KS* is held.

For its proper comprehension two principal expository texts, namely, the *Bhāṣya* of Dārila (*DB*) and the *Paddhati* of Keśava are available.

The *KS* consists of 14 *adhyāyas* or chapters compassing within their orbit 141 *Kaṇḍikās* or sub-chapters, if we may designate them as such. Each *Kaṇḍikā* consists of a varying number of *Sūtras*.

The *DB*, however, extends over only the first 48 *Kaṇḍikās* out of the total of 141 and breaks off practically at the end of the sixth *adhyāya*; the *KP* goes over the entire range of the *KS*. The *KP* refers at least to two other *Bhāṣya*-s[1], besides *DB* written by Rudra and Bhadra; but, except for a quotation or two, their works are not available. We, therefore, have to fall back upon *DB* for the interpretation of the intricate text of the *KS*.

In the concluding portion of his work Keśava observes :

कौशिको वत्सशर्मा च तत्प्रपौत्रश्च दारिलः ।
शास्त्रविज्ञानमेषां हि चतुर्थो नोपपद्यते ॥

This indicates the *munitraya* of the Atharvanic *Sūtra-Bhāṣya* tradition. Unfortunately the work of वत्सशर्मन् is lost; he was the great grand-father of

1. So Says *KP* (Varanasi MS, folio, 146) :
त्रयाणामपि भाष्याणां सारं जग्राह केशवः ।
तेन शिष्यहितार्थाय कृता कौशिकपद्धतिः ॥

दारिल who held him in very high regard and who quoted वत्सशर्मन् 's views as often as eight times.[1]

As a *Bhāṣyakāra*, Dārila is true to the traditional definition of one :—

सूत्रार्थो वर्ण्यते यत्र
वाक्यैः सूत्रानुसारिभिः ।
स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते
भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः ॥

In the course of his *Bhāṣya* Dārila cites such authorities as Pāṇini, Jaimini, etc. especially the former, to support his explanation of a word or a phrase.

In this article an attempt has been made to cull together references to Pāṇini and his successors, Sūtra-foliage. The references are to page and line of our edition of *KSDB*

1-*P* 1.1.20 : दाधाघ्वदाप् । *M*[2] on this (I.76.9-11) says :

पकारलोपे कृते भविष्यति । न ह्ययं तदा दाव्-भवति । भूतपूर्वगत्या भविष्यति । एतच्चात्र युक्तं यत्सर्वेष्वेव सानुबन्धकग्रहणेषु भूतपूर्वगतिर्विज्ञायते ।

DB 67.21-68. : सत्त्वं द्वादशाहानि । तत्र भवः सात्रिकः भूतपूर्ववृत्त्या ।

2. *P* 1.1.44: न वेति विभाषा । *M* on this (I.105.8-10) observes :

यस्य पुनर्नित्याः शब्दा गालवग्रहणं तस्य पूजार्थं देशग्रहणं च कीर्त्यर्थम् ।

DB 62.6.8 : भागलिराचार्यो मन्यतेऽदेयो मधुपर्कः । स्त्रीणामस्वतन्त्रत्वात् । आचार्यग्रहणानि पूजार्थानि चेति प्रसिद्धत्वात् ।

3-*P* 1.2.33-35 : एकश्रुति दूरात् सम्बुद्धौ । यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु । उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः ।

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1. See p. 33, ll. 15-16 of our edition of the कौशिकसूत्रदारिलभाष्यम्, published by the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, Poona, 1972.

न तेन तुल्यः सुहृदस्ति कश्चिद्
न सर्वकर्मप्रतिमोऽस्ति राजन् ।
न मातृतुल्यः क्वचिदस्ति बन्धुर्
न वत्सशर्मप्रतिमोऽस्ति विद्वान् ॥

2. *M* refers to *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Keilhorn's edition by volume, page and line.

DB 14.1-2 वषट्कारवचनं विकल्पार्थम् । ऋचा सह समुच्चयो नानयोः कार्यभेदात् । यथाशास्त्रं स्वरः ।

4.*P* 1.2.42 : तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ।

DB 81.2-3 : ऋषभौ गौः सेक्ता । ऋषभदण्डिन इति समानाधिकरणात् । दण्डीति गवां सर्वेषां यो बली । यो बलीयान् दण्डी चापि भवतीत्यर्थः ।

for the *daṇḍa* in this context see *SB* 11.5.1.1 :—

उर्वशी हाप्सराः पुरूरवसमैडं चकमे । तं ह विन्दामानोवाच । त्रिः स्म माऽह्नो वैतसेन दण्डेन हतात् । अकामां स्म मा निपद्यासै । मो स्म त्वा नग्नं दर्शम् । एष वै नः स्त्रीणामुपचार इति ।

About this *vaitasa* see *Nir* 3.29 : शेपः वैतस इति पुंस्प्रजननस्य ।

5.*P* 1.2.67 : पुमान् स्त्रिया ।

(i) *DB* 87.2 : ये तु प्रस्कन्दीति पठन्ति तेषां स्त्री पुमान् वा प्रेष्यता पिशाचः प्रयोज्यः 'पुमान् स्त्रिया' इत्येकशेषः ।

(ii) *DB* 115.16-18 फाण्टश्च फाण्टा च फाण्टौ ।

'पुमान् स्त्रिया' इत्येकशेषः ।—फाण्टं चूर्णमिति केचित्

for the meaning of *phāṇṭa* in *P* 7.2.18 see *Kāś* :

फाण्टमिति भवति अनायासश्चेत् । फाणितमन्यत् यदशृतमपिष्ट च कषायमुदकसम्पर्कमात्रात् विभक्तरसमीषदुष्णं तत् फाण्टम् । तदल्पप्रयत्नसाध्यत्वादनायासेन लक्ष्यते ।

anāysena, in fact, means without having recourse to boil ($\sqrt{Yas}$ boil) it.

(iii) *DB* 71.2-3 सह हुता ये ते सहहुताः धानादयः । स्थालीपाकेन सह हुताः । 'पुमान् स्त्रिया' इत्येकशेषः । शेषे न हृदयादीनि नपुंसकनिर्देशात् ।

6.*P* 1.2.70: पिता मात्रा ।

DB 128.8-9 पितरौ च (*KS* 46.46) मातापितरौ चाशयति । 'पिता मात्रा' इत्येकशेषः । चकारात् प्रकृतस्यैवाशनसम्प्रत्ययार्थम् तयोरेव भक्षणात् फलम् ।

7.*P* 1.3.20 : आङो दोऽनास्यविहरणे ।

Kāś.....आङ्पूर्वाद् ददातेरनास्यविहरणे वर्तमानात् आत्मनेपदं भवति । विद्यामादत्ते । अनास्यविहरणे इति किम् · आस्यं व्याददाति ।

DB 135.19-20 : तत्रास्य आस्यं व्यादाय विवृतं कृत्वा । व्यापूर्वस्य ददातेश्च आस्यविहरणार्थत्वात् ।

Here, however, in *vyādāya* there is no question of *parasmaipada* or *ātmanepada*.

8. *P* 1.3.24 : उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि ।

DB 116.16-18 ...अर्थमुत्थास्यन् उपदधीत (*KS* 41.8) अर्थार्थमीहमानः हविषामन्यतममुपदधीत। उत्तिष्ठतेः ईहार्थसम्प्रत्यात् । (See *M* I .281.3. : उद ईहायामिति वक्तव्यम् ।)......'उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि' इत्यात्मनेपदम् । In this connection see Dārila's pertinent changeover from *parasmaipada* to *ātmanepada* :

DB 6.6 : 'अर्थमुत्थास्यन्' इति । अतः प्रभृति अर्थमुत्थास्यमनास्य ।

9. *P* 1.3.25 : उपान्मन्त्रकरणे ।

(i) *DB* 10.5-6 : 'प्रतिदिशमुपतिष्ठते' इति विधिकर्म मन्त्रकरणत्वात् ।

(ii) *DB* 39.13-4 : प्रतिदिशमुपतिष्ठते (*KS* 8.4) दिशं दिशं प्रति उपतिष्ठते । ईड्यानामेव बलिं हृत्वा देवपूजाविधिकर्म चैतत् । आत्मनेपदम् ।
(See *M* I. 281. 6-7,8-10)

उपाद्देवपूजासङ्गतकरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् । आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते । चन्द्रमसमुपतिष्ठते ।

'बहूनामप्यचित्तानामेको भवति चित्तवान् ।
पश्य वानरसैन्येऽस्मिन् यदर्कमुपतिष्ठते ॥
मैवं मंस्थाः सचित्तोऽयमेषोऽपि हि यथा वयम् ।
एतदप्यस्य कापेयं यदर्कमुपतिष्ठति ॥

(iii) *DB* 61.17-19 : वैश्यः सर्वस्वजयिनमुपतिष्ठते उत्सृजायुष्मन्निति (*KS* 17.18) 'उपान्मन्त्रकरणे' इत्यात्मनेपदम् । उत्सृजायुष्मन्निति मन्त्रः । सर्वस्वं येन जितं स सर्वस्वजयी । तं पुरजन उपतिष्ठते । मन्त्रेणाभिवर्धयते उत्सृजायुष्मन्निति ।

(iv) *DB* 81.7 : यस्यामन्नमित्युपतिष्ठते (*KS* 24.38) भूमिमुपतिष्ठते । आत्मनेपदात् ।

10. *P* 1.3.56 उपाधमः स्वकरणे ।

DB 117.20-21 : निर्मृज्योपयच्छति (*KS* 42.5) क्रीतं द्रव्यं सुष्ठु शोधयित्वा स्वीकुर्यात् । स्वीकरणे मन्त्रः प्रधाननिर्देशात् ।

Here there is no question of *pāṇigrahaṇa* or 'acceptance in marriage' but only 'receiving' or 'treating somebody or something as one's own'! (See *M* I 284,10-12):

इह कस्मान्न भवति स्वं शाटकान्तमुपयच्छतीति । अस्वं यदा स्वं करोति तदा भवित-व्यम् । यद्येवं स्वीकरणे[1] इति प्राप्नोति । विचित्रास्तद्धितवृत्तयः । नातस्तद्धित उत्पद्यते ।

11. *P* 1.3.66 : भुजोऽनवने ।

DB 74.11 : प्रतिसायं भुञ्जते (*KS* 21.3) धान्यं मित्वा प्रतिसायं भुञ्जते । बहुवचनमतिशयाद्यर्थम् । 'भुजोऽनवने' । प्रतिग्रहणं भोजनाभ्यासार्थम् ।

12. *P* 1.3.72 : स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ।

(i) *DB* 63.18-19 : प्रोष्यतामुत्तरस्यां साम्पदं कुरुते (*KS* 18.6) तां रात्रिमुषित्वा … । 'कुरुते' इति चात्मनेपदश्रुतिः । (See *M* I.293.2-9) :

कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले इति किमर्थम् पचन्ति भक्तकाराः । कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः । यजन्ति याजकाः । कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले इत्युच्यमानेऽप्यत्र प्राप्नोति । अत्रापि हि क्रियाफलं कर्तारमभिप्रैति । याजका यजन्ति गा लप्स्यामह इति । कर्मकराः कुर्वन्ति पादिकमहर्लप्स्यामह इति । एवं तर्हि कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफल इत्युच्यते सर्वत्र च कर्तारं क्रियाफलमभिप्रैति तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते । साधीयो यत्र कर्तारं क्रियाफलमभिप्रैति । न चान्तरेण यजिं यजिफलं वपिं वा वपिफलं लभन्ते । याजकाः पुनरन्तरेणापि यजिं गा लभन्ते भृतकाश्च पादिकमिति ।

(ii) *DB* 75.15-16 : मितशरणः सांपदं कुरुते (*KS* 21.16) ज्येष्ठो गृहं कृत्वा अत्रैव वेश्मनि अवसानसंस्कारार्थं न फलाय । आत्मनेपदात् ।

13. 1.4.42 : साधकतमं करणम् ।

DB 76.4-6 : त्वे ऋतुमिति रसप्राशनी (*KS* 21.21) रसा अनया प्राश्यन्ते इति रसप्राशनी । 'रसैरुपसिच्य' इत्यादिना इयं, रसा एव यत्र साधनं, प्राशनी इत्येवं प्रतीयते । ……न चानया संपाता प्रोपसृष्टत्वात्[2] ।

14. *P* 1.4.45 : आधारोऽधिकरणम् ।

DB 47.16-18 : प्रथमप्रवदस्य मातुरुपस्थे तालुनि संपातानानयति (*KS* 10.17) प्रथमं यदा बालोऽव्यक्तां वाचमुच्चारयति तदैतत् कर्म कर्तव्यम् । मातुरुत्सङ्गे स्थितस्य बालकस्य तालुनि संपातानानयति ··बालस्य व्यादायास्यं संपातानयनम् । तालुनीत्याधारश्रुतेः ।

1. See *P* 5.4.50 : अभूततद्भावे कृभ्वस्तियोगे सम्पद्यकर्तरि च्विः ।

2. Dārila means to say: Because there is the *upasarga-pra*, therefore the *paribhāṣā* in *KS*. 7.15 : आश्यबन्ध्याप्लवनयानभक्ष्याणि संपातवन्ति is inapplicable.

15. *P* 1.4.49 : कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म ।

DB 3.15-17 : विधिशब्दः कथ्यते । विधीयते तदिति विधिः । कर्मसाधनो विधिशब्दः । यदि ईप्सिततमो विधिशब्दः ततः प्रतीकानि गुणभूतानि ततश्च प्रतीकसमुच्चयः । उच्यते । तेषामिदमिति न दोषः । यथाऽनादिष्टफलानां स स्वर्ग इति ।

16 *P* 1.4.54-55 स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च ।

(i) *DB* 37.20-38.1 : अन्वारब्धायाभिमन्त्रणहोमाः (*KS* 7.21) अन्वारभतीत्यन्वारब्धः कारयिता 'कर्तरि च' इति ।···अन्वारम्भणं कारयितुश्चतुर्थीनिर्देशात् । अन्वारभ्यः कर्ता । तत्कर्म प्रयोजककर्तृत्वात् ।

(ii) *DB* 72.9-12 : तिस्रः सीताः प्राचीर्गमयन्ति कल्याणीर्वाचो वदन्तः (*KS* 20.9) तिस्रः सीताः प्राग्भवा आनयन्ति कर्षकाः । नेतारो गावः । तान् कर्षका प्रयोजयन्ति इति हेतुकर्तृकत्वात् । कल्याणीर्वाच उच्चारयन्ति । अभिवर्षतु, निष्पद्यतां बहुधान्यं, भूयादारोग्यम् इत्येवमादयो वाचः । प्राचीरिति अनिवृत्य देशे उत्क्षिप्तस्य फालस्यानयनार्थं गमयन्ति । अतः सलिलार्थम् ।

17. *P* 1.4.96 : अपिः पदार्थसम्भावनान्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु ।

DB 32 15-17 : अथापि श्लोकौ भवतः (*KS* 6.34) दर्शपूर्णमासयोरेव श्लोकाविमौ भाष्येते । गोपथब्राह्मणवाक्यात् श्लोकाविहोच्येते । दर्शपूर्णमासयोर्वक्ष्यमाणावेव । तत्र च हवनयोगानन्तरमिति अथशब्दात् । अपीति सम्भावने इत्यर्थः ।

Kāś thus defines *sambhāvanā* : संभावनमधिकार्थवचनेन शक्तेरप्रतिघाताविष्करणम् ।

18. *P* 2.1.9 : सुप् प्रतिना मात्रार्थे ।

DB 53.2-4 : ···रजोहरणविन्दुना··· (*KS* 13.11) ···रजोहरणं किञ्चिदाकाशम् । विन्दुरल्पपरिमाणमुदकम् । आकाशोदकविन्दुनेत्यर्थः ।

Kās : मात्रा विन्दुः स्तोकम् अल्पम् इति पर्यायाः । ···अस्त्यत्र किञ्चित् शाकम् शाकप्रति । सूपप्रति ।···

19. *P* 2.1.14 : लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ।

DB 134.16-17 : ···आहिताग्निं प्रति निर्वपति (*KS* 48.27) आहिताग्निं निर्वपन्तं प्रति निर्वपति । प्रतेर्लक्षणार्थत्वात् ।

20. *P* 2.1.36 : चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ।

DB 73.11.15 : …प्रातरायोजनाय निदधाति (*KS* 20-21) …यदाऽऽयोजनं भविता तदथं स्थापयति… । आयोजनार्थमास्थापयति तदुदकम् । प्रातर्द्वितीयेऽह्नि यदाऽऽयोजनं भवति तदाऽऽयोजनं हलयुगफालयोक्त्ररश्मिफालोत्तरफालानामेव तदर्थमायोजनायेति तादर्थ्ये वचनम् ।

21. *P* 2.1.65 : … गृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्वष्कयणी…

DB 69.16-17 : गृष्टेः पीयूषं… (*KS* 19.15) द्विः प्रसूता गौर्गृष्टिः । तस्याः प्रथमेऽह्नि दुग्धं पीयूषम् । But see *Kāś* :… गृष्टिरेकवारप्रसूता धेनुः प्रत्यग्रप्रसूता । वशा वन्ध्या । वेहत् गर्भपातिनी । वष्कयणी तरुणवत्सा ।…

Dārila evid ntly differs from the traditional meaning of *gṛṣṭi* as given by *Kāś*; it occurs only once in *RV* 4.18.10 : गृष्टिः ससूव स्थविरं… वृषभं तुम्रमिन्द्रम् । Sāyaṇa merely says काचित् गौः, which leads nowheie.

22. *P* 2.2.24 : अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ।

DB 87.4-6 तथाकुर्वन्नना… (*KS* 25.29) यदि प्रैपार्थं न करोति ततोऽसौ अना। अमनुष्योऽतिवीर्य इत्यर्थः ।…अना इति तत्पुरुषः । बहुव्रीहिः कस्मान्न भवति । उच्यते एकत्वा-भावात् । बहुव्रीहाविति अनेकवत् स्यात ।

23. *P* 2 2.26 : दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ।

DB 13.5-7 : प्रागुदगपवर्गं देवानाम् (*KS* 1.15) पूर्वस्यां दिशि देवानां कर्म परिसमापनीयं उत्तरस्यां वा । कर्मधर्मत्वं चास्य कर्तुरभिहितत्वात् । न चान्तरालसंप्रत्ययः । शब्दयोरत्यन्तपरार्थप्रसङ्गात् । आज्यतन्त्रे च 'पूर्वोत्तरतः संस्थाप्य' इति वचनात् । …

24. *P* 2.2.29 : चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ।

(i) *DB* 54.4-5 : आज्यसक्तून्, जुहोति ।

(*KS* 14.8) आज्यं सक्तवश्चेति द्वन्द्वः । विकल्पश्चानयोः साधनत्वात् ।

(ii) *DB* 47.11-12 : यथावर्णं च पुष्पम् । शुक्लवर्णं च हरितवर्णं च शुक्लपुष्प-हरितपुष्पे । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । किंस्त्यः शङ्खः, तस्य नाभिः । पिप्पली प्रसिद्धा । अनयोरपि द्वन्द्वः ।

25. *P* 2.2.34 : अल्पाच्तरम् ।

(i) *DB* 118.5-11 : समावर्तनीययोश्चैषेज्या (*KS* 42.12) समार्तवनमर्हति यो ब्रह्मचारी स समावर्तनीयः । वेदार्थाभिज्ञ इत्यर्थः । समापनमर्हति यः स समापनीयः सम्यगध्येता अनुप्रवचनस्येत्यर्थः । …समावर्तनस्य नित्यत्वे समापनीयसमावर्तनीय-योरिति युक्तं वक्तुं कल्पान्तरत्वात् । बह्वक्षरस्य पूर्वनिपातः वचनान्तरं मा भूत् अधिकारसंप्रत्ययात् अतश्च समावर्तनीयं समापनीयवत् ।

(ii) *DB* 37.20—38.4 अन्वारब्धायाभिमन्त्रणहोमाः (*KS* 7.21) ·· क्वचिद् यदभिमन्त्रणं क्वचिद् यो वा होमस्तदुभयं यदन्वारब्धाय कार्यम् । ···होमाभिमन्त्रणानीति वक्तव्यं शब्दस्मृतेः । होमाभिमन्त्रणानीत्युच्यमाने हविषां मन्त्रणे अन्वारम्भणं स्यात् । हूयते तावत्क्त्वः । पुनर्द्वन्द्वसमासः । तथा च सति प्रत्यवयवमन्वारम्भणम् । अथवा संपाता होमा, अभिमन्त्रण-संबन्धात् । 'सर्वाण्यभिमन्त्र्याणीति चान्वारब्धस्य स्यात् ।'

(iii) *DB* 44.6-7 : ·· शंभुमयोभू··· (*KS* 9.1) ··· 'आपो हिष्ठा मयो भुवः' 'शं नो देवीरभिष्टये' इति योगक्रमः । अल्पाच्तरत्वात् पूर्वनिपातः । अनयोश्चैव ग्रहणमन्यत्रग्रहणात् ।

26. *P* 2.3.2 : कर्मणि द्वितीया

See (*M* I.443.23—444.1) : द्वितीयाविधानेऽभितः परितः समयानिकषाध्यधिधिग्योगे-पूपसंख्यानम् ।

DB 56.4-5 : सभयेति 'अभितः परितःसमयाऽनिर्देशे नाग्निनिवृत्तिः स्यात् ।

27. *P* 2.3.4 : अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते ।

DB 121.20 : वशां परिहरित । प्रसव्यमात्मनो वशायाश्चान्तरेण उल्मुकहरणम् ।

cf. *Drāhyāyaṇa ŚS* 12.3.19

अन्वाहार्यमन्तरेण ब्रह्माणं यजमानं चाहरेत् ।

28. *P* 2.3.13 चतुर्थी सम्प्रदाने ।

DB 46.13-15 : उपाध्यायाय भैक्षं प्रयच्छति (*KS* 10.7) अध्यापयित्रे··· ददाति ।···

दानं चैतत् चतुर्थीश्रवणात् । ब्रह्मचारिणश्चैतत् भिक्षासंबन्धात् । दत्त्वा च अन्यानि सप्त कुलानि भिक्षार्थं चरेत् स्वार्थं च ।

29. *P* 2.3 18 : कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया ।

(i) *DB* 56 3–6 : ···दीर्घदण्डेन स्रुवेण रथचक्रस्य खेन समया जुहोति (*KS* 15.4) ···दीर्घो दण्डो यस्य सोऽयं दीर्घदण्डः कोऽसौ । स्रुवः । तेन जुहोति यावता कृशानुं न स्पृशति । रथस्य चक्रम् । तस्य छिद्रेण जुहोति । ···यतोयतो खमित्यर्थः । तस्मात् करणविभक्तिरग्नि-निवृत्त्यर्था ।

(ii) *DB* 69.18-20 : ···सव्येन हस्तेनाक्रम्य ···दक्षिणग्रहणं सव्यग्रहणात् ।···दक्षिणेनेति सव्यस्यापीह करणत्वात् ।

(iii) *DB* 119.14-16 :अपनोदनापाघाभ्यां ·· (*KS* 42-22)

'आरेऽसौ' इत्यपनोदनम् । 'अप नः शोशुचदघम्' इत्यपाघम् । प्रतीकविकल्पः अपनोदनक्रम-विधानात् । तृतीया करणत्वात् । mark the formation of the word *apāgha* by

taking together the first (*apa*) and the last (*agha*) together of the quarter of the verse in question.

30 *P* 2.3.23 : हेतौ ।

DB 53.15-16 : ···प्रतिप्रवर्तयति (*KS* 14.2) ·· हेतुलक्षणा तृतीया । परबल-हस्तिनो युद्धाय प्रवर्तमानान् दृष्टमात्रान् हस्तिनैः प्रवर्तयति । स्वबलहस्तिना प्रवृत्तो रथ-चक्रेण हेतुना ।

31 *P* 2.32.8 अपादाने पञ्चमी ।

See the two *vars* 1 and 2 : पञ्चमीविधाने ल्यब्लोपे कर्मण्युपसङ्ख्यानम् । अधिकरणे च । and *M* thereon (*I.* 455.4-8)

DB 82.21—83. : उन्नताच्च (*KS* 24.34) उत्तरं स्थल तदारुह्य तस्मिन् वीक्षते । उन्नतमारुह्य ल्यब्लोपलक्षणत्वात् पञ्चमी । अतः स्थलमारुह्येति । सप्तमी लक्षणमात्रं च देशानिर्देशात् ।

32. *P* 2.3.61-62 : प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासम्प्रदाने । चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं छन्दसि ।

DB 12.17-18 : देवानां पितृणां च (*KS* 1.9) अप्राणिनः षष्ठी चतुर्थ्यर्थे । अप्राणित्वं च शब्दस्य । देवतायाश्च शब्देनोपकारकत्वात् ।··············देवानां यः शब्दः पितृणां च तेन संयोगयागः······

33. *P* 2.3.65: कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति ।

DB 96.22-97.1: मारुतानामप्ययः (*KS* 30.12) मारुतानां मन्त्राणामप्ययः । अस्मिन् कर्मण्यपि तेषां गमनं भवति । षष्ठीनिर्देशात् । मारुता नाम मन्त्रा इह गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः । 'कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति' इति षष्ठी । अतश्च तेषामपि जलोदरभैषज्यमेतत् कर्म ।

34. *P* 2.4.2: द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ।

(i) *DB* 107.14-15: ·· शिरःकर्णमभिमन्त्रयते (*KS* 36.10) शिरश्च कर्णौ च शिरःकर्णम् । भेदेनाभिमन्त्रणम् । उभयोर्निरोधने ऽभिमन्त्रणम् । उभयोर्निरोधनमविशेषत्वात् ।

(ii) *DB* 117.21-22: ···आर्द्रपाणिपादाभ्यां···(*KS* 42.6) ···आर्द्रं पाणिपादं ययोस्ता-वार्द्रपाणिपादौ ताभ्यां प्रयच्छति पण्यमिति शेषः ।

35. *P* 2.4.17: स नपुंसकम् ।

DB 97.18-19: शमी च शमका च शमीशमकमिति द्वन्द्वैकवद्भावः । 'स नपुंसकम्' इति नपुंसकत्वम् । अत एव समुच्चयः ।

36. *P* 2.4.23: सभा राजामनुष्यर्वा। *Kāś* on अमनुष्यपूर्वा—अमनुष्यपूर्वा—रक्षःसभम् । पिशाचसभम् । इह कस्मान्न भवति—काष्ठसभा ? अमनुष्यशब्दो रूढिरूपेण रक्षःपिशाचादिष्वेव वर्तते ।

DB 87.4: तथाकुर्वन्नना (*KS* 25.29) यदि प्रैषार्थं न करोति ततो असौ अना अमनुष्योऽतिवीर्य इत्यर्थः ।

37. *P* 2.4.26: परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ।

(i) *DB* 37.4-5: स्त्रीव्याधितावाप्लुतावसिक्तौ ……प्रमार्ष्टि (*KS* 7.17) स्त्री च व्याधितश्च स्त्रीव्याधितौ। 'परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्तुरुषयोः' इति स्त्री व्याधिता पुमान् व्याधितः । आप्लुता स्त्री अवसिक्तः पुमान् ।

(ii) *DB* 115.13-17: उच्छुष्मापरिव्याधावायसेन खनति (*KS* 40.14) उच्छुष्मा कपिकच्छुः । परिव्याधः सूकरबालक. ।……उच्छुष्मापरिव्याधौ इति द्वन्द्वः । 'परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः' इति पुँल्लिङ्गवदिह ।

38. *P* 3.1.104: उपसर्या काल्या प्रजने ।

DB 68.13-14: प्रजननकमाः (*KS* 19.2) …प्रजननं कामयन्ति यास्ताः प्रजननकामाः । उपसरकाले मैथुनसम्वन्धात् ।

39. *P* 3.2.49 : आशिषि हनः ।

P 3.2.53: अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ।

DB 54.12-13: द्रुर्यया हतः सा द्रुघ्नी ।…यो द्रुः तं हतवती । "हनः ।" "अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ।" टक् । 'गमहन'इत्युपधालोपः (See *P* 6.4.98) । 'टिड्ढाणे'ति सूत्रेण (See *P* 4.1.15) ङीप् ।

40. *P* 3.2.56: आढ्य ·· अन्धप्रियेषु·· करणे ख्युन् ।

P 3.2.57: कर्तरि भुवः खिष्णु च् खुकञौ

DB 25.7-10: यामनग्नौ जुहोति साऽन्धा । तया चक्षुर्यजमानस्य मीयते । सोऽन्धंभावुको यजमानो भवति (*KS* 4.16) यामाहुतिं ह्यग्निरहिते देशे जुहोति असमिद्धे हुतोपरि भस्मनो भवति असौ अन्धा नामाहुतिः अप्रकाशकत्वात् । स यजमान आन्ध्यशीलो भवति । जन्मान्तराभिप्रायं ताच्छील्यम् ।

41. *P* 3.3.47: परौ यज्ञे

DB 60.17: परिगृह्या वेदिः । परिग्रहणयोगात् ।

42. *P* 3.3.113 कृत्यलुटो वहुलम् ।

Kāś : ·· भावकर्मणोः कृत्या विहिताः कारकान्तरेऽपि भवन्ति । स्नानीय चूर्ण दानीयो ब्राह्मणः ।···

DB 118.23-24: व्रतसमानीरादधाति (*KS* 45) समिध इति संनिधानात् । व्रतं समाप्य तत्र । व्रतादानीयाः कारकान्तरयोगात् । व्रतमार्षमित्येवाधिकारात् । ताञ्च वेदव्रते उपनयने ।

43. *P* 3.3.169: अर्हे कृत्यतृचश्च ।

DB 38.7—8: जीवघात्यं चर्म (*KS* 7·24) विधिकर्मसु चर्मग्रहणे बलिनः प्राणिनश्चर्म प्रयोक्तव्यम् । जीवघातार्हस्य सेक्तुः । 'कृत्यतृचश्च' इति ॥

44. *P* 3.4.21: समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ।

(i) *DB* 18.3-5: हविष्कृदेहीति हविष्क्रियाकर्तृत्वात् । ···अवहननं हविष्कृतः (See अवघ्नन् in KS 2.6) । अवहत्येति चोत्तरेण समानकर्तृनिर्देशात् (See अवहाय in *KS* 2.7) ।

(ii) *DB* 16.14-15: न शाखान्तरीया ऋचोऽतिप्रसङ्गात् । प्रक्षाल्य इति (*KS* 1.36) निर्वापसमानकर्तृकार्यम् (*KS* 2.1) ।

45. *P* 3.4.27: अन्यथैवं कथमित्थंसु सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ।

Kāś कृञ इत्येव । अन्यथादिषूपपदेषु कृञो णमुल्प्रत्ययो भवति···करोतेर्भवति ।··· निरर्थकत्वान्न प्रयोगमर्हति इत्येवमेव प्रयुज्यते । अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते इति यावानर्थः तावानेव अन्यथाकारं भुङ्क्ते इति गम्यते ।

DB 87.12-14 : अन्यथाकारमिध्माबर्हिषः पिशाचात् पीडाऽस्ति ज्ञेयम् । नापगत इति ज्ञेयम् ।

See in this conneetion *Kāś* and *PM* on *P*6.3.80 : द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये । साग्निः कपोतः । सपिशाचा वात्या । सराक्षसीका शाला ॥ कपोतश्चेदगारमुपहन्यात् ततश्च कपोतेनाग्निरनुमीयते । विद्युद्वात्ययोश्च रक्षःपिशाचं वर्तते इति वार्ता ॥

46. P 3.4.68 : भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीय ··

DB 118.3-4 :···अनुप्रवचनीयस्य जुहोति ॥ *KS* 42.9 ॥ अनुप्रवचनीयो वेदार्थाभिज्ञ इत्यर्थः ।

See *Kāś* : भवत्यसौ भव्यः । गेयो माणवकः साम्नाम् । प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्य । उपस्थानीयो अन्तेवासी गुरोः ।···

47. *P* 3.4.71 : आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ।

DB 37.20-21 : अन्वारभतीत्यन्वारब्ध कारयिता 'कर्तरि च' इति ।···

48. *P* 4.1.15 : टिड्ढाणञ्··ख्युनाम् ।

DB 54.12-13 : द्रुर्यया हता सा द्रुघ्नी । द्रुःक्षिप्रमेव वशान्नमिति भाष्यम् । यो द्रुः तं हतवती । हनः । अमनुष्यकर्तके च । टक् । गमहनेत्युपधालोपः । टिड्ढाणेति सूत्रेण ङीप् ।

49. *P* 4 1.27 : दामहायनान्ताच्च ।

DB 104.9—11 : सप्त दामानि यस्याः सा सप्तदाम्नी । ···'दामहायनान्ताच्च' इति ङीप् ।

50. *P* 4.1.33 : पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे ।

DB 73.3 : धारयन्तं पत्नी स्वामिनी यज्ञस्य पृच्छाति—अक्रुक्षतेति ।

51. *P* 4.1.42 : जानपद···कुशकामुककबरात् वृत्ति ··अयोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ।

(i) *DB* 103.8-9 : फालः कुश्यादि आयसं द्रव्यम् ।

(ii) *DB* 72.3 : अनेन कुशीं हलसमीपे आनयति ।

52. *P* 4.1.163 : जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ।

DB 102.20-21 : ब्राह्मणायनोऽङ्गान्यभिमृशति ॥ *KS* 33.19 ॥ यो ब्राह्मणो जीवत्पितृकः जीवत्स्थविरभ्रातृकोऽन्यस्मिन् वा स्थविरतरे जीवति स ब्राह्मणायनः ।

we must add here *P* 4.1.164 : भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि and *P* 4.1.165 : वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ।

53. *P* 4.2.24 : साऽस्य देवता ।

DB 76.9-10 : ···प्राजापत्याम्··· (*KS* 21.23) अस्या ऋचः प्रजापतिः देवता । इज्या तद्विहिता ।

54. *P* 4.2.37 : तस्य समूहः ।

P 4.2.38 : भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ।

DB 46.13 : उपाध्यायाय भैक्षं प्रयच्छति (KS 10.7) अध्यापयित्रे भिक्षाणाँ समूहं ददाति ।

55. *P* 4.2.60 : क्रतूक्थादि···

The उक्थादिगण as given by *Kāś* is this : उक्थ । लोकायत । न्याय । न्यास । निमित्त । पुनरुक्त । निरुक्त । यज्ञ ।···

DB 126.7 : तस्मादुपनयनान्तरमेव सपुनरुक्तायाः संहिताया अध्ययनम् ।

56. *P* 4.2.70 : अदूरभवश्च ।

DB 0.9-11 : ⋯ माहानदे (as corrected) शान्त्युदकं करोति (*KS* 17.1) महानद्यो गङ्गायमुनासरस्वतीत्याद्याः । तासामदूरभवो देशो माहानदः (as corrected) । तत्र शान्त्युदकं करोति पुरोधाः ।

P 57. 4.3.53 : तत्र भवः ।

DB 69.7 : समुद्रे भवं सामुद्रम् ।

58. *P* 4.3.145 : गोश्च पुरीषे ।

DB 55.18 : गवा कृतो गोमयः परिचय इति केचित् । The usual meaning of गोमय is given by *Kāś* thus : "गोशब्दात् पुरीषेऽभिधेये मयट्प्रत्ययो भवति । गोमयम् । पुरीषे इति किम् । गव्यं पयः । पुरीषं न विकारो न चावयवः । तस्येदंविषये विधानम् ।"

मयट् प्राचुर्यार्थेऽपि वर्तते । तस्येदमुदाहरणम्—

ये उदाजन् पितरो गोमयं वस्वृ-

तेनाभिन्दन् परिवत्सरे वलम् ।

दीर्घायुत्वमङ्गिरसो वो अस्तु

प्रति गृभ्णीत मानवं सुमेधसः ।।[१]

59. *P* 4 4.91 : नौ⋯तुलाभ्यं:
तार्य⋯संमितेषु ।

(i) *DB* 63.23 : अतः पर 'नाव्याया दक्षिणावर्ते' इत्यादि स्यात् । अयं तार्यभावश्च प्रासङ्गिकेनोपकारलाभात् ।

(ii) *DB* 65.16-18 : नाव्ययोः संवेद्ये⋯ (*KS* 18.22) ये नद्यौ नावा तार्येते तयोः संगमे⋯

60. *P* 5.1.57 : तदस्य परिमाणम् ।

(i) *DB* 53.2 : चतुरङ्गुलं तृणम्⋯ (*KS* 13.11) चतुरङ्गुलपरिमाणं तृणम् ।

cf. *RV*:

स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वा

त्यतिष्टद्दशाङ्गुलम् ।।[२]

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1. *RV* 10.62.2
2. *Ibid.* 10.90.1

(ii) *DB* 50.5-6: युग्मकृष्णलमिति बहुव्रीहिः । कृष्णला रक्तिकेति प्रसिद्धाभिधाना । अयं च सौवर्णो मणिः । 'तदस्य परिमाणम्' । अस्य सुवर्णपरिमेयत्वात् ।

61. *P* 5.1.109: प्रयोजनम् ।

(ii) *DB* 48.1-2 : मेधाविनः क्रिया वार्षशतिकं चेति समुच्चयः । वार्षशतिकं कर्म वर्षशतप्रयोजनम् । संपातादि वाचनान्तम् ।

62. *P* 5.1.111 : अनुप्रवचनादिभ्यश्छः ।

DB 53.19-21 : दृतिबस्त्योरोप्य शर्कराः (*KS* 14.5) दृतिः प्रसिद्धः । बस्तिरनुवासनीयं चर्म । तयोः प्रक्षिप्य शर्कराः । सप्तमीनिर्देशात् । एतयोरन्यतरेणाभिमुखः परहस्तिनां याति । तृतीयाप्रकरणात् ।

अनुवासन is included in the अनुप्रवचनादिगण ।

63. *P* 5.1.128 : पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक् ।

DB 62.11,14 : पौरोहित्यं वत्स्यन् ·· (*KS* 17.30) ···पुरोहितस्य कर्म पौरोहित्यं करिष्यन् । यदा यदा पौरोहित्यं करिष्यति तदा तदैतत् ।

64. *P* 5.1.133 : द्वन्द्वमनोज्ञादिभ्येश्च ।

Under मनोज्ञादिगण *Kāś* has अमुष्य पुत्र as one word; similarly अमुष्याःपुत्र might be expected to be one word, but contrary to this in *AV*, *KS* and *DB*.

DB 123.1 : अमुष्याः पुत्रस्य··· (*KS* 44.33) इदमहं अक्षस्य ब्राह्मणायनपुत्रस्य वेञ्चिकापुत्रस्य ·· ।

AV 10.5.36 : इदमहमायुष्यायणस्यामुष्याः पुत्रस्य वर्चस्तेजः प्राणमायुर्निवेष्टयामि···
The two words अमष्याः पुत्रस्य do not form a compound as accent and *padapāṭha* show.

65. *P* 5.2.28 : वेः शालच् शङ्कटचौ ।
(See *M* Vol II 376. 1—4) on this :

उपसर्गेभ्य इमे विधीयन्ते । उपसर्गाश्च पुनरेवमात्मका यत्र कश्चित् क्रियावाची शब्दः प्रयुज्यते तत्र क्रियाविशेषमाहुर्यत्र हि न प्रयुज्यते ससाधनां तत्र क्रियामाहुः । न एते उपसर्गेभ्यो विधीयमानाः ससाधनायां क्रियायां भविष्यन्ति ।

DB 79.5—8 : ···वार्ष्मणमौदुम्बरं मन्थप्रतिरूपमभिजुहोति (*KS* 27.7) ···'अभि' ग्रहण 'माहुते'र्देशविधानार्थम् । अत्र साधनत्वमेव ।

66. *P* 5.2 39: यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप् ।

(i) *DB* 69.9: एतावदुपैति (*KS* 19.11) एतत्परिमाणमेतावत् । सामुद्रमप्सु कर्म । अशनान्तं कर्म कुर्यात् ।…

(ii) *DB* 133.12-13: यावतः सपत्नास्तावतः पाशान्… (*KS* 47.4) यावतामभिचारं कर्तुमिच्छति तावतस्तत्परिमाणान् पाशान्…

67. *P* 5.2.48: तस्य पूरणे डट् ।

DB 100.2-3: चतुर्थ्याभिनिधायाभिविध्यति (*KS* 32.9) चतुर्णां पूरणी चतुर्थी । अभिनिधानममन्त्रकमङ्गत्वात् (as corrected) ।

68. *P* 5.2.59: मतौ छः सूक्तसाम्नोः ।

DB 35.7-8: पूर्वं त्रिषप्तीयम् (*KS* 7.8) पूर्वग्रहणेषु 'ये त्रिषप्ताः' इति सूक्तं प्रत्येतव्यम् । 'मतो छः सूक्तसाम्नोः' इति छप्रत्ययान्तत्वात् । पूर्वस्य मेधाजननानि ।…

69. *P* 5.2.60: अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक् ।

DB 122.6-7: …रक्षोहणं जपति (*KS* 44.16) … रक्षोहणमनुवाकं जपति । अनुवाकश्च समाख्यानात् । 'अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक्' इति वचनात् ।

70. *P* 5.2-67: उदाराट्ठगाधूने ।

See *Kāś* on आधूने:—

आधूने इति प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणम् । उदरेऽविजिगीषुर्भण्यते । यो बुभुक्षयाऽत्यन्तं पीडयते स एवमुच्यते । उदरे प्रसित औदरिकः आधूनः ।

See the well-known saying:

सर्वत्रौदरिकस्याभ्यवहार्यमेव विषयः ।

DB 74.17: 'प्रतिसायं भुञ्जते' (*KS* 21.3) इत्येव । आधूनतः स्फातिकरणत्वात् ।

71. *P* 5.2.92: क्षेत्रियच् परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः ।

DB 91.1: क्षेत्रियभैषज्यम् । क्षेत्रियः कौलो व्याधिः ।

Kāś gives different interpretations of the word क्षेत्रिय which are interesting:

(१) परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः । क्षेत्रियं कुष्ठम् । परक्षेत्रं जन्मान्तरशरीरं तत्र चिकित्स्यः क्षेत्रियः । असाध्यः प्रत्याख्येयो व्याधिरुच्यते । न अमृतस्य निवर्तते इत्यर्थः ।

(२) अथवा क्षेत्रियं विषं यत् परक्षेत्रे परशरीरे सङ्क्रमय्य चिकित्स्यते ।

(३) अथवा क्षेत्रियाणि तृणानि यानि सस्यार्थे क्षेत्रे जातानि चिकित्स्यानि नाशयितव्यानि ।

(४) अथवा क्षेत्रियः पारदारिकः । परदाराः परक्षेत्रं तत्र चिकित्स्यः निग्रहीतव्यः । सर्वं चैतत् प्रमाणम् ।

72. *P* 5.3.23: प्रकारवचने थाल् ।

DB 11.6—12.4: तथा ब्राह्मणलिङ्गा मन्त्राः (*KS* 1.6) ···ब्राह्मणमर्थवाद इत्यर्थः । ······'तथा' इति प्रकारनिर्देशः ब्राह्मणस्य । ब्राह्मणलिङ्गत्वात् ।

73. *P* 5.3.27-28 : दिक्शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः । दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतसुच् ।

(i) *DB* 35.20—36.1: पुरस्तादुत्तरतः सम्भारमाहरति (*KS* 7.10) निवासदेशात् सम्भार आहर्तव्यः । पूर्वस्य उत्तरस्य देशान्तयोरित्यर्थः । आरण्यानामयं नियमः । अन्नाद्यादीनां सम्भारशब्दचोदितानां च दिग्विकल्पः, न अन्तरालसम्प्रत्ययः । 'दिक्शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीपञ्चमी-प्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः' इति 'दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतसुच्' इति पञ्चम्यन्तम् ।

(ii) *DB* 58.11-13: उत्तरतोऽग्नेः···(*KS* 16.20) कर्माग्नेरुत्तरस्मिन् देशे··· ·

(iii) *DB* 121.8: पुरस्तादग्नेः · (*KS* 44.2) पूर्वस्मिन् देशे अग्नेः······

74. *P* 5.3.32: पश्चात् ।

DB 121.8—9: पश्चादग्नेः प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य··· (KS 44.3) तन्त्राग्नेः पश्चिमे देशे उपविशति ।

75. *P* 5.3.42: संख्याया विधार्थे धा । *Kāś* विधा प्रकारः ।

DB 59.2?—60.3: ···शयनविधं पुरोडाशं··· (*KS* 16.30) ·· शयनविधं पुरोडाशं कृत्वा···निनयति । विधा प्रकारार्थे ।

76. *P* 5·3.66: प्रशंसायां रूपम् ।

DB 132.12—13: लवणमृडीची:···(*KS* 47.46) ··· मृडीचीशब्दः अल्पपर्यायः । लवणरूपाः कणा इत्यर्थः ।

77. *P* 5.4.17—18: सङ्ख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच् । द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच् ।

DB 134.6—9: त्रिः अमून् हनस्व इत्याह (*KS* 48.18) त्रिरिति क्रियाभ्यावृत्तौ सुच् प्रत्ययः शब्दस्मृतेः । ब्रह्मगवीभ्यां वक्तव्यम् । कल्पजासम्बन्धाच्च । त्रिरिति सङ्ख्यायाः पूर्वाभिधानात् । 'अमून् हनस्व इति त्रिः' इत्येवं वक्तव्यम् । कल्पजया सम्बन्ध एतान् । 'अमून् हनस्व इत्याह' इति सम्बन्धः । 'रामं हनस्व रामं हनस्व (रामं हनस्व)' इति प्रदर्शनम् । The words in brackets are put to make it 'thrice'.

78. *P* 5.4.36: तद्युक्तात् कर्मणोऽण् । *Kāś* observes: एतेऽणन्ताः स्वार्थिकाः छन्दसि भाषायां चेष्यन्ते ।

(i) *DB* 79.5-7: वार्ष्मणमौदुम्बरम्···(*KS* 23.7) वर्ष्म महत् । तस्मान्निर्वृत्तिः वार्ष्मणः । कोऽसौ । उदुम्बरः । ततः कृत औदुम्बरः । महतः औदुम्बरात् कर्तव्य इत्यर्थः ।

Although the termination is अण्, it is not स्वार्थिकः or स्वार्थे but it is definitely निर्वृत्तौ ।

(ii) *DB* 59.11—13 : आनुशूकानां व्रीहीणो·· (*KS* 16.28) प्रथमानां शूकानां लूनानां पश्चाज्जातानि शूकानि ततो निर्वृत्ता व्रीहय आनुशूकाः। तेषां व्रीहीणाम्·· See *M* on *P* 5.4.36 (II. 435.17) : सांनाय्यम् । आनुजावरः । आनुशूकः (as corrected) । ······

(iii) *DB* 132.22—133 : मर्माणि खादिरेण स्रुवेण गर्तं खनति (*KS* 47.5) मर्माणि मन्त्रोक्तानि । खदिरनिर्वृत्तः खादिरः स्रुवः । तेन गर्तं खनति । बाहुमात्रं । बाहुः प्रमाणतः ।

79. *P* 6.1.63 पदन्नोमास्···शस्प्रभृतिषु ।

(See *M* III. 42. 2-3) : यत् । नस्यम् । यत् । तस् । नस्तः । तस् ।···

DB 88.11-12 : घृतं नस्तः (*KS* 26.8) करोतीति वाक्यशेषः । घृतं नस्यं स्यादिभमन्त्र्यम् ।

80. *P* 6.1.149 : प्रयोजनम् ।

DB 129.3,6 : आभिचारिकेषु (*KS* 47.1) अभिचारप्रयोजनानि आभिचारिकाणि कर्माणि । आभिचारिकेषु आज्यतन्त्रपुरस्ताद्धोमादयो मन्त्रान्तराम्नानात् ।

81. *P* 6.4.98 : गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङित्यनङि ।।

DB 54.12-13 : द्रुर्यय। हतः सा द्रुघ्नी । ···गमहनेत्युपधालोपः । टिड्ढाणेति सूत्रेण ङीप् ।

82. *P* 7.1.95-96: तृज्वत् क्रोष्टुः । स्त्रियां च ।

(See *M* III. 274.13) : नैकमुदाहरणं योगारम्भं प्रयोजयतीति ।

DB 35.12-14 : त्रिषप्तीयं च पच्छो वाचयेत् इति तस्यैव केवलस्य भावात् वेदोपाकरणाच्च प्रथमस्य च ऋक्क्रमात् ।

'नैकमुदाहरणं योगारम्भं प्रयोजयति' इति वचनात् । अपि च 'शेषमनुवाकस्य जयन्ति' इति चानुवाकसम्प्रत्ययः ।

83. *P* 8.1.7: उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये ।

(i) *DB* 76.10,13-14 : ···अध्यधि दीपम्······(*KS* 21.23) अध्यधि अग्निसमीपे इत्यर्थः । 'उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये' द्वित्वश्रुतेः । प्रत्यगग्रा आस्तरणार्थम् । दीपः प्रदीप्तोऽग्निः । दीपमिति यथा ।

(ii) *DB* 103.17,19 : ···अध्यधि··· (*KS* 34.10) तस्योपर्युपरि समीपेन ॥

BOOK REVIEW

BHARTṚHARI, A STUDY OF THE *VĀKYAPADĪYA* IN THE LIGHT OF THE ANCIENT COMMENTARIES by K. A. Subramania Iyer, M. A. (London), Deccan College, Poona 1969, pp. xiv+597. Price Rs 40.00

Reviewed by Dr. B. R. Saksena, formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Allahabad University and Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Ravi Shankar University, Raipur (M. P.)

When I was doing research work under Professor R. L. Turner at the Benares Hindu University in 1921-22, I was advised by the Professor to read a book in French on the Philosophy of Language. I was struck by the original thinking of Dauzat. That language and its development, in whatsoever place and time it may have existed, has a certain philosophy behind it and that logic also plays a part in its development was then fully realised by me. Later, working on my book in Hindi on General Linguistics (*Sāmānya Bhāṣā Vijñāna*), I read considerable literature in German, French and English and also studied works in Sanskrit on Grammar. At that time, Bhartṛhari's great contribution to the Science of Language came to my notice and I realised that this great grammarian-philosopher had dealt with the Philosophy of Language in a manner of perfection, far surpassing the works of Dauzat, Stout and others, and I wrote in the preface of my book mentioned above (1943) that I had studied linguistics with English glosses but my study of the works of ancient Indian *Ṛṣi*-s and *Muni*-s had really opened my eyes.

The work under review is the master-piece of Professor Iyer written by him after devoting more than 10 years on the subject. It will stand as a monument of his great scholarship and will continue to inspire younger scholars for many generations to come. Professor Iyer has dealt with the author and his works in a comprehensive manner and has kept a balance of judgment which is his own characteristic.

In Chapter I, he has dealt with the date and works of Bhartṛhari. Tradition calls him sometimes a king and sometimes a prince and describes him sometimes a Brāhmaṇa and at other times a Buddhist or Jaina. Uufortunately, no reliable evidence has been recorded about him as is the case with many other distinguished poets and philosophers of India. Hindi folk-lore calls him a *yogi* and ballads are sung about him by roaming minstrels in Northern India. Itsing, a Chinese traveller, recorded in his account of travels that he recorded this account after 40 years since the death of Bhartṛhari. "That would point to 651 A.D. as the date of his death and the years preceding had been the period of his literary work". Professor Iyer rightly discards this view and agrees with Frauwawlner who has proposed 450-510 A. D. as the date of Bhartṛhari. Bhartṛhari was the pupil of Vasurāta and a contemporary of Diṅnāga. A stanza in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa contains, it is supposed by some commentators, an overt hint to Diṅnāga considered to be a contemporary also of Kālidāsa.

Professor Iyer has discussed at a considerable length the problem of works attributed to Bhartṛhari and has rightly come to the conclusion that Bhartṛhari wrote (1) a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, (2) *Vākyapadīya* (3) the *Vṛtti* on number (2), (4) *Śabdadhātusamīkṣā* and (5) the three *Śataka*-s. Some scholars had attributed *Bhaṭṭikāvya* also to Bhartṛhari but this view has been discarded by Professor Iyer. There has been a controversy on the subject whether the *Vṛtti* on the *Kārikā*-s of the *Vākyapadīya* was written by Bhartṛhari himself or by some other author. A similar controversy existed about the *Kāvya-Prakāśa* and the *Daśarūpaka*. I believe that there was a class of literature written by our ancient authors where the *Kārikā*-s and the *Vṛtti* existed together, possibly only the *Kārikā*-s were to be memorised and the *Vṛtti* existed for elucidation of the *Kārikā*-s

Professor Iyer has next taken up the question of the usefulness of the commentaries on the *Vākyapadīya* and has rightly come to the conclusion that they help in understanding the text and has discarded the view of some scholars, both Western and Eastern, that commentaries have not made any contribution to the understanding of the text.

In Chapter II, Professor Iyer has discussed the view of certain scholars that the *Vākyapadīya* is essentially a work of General Linguistics and not a work of Philosophy or a work on the Philosophy of Sanskrit grammar. The Philosophical point of view in the study of language finds its roots in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads and its first elaborate treatment is found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. It stands to reason that Patañjali dealt with

linguistic problems or with General Linguistics while dealing primarily with the Sanskrit language. General Linguistics and problems of General Linguistics are a bye-product of the study of Sanskrit Language, and have been dealt with primarily with reference to that language. Professor Iyer observes about *Vākyapadīya*: "But this work is a mixture of Philosophy, general linguistics and Sanskrit grammar. There are, in all the *Kāṇḍas* many *Kārikās* which deal with points bearing on the technical side of Sanskrit grammar (*prakriyā*), points already raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Helārāja constantly gives references to *Mahābhāṣya* passages while explaining these stanzas".

Next, Professor Iyer discusses the contents of the *Vākyapadīya* contained in about 2000 *Kārikā*-s. The grammer according to theory deals with Śabda Brahman and thus enters the field of Philosophy According to him, "Brahman is the eternal and undifferential word-principle (*Śabda tattva*) ..Veda is the means of attaining this brahman of which it is a manifestation—*āgama*, supreme knowledge".

But he holds the view that the sentence and the sentence-meaning are real and denies the reality of the individual word. This is the view generally held by scholars of General Linguistics to-day. Many points such as the various stages of *Vāk* are discussed. In Section 3, Professor Iyer discusses Bhartṛhari and the *darśana*-s and in Section 4, the *pramāṇa*-s as viewed by Bhartṛhari

In the third Chapter, Professor Iyer discusses (1) Metaphysical background of the *Vākyapadīya*, (2) the doctrine of *sphoṭa*, (3) the relation between word and meaning.

In Chapter IV, Professor Iyer deals with Bhartṛhari's views on (1) grammatical analysis, (2) the meaning of word obtained by analysis (3) quality (*Guṇa*), (4) Direction (*Dik*), (5) the means (*Sādhana*), (6) Action (*Kriyā*), (7) Person and aspect (*Puruṣa* and *upagraha*), (8) Number (*Saṅkhyā*), (9) Gender (*Liṅga*) and (10) complex formation (*Vṛtti*).

In conclusion, Professor Iyer hopes "that the exposition of the many ideas of Bhartṛhari in the preceding chapters has made it quite clear that he made a significant and original contributi n to Indian Thought" (402).

As an humble reader, I can assure Professor Iyer that his exposition has fully established the originality of Bhartṛhari and is a great contribution to the Philosophy of Language in the direct line of succession from Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali and Bhartrhari himself.

The above material covers 404 pages. Next, we have quotations from various texts in support of the observations made in earlier pages. They cover 158 pages. Next, we have a list of abbreviations, bibliography, index and an errata. As observed in the beginning, Professor Iyer has made a solid contribution to the study of Sanskrit Grammar and the problems of General Linguistics. We congratulate him on this work of mature thinking and outstanding scholarship.

घोषणा-पत्र

समाचारपत्र-रजिस्ट्रीकरण (केन्द्रीय) नियमावली, १९५६ के नियम ८ (१) के अधीन प्रकाशितव्य स्वामित्व-सम्बन्धी तथा अन्य ब्योरे।

(प्ररूप-चार)

१. प्रकाशन का स्थान— अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, महात्मा गांधी मार्ग, हज़रतगंज, लखनऊ

२. प्रकाशन की कालिकता पाण्मासिक

३. मुद्रक का (१) नाम—श्री राम कुमार सिनहा
(२) राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
(३) पता—इण्डस्ट्रियल प्रिंटिंग वर्क्स, २७३, रानीगंज, लखनऊ।

४. प्रकाशक का (१) नाम—श्री गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह
(२) राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
(३) पता—बी० ९८९, सेक्टर ए०, महानगर, लखनऊ।

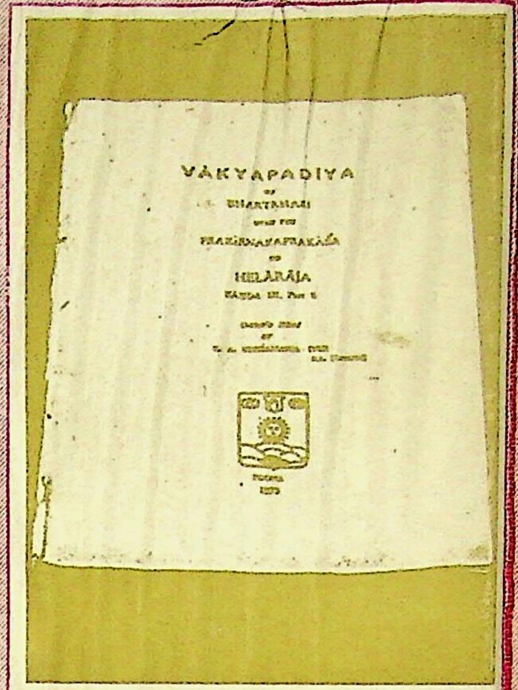
५. सम्पादक का (१) नाम—डा० जगदम्बाप्रसाद सिनहा
(२) राष्ट्रिकता—भारतीय
(३) पता—सी० १, यूनिवर्सिटी फ्लैट्स गोकरन नाथ रोड, लखनऊ।

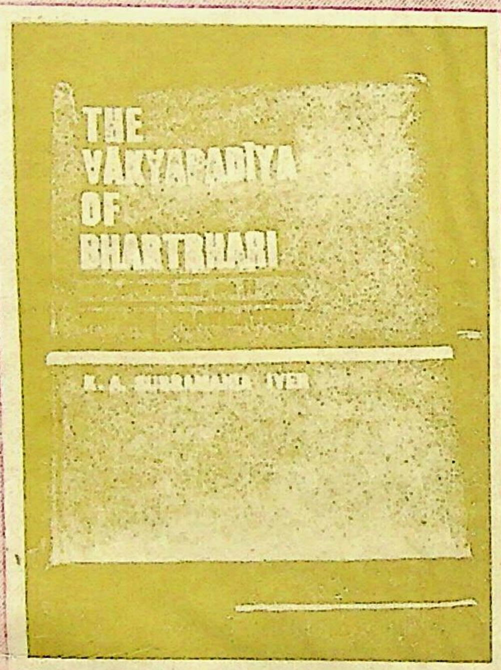
६. स्वामी का नाम और पता—अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, महात्मा गांधी मार्ग, हज़रतगंज, लखनऊ।
(इसमें कोई हिस्सेदार नहीं है)

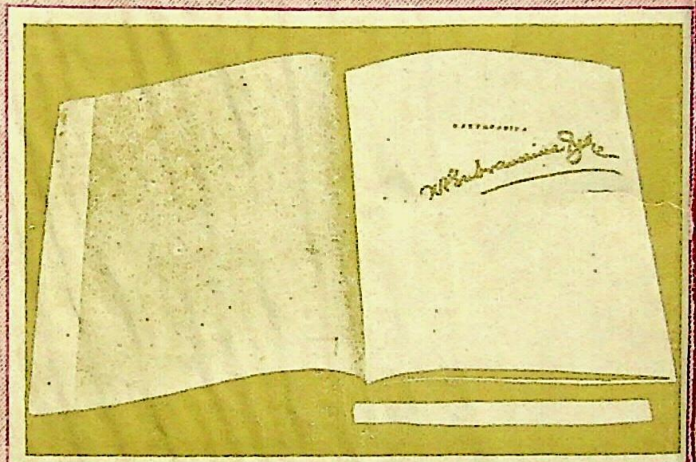
मैं, गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह, एतद्द्वारा घोषित करता हूं कि ऊपर दिये हुये ब्योरे मेरे पूर्णतम ज्ञान और विश्वास के अनुसार सत्य हैं।

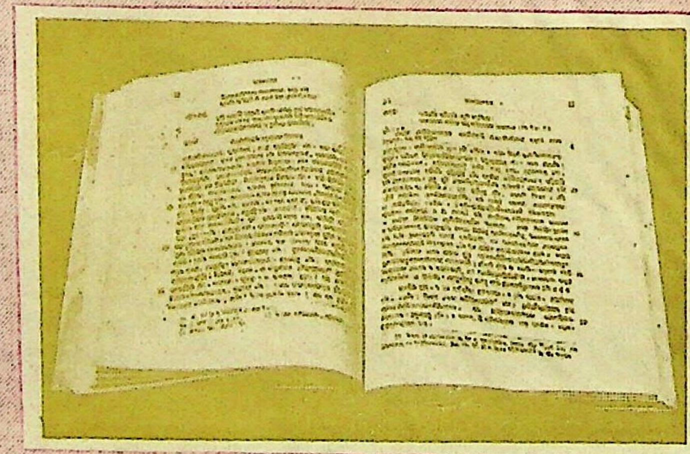
(ह०) गोपाल चन्द्र सिंह
प्रकाशक
(अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद,
लखनऊ की ओर से)

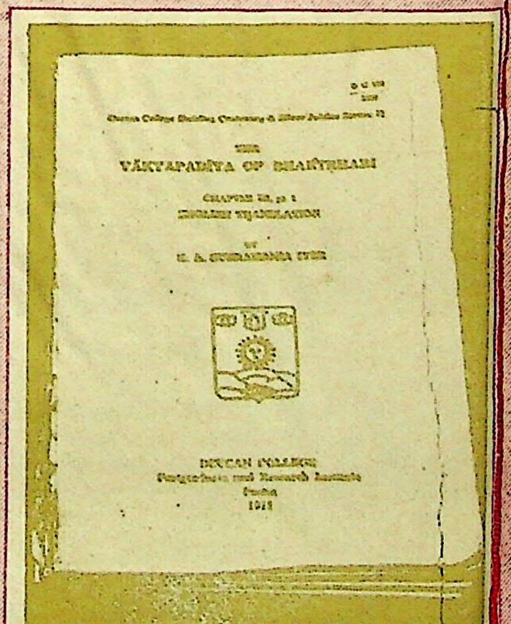



VĀKYAPADĪYA
HELĀRĀJA


THE
VĀKYAPADĪYA
OF
BHARTRHARI
K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER






VĀKYAPADĪYA OF BHARTṚHARI